MARIAN E. WRIGHT
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW

Staff
PAUL A. BREST
IRIS BREST

538½ N. Farish Street
Jackson, Mississippi 39202
Area Code 601 948-7301

January 7, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

The State Advisory Board to the United States Commission on Civil Rights is holding a conference on the administration of the welfare program in Mississippi. The conference will be held in Jackson at the King Edward Hotel on February 17th and 18th. Many of the necessary witnesses are people who live in outlying counties, and who are not able themselves to defer the cost of transportation and lodging to attend the conference. We are unable to provide funds for this purpose, and I wonder whether the Southern Regional Council has any money that could be used to provide the necessary transportation and lodging.

Any help that you can provide would be most deeply appreciated.

Best regards,

Marian E. Wright

Marian E. Wright

MEW:bg
cc: Mr. Kenneth Dean

make file
Marian E. Wright

January 11, 1967

Miss Marian E. Wright
538½ N. Farish Street
Jackson, Mississippi 39202

Dear Marian:

We do have a modest amount of money to provide to state councils in support of programs in welfare. Your request would seem appropriate for this, and I gather Ken would be happy to cooperate. If you will give me an estimate of the funds needed, we will send the Mississippi Council at least a part of the funds; perhaps all, depending on the amount.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mr. Kenneth Dean

P. S. -- Attempted to call you this morning, but presume there is time.

PA

File
Marian E. Wright
file in "W" section
of files

January 25, 1968

Miss Marian Wright
538½ N. Farish Street
Jackson, Mississippi 39202

Dear Marian:

I'm holding February 16-17 for the meeting in the Delta. Could you call me at your convenience to discuss the details of this? Whoever should be invited should know about it as soon as possible.

Even though you don't think I answer questions, I'm glad you reviewed. Thanks again.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

February 4, 1958

Mr. William K. Williams
c/o Florida Council on Human Relations
213 N. E. 2nd Ave.,
Miami, Fla

Dear Mr. Williams:

My brother, Marion Wright, tells me that your Council on Human Relations would like to publish the address which he delivered in Daytona Beach, Florida, January 17th.

I have talked to several of my friends here who show some interest in making contributions toward defraying the cost of printing this address. It would aid me in approaching them if you can advise me the probable number of brochures which you can use and the approximate cost of printing in various quantities.

You realize, as does my brother, that while the integration question is more acute in the South than in the West, the problem does exist throughout the Nation and many of the same organizations which are working in the South are also working here. They too are confronted with limited budgets.

At the same time I have received encouragement from several individuals and organizations to whom I have presented the matter and I believe that some contributions can be secured.

If you will advise me by telegram or Airmail Special Delivery letter with regard to the number you feel you can use and the cost of printing, which we think can be done more economically in Florida than in California, I will appreciate it.

I will keep my brother posted as to the progress we are making here.

Sincerely yours,

Preston L. Wright

PLW/rf

PRESTON L. WRIGHT
REAL ESTATE INVESTMENTS

58 SUTTER STREET - SAN FRANCISCO 4, CALIFORNIA
YUKON 2-4671

February 4, 1958

Dear Wright:

Since receiving your letter I have talked with the following:

1. Mr. Eugene Block
   c/o Bay Area Human Relations Clearing House

2. Mr. C. E. Manning
   c/o Urban League

3. Mr. John May
   Director - S. F. Foundation
   and the Columbia Foundation

4. Ed. Howden - c/o Council for Civic Unity

Mr. Block has been in the office of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta and spent an evening in George Mitchell's home.

Mr. John May was in Atlanta about a year ago and spent some time with Mr. Fleming and thinks highly of him. I have known John May quite well ever since I came out here. He tells me that neither of his Foundations can make a donation toward this cause. He does say, however, one of his Foundations expects to receive $500,000 which will be devoted to the work in the race relations field in the South. How soon he expects to get this money I do not know. (It may not be available until some one dies).

We may not get any "quick money" by this method but we may be able to stimulate interest which will pay more substantially in the long run. I am see several other people tomorrow.

I think it is important for me toknow the size of the job we are tackling. I am sending Mr. William's letter Airmail Special Delivery and hope I may receive a prompt reply from him.

I will keep you posted and hope I may have something more to report within a day or two.

We received a letter from Kathleen this morning and which told us approximately the same thing you told us in your letter. You understand the entire point of my original telephone call to Helen was to get Kathleen into a Washington Hospital where she would receive adequate attention. The idea of the permanent move, and of going to Duke hospital originated with Helen and Kathleen.

As you probably know, Helen is now ill with a cold. I hope they will both be better soon.

Best wishes from us both - Preston

PRESTON L. WRIGHT
REAL ESTATE INVESTMENTS

58 SUTTER STREET · SAN FRANCISCO 4, CALIFORNIA
YUKON 2-4671

February 5, 1958

Dear Wright:

In writing you hurriedly yesterday, I neglected to say that Mr. Eugene Block of the San Francisco Bay Area Human Relations Clearing house told me that his group would be meeting within two weeks at which time he would place our matter before them and he hopes something favorable will develop.

I have just alked with Clarence Johnson, and with Mr. Block again this afternoon by phone, andJohnson tells me that Block is definitely interested.

This morning I talked with Stephen Thiermann, Executive Secretary, American Friends Service Committee. He tells me that he will take the matter up with his financial secretary. He indicates that he feels that our people in San Francisco who will be interested in contributing to the work of the Southern Regional Council.

He feels, however, that I should have a very brief statement concerning the outlook for theSouthern Regional Council now that the support of the Fund for the Republic is running out. He indicates that there are some people who may be interested in making continuing contributions but who would like to be sure that the Council has in sight sufficient funds on which to operate. In short he would like to know what their program is for the years ahead, what their annual budget will amount to for the next year or two and how this budget will be aprovided. Can you furnish me a brief statement with regard to this?

It has also been suggested to me that I approach the Fleishhacker Fund and will try to do this tomorrow morning.

I might add that the work of the Southern Regional Council is well thought of by all of those with whom I have talked. Ed Howden of the Council for Civic Unity reads The New South and Harold Fleming and his wife completely sold themselves and the workof the Council to John May and his wife when they visited Atlanta about a year ago. I really believe something substantial may grow out of that meeting. I will try to learnfrom John when he expects to get the $500,000 about which he told me yesterday.

Mr. Seaton Manning of the Urban League asked whether you had approached Dr. Herman Long of Fisk University. He felt that this University might be able to help in this matter. I assured him that their late President had been a member of the S.R.C. Board.

I have not yet heard from Mr. Williams - will keep you posted.

P.L.W.

10 Feb 58
Note: WKW to request funds
to print 30,000 copies
SEC to get 15,000 of this amount.
FBR

Topknot

Linville Falls, N. C.

Feb. 8, 1958

Dear Harold:

Brother Preston in San Francisco seems to have taken on S.R.C. as though it were a paying client. From my gentle suggestion about financing the printing of my Florida talk there seems to have flowed some activity looking to funds for us. In order that you may know just what he is doing, I enclose his letters of Feb. 4 & 5 to me and copy of his letter of the 4th to Mr. Williams. You may make copies if you wish and return the enclosed to me.

May I ask that you write him direct, giving information requested in the market paragraph - a larger order which only you can fill.

I don't want to let fraternal pride become my judgment, but this boy is a thing on raising money. Confidentially, I think his conscience may trouble him a bit about my being the only member of the family who has been involved in the Civil Rights issue, and now seeks to atone for many years of apparent indifference and certain inactivity. Such zeal, though belated, is welcome.

3

Topknot

Linville Falls, N. C.

This morning, without success, I tried to call Mr. Williams to suggest to him that in proposing the number of pamphlets to be printed, he set his sights rather high, as many as he thinks the Florida Council of S.R.C. ~~may~~ might prudently distribute. The difference in cost between 5,000 & 50,000 would not be significant to the prospective donors.

The Florida office is probably closed on Saturday. You should get this Monday morning. Would it be asking too much of you to request that you phone him Monday morning, relaying my thoughts and throwing your own massive weight behind it?

Best regards.

M. A. W.

cc: to Marion Wright with following note:

Our warmest thanks. We are getting more and more impressed with those Wright brothers.

Encls. 1 Annual Report - 1957
Congressional Record Reprint
New York Times Reprint
Financial StatusSheet

VIA AIR MAIL

February 12, 1958

Mr. Preston L. Wright
58 Sutter Street
San Francisco 4, California

Dear Mr. Wright:

Marion Wright has passed on to me the welcome news of your approaches to prospective contributors on behalf of the Florida Council and the Southern Regional Council. We are deeply grateful to you, as we have had occasion to be before now.

At Marion Wright's suggestion, I am enclosing a brief statement describing SRC's current financial status and our prospects for the period immediately ahead. Also enclosed are several pieces of material which describe our recent program activities; our program in the coming months will be mainly a continuation of the functions described.

We remember the visit of John May and his wife with great pleasure. It is good to know that he left with a favorable impression of SRC and its work.

Please let me know if detailed information on any point would be helpful in interpreting the work of the Council to interested persons.

With appreciation and kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

For the year 1958 the Council has a proposed budget for all projects and programs of $207,598.00. This represents a twenty per cent increase over 1957. Of this amount the Council has on hand or committed $121,620.00, or approximately fifty-eight per cent of the proposed budget. Additional income expectable from foundations, church and labor organizations and individual contributors has been estimated at $42,900.00. The total of these categories, on hand, committed or expectable, amounts to $164,520.00. Thus, with approximately eighty per cent of the proposed budget reasonably in sight, the Council's program for this year is assured. The amount which remains to be raised, approximately $43,000.00, represents that expansion of the program which is indispensable if the Council is to do its part in meeting the critical situation in the South.

Such an analysis for the years 1959 and 1960 is not possible this early. However, it may be pointed out that for each of those years the Council now has on hand or committed an amount equivalent to approximately thirty per cent of its proposed budget for the year 1958. This, we believe, provides a stable basis on which to plan for those years.

In summary, prospective contributors may be assured that the Council is not a sinking ship; the only question is how many sails we can unfurl, and that depends on the prospective contributors themselves.

PRESTON L. WRIGHT
REAL ESTATE INVESTMENTS
58 SUTTER STREET SAN FRANCISCO 4, CALIFORNIA
YUKON 2-4671

February 14, 1958

Dear Wright:

Thank you for sending to me a copy of your mostrecent speech which is, as usual, excellent.

I could use 12 or 15 copies advantageously here and will be glad to have them mimeographed. I can get a 100 done almost as cheaply as the smaller quantity. Would you like me to have 50 or 100 done and send to you the ones I do not need. If you would like me to do this perhaps you should furnish a title.

I assume you have an additionalcopy but I can return the copy you sent me within a day or two after hearing from you as to whether or not you would like me to forward to you some mimeographed copies.

This morning I received from Harold Fleming a very nice letter to which is attached the Annual Report of Program Activities of the Southern Regional Council for 1957 and a one page statement with regard to the budget for 1958.

I note with interest your friend James M. Dabbs has been elected President.

I hope to see the Rosenberg Foundation on Monday and to re-establish contacts I formerly made with the Council for Civic Unity, Bay Area Human Relations Clearing House, American Friends Service Committee and others.

The enclosed letter has just come from Kathleen. I quite agree that she should not feel that shemust make a decision but if she is in need of a thorough physical checkup I hope she may be persuaded not to put it off too long.

We have been concerned about Preston's drives to Niagara Falls daily and about your t ips over to the cow pasture. I still think it would be a fine idea for you to get rid of those cows.

With all good wishes, I am

Your Brother,

PRESTON L. WRIGHT
REAL ESTATE INVESTMENTS

58 SUTTER STREET SAN FRANCISCO 4, CALIFORNIA
YUkon 2-4671

February 19, 1958

Dear Wright:

Clarence Johnson is just back from several days spent in Los Angeles and seems to have done some good work.

Mainly for the reason that I want the record for myself, I am listing below several people with whom Johnson talked about the work of the Southern Regional Council and with particular reference to having the Daytona Beach speech printed.

1. George Thomas, Executive Director Los Angeles County Council on Human Relations.

   Johnson tells me that Thomas will discuss the matter with Mr. Shane who is said to be a millionaire and is President of the Los Angeles County Council on Human Relations.

   I know Thomas but do not know Mr. Shane.

2. Gifford Phillips who I understand is of the Phillips Oil Co., and I believe owns a printing shop in Denver. Johnson seems to have "an in" with Phillips and hopes that he might make a contribution or volunteer to print a number of copies of the speech without charge.

3. Joe Russ, who is with the Los Angeles Human Relations Clearing House - this is the same group which Block represents in San Francisco. Mr. Russ is Jewish and represents some of the Jewish Welfare and Social Agencies.

Clarence Johnson is sto see Mr. Block tomorrow and advise me just when Mr. Block's Board will meet. I think they meet within a week at which time they should give us some word as to whether or not they will assist with the cost of printing.

I still have no word from Mr. Williams.

With best wishes -

Return
to Mr. W.

January 23, 1958

Mr. John N. Popham
Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Popham:

I have never had the pleasure of meeting you though I have known of you for a long time through Harold Fleming. You have been of inestimable value as a friend of the Southern Regional Council. For your constant support I should like to express my thanks.

Recently at Daytona Beach, Florida I delivered a talk of which a copy is herewith enclosed. I should like to have the ideas advanced in that talk receive as wide circulation as possible. Do you think that the magazine section of the Sunday New York Times might be interested in the copy as it now stands, or if it were revised to appear as an essay rather than a speech? I should much prefer not to revise it, since I am naturally lazy and since it always seems to me that I ruin anything I write by revising it.

I should like to have your views. If you think the Times would be interested I should greatly appreciate your forwarding copy to that publication; if not, kindly return the copy to me, for which purpose I enclose self-addressed, stamped envelope.

Thanking you, I am

Yours very truly,

M. A. Wright

VIA AIR MAIL

March 19, 1958

Mr. Preston L. Wright
58 Sutter Street
San Francisco 4, California

Dear Mr. Wright:

Enclosed is the original of the Clearinghouse newsletter which Marion Wright asked me to return to you. I have sent a copy of the pertinent paragraph to Bill Williams of the Florida Council.

We are both impressed by and grateful for your effective activity on behalf of our efforts in the South.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 Clearinghouse Newsletter

PRESTON L. WRIGHT
REAL ESTATE INVESTMENTS
58 SUTTER STREET - SAN FRANCISCO 4, CALIFORNIA
YUKON 2-4671

March 16, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for forwarding to me a copy of the annual report of Program Activities of the Southern Regional Council for the year 1958.

I have read it with a great deal of interest.

Sincerely yours,

Preston L. Wright

Preston L. Wright

PRESTON L. WRIGHT
REAL ESTATE INVESTMENTS

58 SUTTER STREET · SAN FRANCISCO 4, CALIFORNIA
YUKON 2-4671

March 24, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Enclosed herewith please find check of (Mrs.) Nedra H. Anargyros of 7 Cadell Place, San Francisco, California.

Will you please enter Mrs. Anargyros' name as a subscriber to the New South for a two year period. Mrs. Anargyros would like the remainder of the check to be considered a small contribution to the fine work the Council is doing.

I might add that Mrs. Anargyros is a native of Tifton, Georgia; that she is in complete sympathy with the aims of the liberal forces in the South is evidenced by this donation.

Write ltr. of thanks

Sincerely yours,

Preston L. Wright

Preston L. Wright

PLW:mm
Enc.

cc: Mrs. Nedra H. Anargyros
M. A. Wright

Ck for 10.00 received
mga
3-30-59

March 30, 1959

Mr. Preston L. Wright
58 Sutter Street
San Francisco 4, California

Dear Mr. Wright:

Our warm thanks to you for securing the contribution from Mrs. Nedra H. Anargyros. The fact that this comes from a native Georgian makes it all the more welcome. We have entered her as a subscriber to New South.

We appreciate your continued and tangible interest in the work of the Council.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. Marion A. Wright

April 1, 1959

Mrs. Nedra H. Anargyros
7 Cadell Place
San Francisco, California

Dear Mrs. Anargyros:

We are most grateful to you for your recent contribution to the Council, sent to us by Mr. Preston Wright. A subscription to New South has been entered in your name.

I was also pleased to learn from Mr. Wright that you originally hail from Tifton. If family or other ties ever bring you to Georgia on a visit, you are cordially invited to call on us.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. Preston L. Wright

Encl.1 (Official receipt)

PRESTON L. WRIGHT
REAL ESTATE INVESTMENTS
~~760 MARKET STREET . SAN FRANCISCO 3, CALIFORNIA~~
YUKON 2-4671

NEW ADDRESS
58 SUTTER STREET
SAN FRANCISCO 4

RECEIVED AUG 24 1959

August 21, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for forwarding to me the two reports covering the school situation in the South. One of these was prepared by members of your own staff and the other by two members of the Emory University Faculty.

The reports have just come and I have had opportunity only to glance at them. I know I will read them with a great deal of interest.

I occasionally see our mutual friend, John May, who always shows great interest in the work of the Southern Regional Council. I will make a point to inquire of him whether or not he has received the bequest which is to be devoted to the improvement of race relations and will advise you.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Preston L. Wright

Preston L. Wright

PLW/mj.

August 24, 1959

Mr. Preston L. Wright
58 Sutter Street
San Francisco, California

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thank you for your letter received today.

We are very pleased with the reception to date of the two reports which you thoughtfully acknowledged. The background memorandum is being widely used by the major news media in their factual and interpretative treatments of the school situation as September approaches. The private school study has also had good press treatment, South and North. We have also distributed it to school superintendents, educational associations, business men, and ministers throughout the South. The reactions so far indicate that this exposure of the unworkability of the so-called "private school plans" has struck a responsive chord.

When you see John May, please convey my best greetings to him and his wife. My last report was that the anticipated bequest for race relations has not yet been realized. I am most grateful to you for your continuing interest in and help to the Southern Regional Council.

With appreciation and best regards, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

TELEPHONE 25319

The Journal and Guide

MEMBER OF AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

Published Weekly by
THE GUIDE PUBLISHING CO. INC.
711-723 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VA.

May 11, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

In response to yours dated May 5th I enclose herewith a list of prominent persons who have manifested some interest in the Boy Scouts movement, and also a brief testimonial over my signature.

I am glad that you have taken this step. It is one of the most important things the Council could do at the present time.

I am glad to hear that you had a good Board meeting. I thought the resolutions adopted were good. We carried the press account of the action in our last week's editions, picking it up from the daily newspapers.

I hope that you will shortly be able to install a public relations officer who will furnish the Negro newspapers direct with developments that take place within the Council.

With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

P. B. YOUNG

PBY:LHL
ENCL

May 16, 1944

Mr. P. B. Young
President and Publisher
THE JOURNAL AND GUIDE
Norfolk 1, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

Thank you for sending me the list of persons interested in Scouting, and for your own excellent statement concerning the need for the expansion of the Boy Scout movement among Negro boys. I am sure that this will be very helpful.

I sent out the news story about the Board meeting to several press services, including the ANP, on Friday evening immediately after the meeting. Hereafter I will take care to send THE JOURNAL AND GUIDE our stories direct by special delivery mail. Incidentally, we are negotiating with a man for public relations work who looks promising. Dr. Reid interviewed him in New York last Friday, and I am eager to get his impressions of the man when he returns.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

TELEPHONE 25319

The Journal and Guide

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Published Weekly by
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711-723 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VA.

August 7, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I have intended before this to write and tell you how pleased I was when I read your answer in Common Ground to the articles by Mr. Redding and Miss Smith.

All of this past spring and summer I have been much handicapped by absences from the office of some of my key men, including my Business Manager. Therefore, I have been unable to keep in touch with a great many things on the outside.

I enclose herewith a check for one dollar, for which I wish you would send me as many of the re-prints of your article as this amount will cover.

With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

P. B. YOUNG

PBY:LHL
ENCL

August 10, 1944

Mr. P. B. Young
President and Publisher
The Journal and Guide
Norfolk 1, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

I am glad that you were pleased with my COMMON GROUND reply to Mr. Redding and Miss Smith. We are sending you 50 additional reprints of the article.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Separate cover

Sent by Miss Clay
8/10/44

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

TELEPHONE 25319

The Journal and Guide

MEMBER OF AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

Published Weekly by
THE GUIDE PUBLISHING CO. INC.
711-723 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VA.

November 16, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I shall be unable to attend the meeting on December 6th. At the present time I am under the care of my doctor and he has ordered me to cancel all out-of-town engagements for the next sixty days.

I regret very much that I shall not be able to attend and sincerely hope that you will have a full attendance and successful meeting.

Sincerely yours,

P. B. Young

P. B. YOUNG

PBY:LHL

November 28, 1944

Mr. P. B. Young, Sr.
President and Publisher
The Journal and Guide
Norfolk 1, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

Your letter of November 16 came just as I was preparing to leave for a week on Council business in Richmond, Washington, and Chattanooga. I am awfully sorry to hear that you are under the care of a doctor and that you will not be able to attend the meeting on December 6. Do take good care of yourself.

In Richmond I spoke to the Richmond Interracial Committee and to the students at Virginia Union. I also had good talks with Dr. Hancock, Dr. Ellison, Mr. Dabney, and Rev. Thomas Allen. I came out with the feeling of hope and encouragement.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

TELEPHONE 25319

The Journal and Guide

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Published Weekly by
THE GUIDE PUBLISHING CO. INC.
711-723 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VA.

Norfolk 1, Va

December 16, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I have a request for a copy of the Durham Statement from Mrs. R. M. VanDyke, 207 North Locust Street, New Hampton, Iowa. I hope it is convenient for you to supply her with one of the pamphlets.

Recently we have been having quite a number requests for the pamphlet. We have sent out all copies that we had here and are referring other inquiries to your office.

With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

P. B. YOUNG

PBY:LHL

December 19, 1944

Mr. P. B. Young
The Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

We have sent Mrs. R. M. VanDyke of New Hampton, Iowa a copy of SRC Pamphlet No. 1 containing the Durham Statement. We are sending you a package of 50 of these pamphlets. Please let us know when you need some more.

We certainly missed you at the Council meeting. It was a good meeting with plenty of frank discussion of the problem of strategy with respect to segregation.

Season's greetings to you and yours.

Very sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

TELEPHONE 25319

The Journal and Guide

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Published Weekly by
THE GUIDE PUBLISHING CO. INC.
711-723 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VA.

December 27, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Director
SOUTHERN REGINAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thanks for sending me the pamphlets. We are still receiving occasional requests for copies.

Sorry I could not get to the meeting. Hope to make the next one.

I wish you and yours a prosperous and happy New Year.

Sincerely yours,

P. B. YOUNG

PBY:LHL

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

TELEPHONE 25319

The Journal and Guide

MEMBER OF AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

Published Weekly by
THE GUIDE PUBLISHING CO. INC.
711-723 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VA.

December 28, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I notice in the SRC Bulletin for December 22nd that twenty-four southern cities employ Negro police. I am wondering if these cities could be listed and furnished me. I could use this information to right good advantage now, as some of Norfolk's influential white citizens have become interested in the matter of employing some Negro policemen here.

Good Check

They do not have much information on the subject although they have learned that some southern cities are employing Negro policemen. I believe the complete list would be very helpful.

I think the Bulletin as a whole is informative and interesting.

Yours sincerely,

P. B. YOUNG

PBY:LHL

January 8, 1945

Mr. P. B. Young, President and Publisher
The Journal and Guide
Norfolk 1, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

Dr. Johnson has asked that I write to you and send the list of the twenty-four Southern cities which employ Negro police. Should Norfolk institute this practice it will be the first city in Virginia, according to our records, to do so.

If there is other information we can supply, please call upon us.

Cordially yours,

(MRS. PHILIP C. JAY)

Encl.

1 list cities using Negro policemen

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

(00)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

1945 .... 9 AM 11 15

QA77

Q FHA233 10=NORFOLK VIR 9 1158A

DR GUY B JOHNSON=

ROOM 432 63 AUBURN AVE ATLA=

PLEASE SEND DATA REQUESTED IN MY LETTER DATED DEC 28=

P B YOUNG

Telegram received Jan 9.
Material mailed Jan 8.
GBJ

DEC 28

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

TELEPHONE 25319

The Journal and Guide

MEMBER OF AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

Published Weekly by
THE GUIDE PUBLISHING CO. INC.
711-723 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VA.

January 10, 1945

Mrs. Phillip C. Jay
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Jay: I have received and wish to thank you for the list of cities employing Negro policemen. We can use this to very good advantage. There does not seem to be any early prospect of Negro policemen being employed in Norfolk. It will probably be one of the postwar developments.

Thanking you again,

Yours very truly,

P. B. YOUNG

PBY:LHL

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NORFOLK 1, VA.

March 28, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive
Director, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson: I am sorry I cannot arrange to attend the conference on "The South Post-War Economy," sponsored by the Regional Council on April 11th and 12th. As you know, I shall have to be in Washington on the 10th for the annual meeting of the Howard Board. Right after that meeting I am planning to take a long deferred vacation which will carry me probably to Hot Springs, Arkansas. Having already made reservations I would not be able to go to Atlanta.

Wired "yes".

Please let me know if in lieu of my own attendance I could send one of our editors. This, of course, would be at our own expense.

Going through my editorial reference files yesterday I came across an article "The Negro and Crime," written by you and published in the annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science in September, 1941. I believe it would serve a good purpose if several thousand reprints of this article could be made and distributed under the imprint of the Southern Regional Council. I merely offer this as a suggestion. The article is the best I have seen on the subject.

With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

P. B. YOUNG

PBY:LHL

April 17, 1945

Mr. P. B. Young
Editor and Publisher
Norfolk Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

I see that I have neglected to give attention to that part of your letter of March 28 which mentioned my article entitled "The Negro and Crime" which was published in The Annals for September 1941. I was able to obtain only a limited number of reprints at the time and so the article was not widely distributed. Also I expected to complete the manuscript of my book on the Negro and crime and to get it out sometime in 1942 or 1943. However, the war and this Council job have indefinitely postponed the completion of the book. I want very much to rewrite the article and bring it up to date so that it can be used as a popular pamphlet. I shall get to this at the earliest possible time.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j

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Published Weekly by
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NORFOLK 1, VA.

June 19, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson: You will probably be interested in reading the enclosed editorials by the Times-Dispatch on the FEPC and the letter over my signature on the same subject.

You will see that there is great division of thought on this agency even among members of the Southern Regional Council.

I wish that somebody would come forward with a constructive suggestion as to what to do to slow down the unmistakable trend toward economic extermination of the Negro minority group.

I am sorry I was unable to attend the last meeting of the Executive Committee. During the past year and a half I have been under a terrific strain and have had to curtail activities outside of Norfolk. I may have to give up my connection with SRC.

With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

P. B. Young

PBY:LHL
ENCLS

The Journal and Guide

Published weekly by THE GUIDE PUBLISHING CO. Inc., Main Office, 719-723 E. Olney Road, Norfolk, Va., Telephone 25319. P. B. YOUNG, President and Publisher, Mrs. ELEANOR W. YOUNG, Treasurer.

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SATURDAY, JULY 7, 1945

Old Wine In New Bottles, Uncorked In United States Senate

THIS nation and the world have read Senator JAMES EASTLAND's terrible verbal assault upon the Negro soldiers in the present war, made in the course of a filibustering speech against the FEPC.

Few colored people were surprised at the Mississippi senator's violent outburst. He was following in the footsteps of JAMES K. VARDAMAN, one of his predecessors, and of MR. BILBO, his colleague. He was in the tradition of former Senators TILLMAN, BLEASE, and others too numerous to mention. It was old wine in a new bottle. The 40-year old Senator EASTLAND succeeded in outdoing some of his most spectacular predecessors.

Few Americans—even the most rabid southerners—will believe that the Negro soldier has been "an utter and abysmal failure" in this war, "refusing to either work or fight." MR. EASTLAND's intemperate speech could not be accepted by any reasonable person as a fair or objective appraisal of the Negro soldiers, nearly a million of whom are in the war.

As embittered as the white people are in the South today, we do not believe that Senator EASTLAND's diatribe represented the views of a majority of them. What EASTLAND said does represent the views of those in political and business control in the South, with a rare exception here and there, like Governor DARDEN and former Governor BROUGHTON of North Carolina.

It poses a delicate problem for the colored people of the South. No longer can it be said, without strong reservations, that southern white people are the Negro's best friends. True, we have some mighty good friends, who, in quiet silence, are standing by and praying for us. We hope that God is hearing their prayers. But those who are vocal—our avowed enemies—are driving the South "nearer and nearer the precipice" of uncontrolled racial violence, as MR. VIRGINIUS DABNEY would express it.

THE occasion for Senator EASTLAND's unprecedented verbal assault upon the American Negro was a filibuster against an appropriation to finance the wartime FEPC for another fiscal year. It would be of no avail to discuss here the merits of this agency. But we wish to quote a friendly newspaper, and make some comment on its conclusions. After deploring the type of speech made by MR. EASTLAND, the *Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch* said:

> We say this with no conviction that a permanent FEPC would aid materially in the South to improve the economic condition of Negroes, and in the belief that it would probably lead to sharp animosities with widely extended unfortunate results . . . We doubt whether a permanent FEPC can do it as well as the intelligence and common sense and good will of members of both races.

We are about ready to agree that a permanent FEPC would be ineffective in the South. We believe now that the South would treat it pretty much as it did the prohibition laws—ignore it. But we do believe very strongly that a permanent FEPC would be very helpful to all minority groups in other parts of the country.

WE HAD hoped that "the intelligence and the common sense and good will of members of both races" in the South could be mobilized and utilized for the purpose of working out arrangements for reducing racial tensions, bringing about understandings, and going ahead with a reasonable program satisfactory to the South—white and black. We had hoped, of course, that such a program would be fair and progressive.

Toward this end the Durham Conference was held in 1942. This conference issued a statement that

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Toward this end the Durham Conference was held in 1942. This conference issued a statement that won the approval of the southern press and pulpit. Following it there was a conference of 100-odd southern white citizens in Atlanta. This conference gave qualified endorsement to the Durham conference statement and pledged cooperation. Governor DARDEN of Virginia was one of the signers of the Atlanta statement.

Following the Atlanta conference there was a biracial conference in Richmond which, after a day's deliberations, decided to hold a meeting in Atlanta and form a permanent organization to carry out the well-intentioned program promulgated by the Durham and Atlanta conferences.

The Atlanta meeting was held and an organization was formed, known as the Southern Regional Council. By agreement, it absorbed the old Southern Commission on Interracial Cooperation, obtained a Georgia charter, and promulgated a program which was generally hailed as being workable in the South.

An effort was made to get an outstanding southern churchman to take the chairmanship of this body. But this failed, and DR. HOWARD W. ODUM of the University of North Carolina, who was one of the charter members and moving spirits, took over the chairmanship until an outstanding white southerner could be found to accept the post.

Nearly two years have passed and no outstanding white southerner—churchman, businessman, or educator—has been found who is willing to accept the chairmanship of the Southern Regional Council, although the field has been thoroughly canvassed.

Moreover, several of the white southerners who originally identified themselves with the movement have quietly withdrawn. Some of them proposed the issuance of a statement committing the Southern Regional Council to the complete and unconditional acceptance of segregation and discrimination against the Negro.

They wanted everything to remain *status quo ante* the war. They were willing to go along if the Council would officially announce that all efforts to improve matters would be undertaken "within the framework of segregation"—educational, political and economic.

The council voted a few months ago against making any such unqualified commitment, and many of the white southerners promptly withdrew.

What the white southern members wanted would have left the Negro question right where it has been since 1900. It would have confined Negroes to the "smaller areas of opportunity," as our friend, the *Ledger-Dispatch*, says. The Southern Regional Council is hanging on with a skeleton organization, without effective friends, and with a most uncertain outlook.

The history of this movement, which was proclaimed by white southern newspapers and others as being the most statesmanlike, the most reasonable, and the most likely to succeed, of any such movement ever started in the South, is living proof, regrettable enough, that it is well nigh impossible to assemble and put to work the "intelligence and common sense and goodwill of members of both races in the South," on any question affecting the Negro race.

This, however, constitutes a real challenge to the thoughtful people of the South, of both races, who wish to see their region saved from internecine strife and chaos which will mark the region in the eyes of the world as a kindred spirit of everything that characterized Germany when that country plunged the world into the most lamentable war in history.

Editorial - Norfolk Journal and Guide, July 7, 1945

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WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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FOR VICTORY BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

July 10, 1945

Mr. P. B. Young, Sr.
President and Publisher
The Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

GREATLY SHOCKED BY COMMENTS ON SRC IN JOURNAL AND GUIDE EDITORIAL JULY 7. EDITORIAL CONTAINS SEVERAL MISSTATEMENTS OF FACT. WOULD APPRECIATE PRIVILEGE OF REPLYING IN YOUR NEXT ISSUE. AIR MAIL LETTER FOLLOWS.

Guy B. Johnson

PAID

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This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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NLT = Cable Night Letter
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DR GUY B JOHNSON, DIRECTOR SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=
63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST TU ATLA=

REGRET EDITORIAL DISTURBED YOU. WILL BE GLAD TO GIVE SPACE IN NEXT ISSUE TO YOUR STATEMENT. EDITORIAL BASED UPON OBSERVATIONS AND INFORMATION CONSIDERED AUTHORITATIVE. THOUGHT WHAT WAS SAID ABOUT CHAIRMANSHIP WAS PERFECTLY APPARENT TO EVERYONE. WOULD REGRET TO ENTER INTO PROLONGED DISCUSSION OF WHYS AND WHEREFORES=
=P B YOUNG SR.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

July 11, 1945

Mr. P. B. Young, Sr.
President and Publisher
The Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

I have just read the editorial in the July 7 issue of the Journal and Guide and, as I wired you a few minutes ago, I am quite disturbed at the comments on the Southern Regional Council which appeared in the editorial. I hope that you will be so kind as to publish the enclosed reply in the next issue of the Journal and Guide.

We missed you at the Executive Committee meeting of June 27. The last two meetings of the Committee have been splendid. Our staff is growing, our membership is increasing daily. I feel better about the outlook for the Council program than I have ever felt.

I hope that your health is improved. Do take good care of yourself.

All good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ/ga
Enclosure

Copy sent to
Dr. Odum. 7/11/45
by G.B.J. with
brief note

July 11, 1945

Editor
The Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Sir:

In the July issue of the Journal and Guide, you published a lengthy editorial under the title "Old Wine In New Bottles Enacted in United States Senate." The first half of this editorial was a reasonable and praiseworthy criticism of the disgraceful behavior of certain Congressmen with respect to the FEPC and of Senator Rankin's intemperate remarks upon the record of Negro soldiers in the present war. The second half of the editorial, however, plunged into a discussion of the Southern Regional Council, and contained several serious misstatements of facts that I can not allow to pass without protest. In the interest of accuracy, I am asking that you publish this reply.

(1) You intimate that absolutely no outstanding white Southerner other than Dr. Howard W. Odum could be found who was willing to accept the presidency of the Southern Regional Council. As a matter of fact, the presidency has been offered to only two other men. Both are members and staunch supporters of the Council, but both were carrying tremendous burdens already and honestly felt that they could not assume the responsibilities of the presidency. After all, the Council has been in operation only a year and a half. The president is elected at the annual meeting. So far there has been only one annual meeting in addition to the charter meeting.

We would have to look a long, long time to find a more outstanding and devoted president than Dr. Howard W. Odum. If he has expressed a desire to turn over the presidency to someone else, it is only because, with characteristic modesty, he feels that someone outside of the academic ranks would command a larger popular following.

(2) You state that some of the white Council members "proposed the issuance of a statement committing the Southern Regional Council to the complete and unconditional acceptance of segregation and discrimination against the Negro." The resolution to which you refer read as follows: "Legal racial segregation exists in the South. We recognize this fact. We shall center our efforts on gaining equal facilities as provided by law and equal opportunities for all people of the South." It was introduced by Mr. Gustav Wadley, prominent Negro leader and publisher of the Memphis Informer. Mr. Wadley explained that of course everyone knew that he was personally opposed to segregation, but he felt that the Council would not get anywhere if the public got the impression that it was out to abolish segregation. He therefore offered the resolution as a

strategic measure only. Incidentally, support for the Bailey resolution came from members of both races. A counter-resolution condemning segregation was offered by another member. The discussion was lively but dignified, and the upshot was that both resolutions were tabled.

(3) You state that after the Council declined to make an unqualified statement accepting segregation, "many of the white southerners promptly withdrew." Would you like to know how many resignations we have had since the Council began? Just four, and only two of these can be attributed to the refusal of the Council to adopt the segregation resolution.

(4) You say that "the Southern Regional Council is hanging on with a skeleton organization, without effective friends, and with a most uncertain outlook." That is a very erroneous statement. After diligent searching and many disappointments, we have in the past six months built up a sizeable staff. We have ten full-time employees -- six professional and four clerical -- and several part-time or temporary workers. You will be interested to know that Dr. George S. Mitchell, formerly Southeastern Director of FAS, has recently joined our staff to develop a program looking toward the protection of the rights of Negro veterans in the administration of the GI Bill. As you no doubt know, our staff is bi-racial. As for our membership, it has more than doubled in the past six months, and it now stands at nearly 1000.

So much for the correction of these factual items. I am sure that your editorial was meant in a sympathetic spirit. You were pointing out the tremendous difficulties which confront an organization such as ours. I quite agree that we are up against a very critical situation and I am sorry to say that many Southerners who should be with us have not yet given us the support which we had hoped for. We are a bit disillusioned, but we are not in the least downhearted. We have many "effective friends," and we expect to have many more. We have a competent staff, and we are going forward with the Council's constructive program. It takes time to build an effective organization, but we are well on the way. We have only begun to fight, and we are not ready to admit that "it is well nigh impossible to assemble and put to work the intelligence and common sense and good will of members of both races in the South."

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

TELEPHONE 25319

The Journal and Guide

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July 13, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE, Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson: We are publishing your statement in reply to the Journal and Guide editorial in our issue dated July 21st.

I hasten to say that nothing that was said in that editorial was intended to convey the impression that Dr. Odum is not an outstanding Southerner. I was trying to say that no one other than Dr. Odum had shown a willingness to take over the chairmanship. It was my understanding that Dr. Odum felt all along that an influential churchman or business man should head the Council.

I knew about the resolution introduced by Mr. Carter Wesley but I did not have reference to that in what was said about the proposal to commit the Council to unconditional acceptance of segregation. I had in mind statements made to me privately by white members of the Council and the letter of resignation filed by Mr. Bridges.

In speaking of some having withdrawn I did not have reference to those who had gone to the trouble to formally file resignations. I know of some who had just dropped out.

I did not mean to disparage the present setup by the use of the term "skeleton organization." I should have amplified this by saying that while the Council has a highly efficient office organization and direction it had failed to penetrate the various southern states with working subsiduaries.

I am very glad to know that Dr. George S. Mitchell is joining the staff. He is really a very strong man.

You are aware, of course, that this editorial was written because of a counter proposal for doing the things

that FEPC is supposed to do. This envisaged putting to work the intelligence, common sense and good-will of both races in the South, something which I tried to show was very difficult to do.

With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

P. B. YOUNG

PBY:LHL

Southern Regional Council

Journal & Guide
7-21-45

WHEN we pointed out (in our issue of July 7th) that the Southern Regional Council is a good example of how difficult it has been to mobilize and utilize "the intelligence and common sense and good will of members of both races in the South" in matters of better race relations we seem to have started a "family row." This we regret, because it would give us as much distress as it could possibly give anyone, if the efforts put forth by those responsible for the SRC resulted in failure.

On the opposite page this week DR. GUY B. JOHNSON, the able and universally admired director of the council, makes reply to our editorial. We are glad to give space to his statement because it makes a picture that is far more optimistic than the picture that this writer has been able to draw from association with the council.

DR. JOHNSON says that there were certain "misstatements of facts" in our editorial. Narrowing it down to strictly formal actions, and leaving out of consideration debates, discussions, conversations, and consultations, there is some basis for DR. JOHNSON's contentions.

We do not wish to prove that DR. JOHNSON is wrong. We would rather concede that we were too pessimistic in presenting the case as we have seen it. But, to show that there are two sides to this question we will quote a few sentences from a letter we received from a white member of the council after that member had read the July 7 editorial. There are good reasons why we cannot reveal the name of this member:

> The council is not going to be openly aggressive; it is not going to blaze any new trails; it is not going to walk down the new trails already blazed. It is going to be cautious if not downright timid . . . .
>
> You who went into the new organization with such enthusiasm and hope were not on the inside as far as the currents of opinion among the white persons at the Atlanta Conference which acted upon the Durham statement were concerned . . . . I felt then, and still do, that the hopes of the Negroes who made the Durham statement were going to be dashed.
>
> The men who took the lead in the Atlanta Conference did not want an organization. They were willing, even eager, to work on the problems which the Durham conference presented, but through their own organizations.

Journal & Guide
July 21, 1945

VOICE OF THE

Southern Regional Council--A Statement By Director Johnson

Editor, The Journal and Guide:

In the July 7th issue of the **Journal and Guide**, you published a lengthy editorial under the title "Old Wine in New Bottles Uncorked in United States Senate." The first half of this editorial was a reasonable and praiseworthy criticism of the disgraceful behavior of certain Congressmen with respect to the FEPC and of Senator Eastland's intemperate remarks upon the record of Negro soldiers in the present war. The second half of the editorial, however, plunged into a discussion of the Southern Regional Council, and contained several serious misstatements of facts that I can not allow to pass without protest. In the interest of accuracy, I am asking that you publish this reply.

(1) You intimate that absolutely no outstanding white Southerner other than Dr. Howard W. Odum could be found who was willing to accept the presidency of the Southern Regional Council. As a matter of fact, the presidency has been offered to only two other men. Both are members and staunch supporters of the Council, but both were carrying tremendous burdens already and honestly felt that they could not assume the responsibilities of the presidency. After all, the Council has been in operation only a year and a half. The president is elected at the annual meeting. So far there has been only one annual meeting in addition to the charter meeting.

We would have to look a long, long time to find a more outstanding and devoted president than Dr. Howard W. Odum. If he has expressed a desire to turn over the presidency to someone else, it is only because, with characteristic modesty, he feels that someone outside of the academic ranks would command a larger popular following.

(2) You state that some of the white Council members "proposed the issuance of a statement committing the Southern Regional Council to the complete and unconditional acceptance of segregation and discrimination against the Negro." The resolution to which you refer read as follows: "Legal racial segregation exists in the South. We recognize this fact. We shall center our efforts on gaining

blonde tone on solid spruce. Four slip-seat chairs with tapestry-like covers.

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We would have to look a long, long time to find a more outstanding and devoted president than Dr. Howard W. Odum. If he has expressed a desire to turn over the presidency to someone else, it is only because, with characteristic modesty, he feels that someone outside of the academic ranks would command a larger popular following.

(2) You state that some of the white Council members "proposed the issuance of a statement committing the Southern Regional Council to the complete and unconditional acceptance of segregation and discrimination against the Negro." The resolution to which you refer read as follows: "Legal racial segregation exists in the South. We recognize this fact. We shall center our efforts on gaining equal facilities as provided by law and equal opportunities for all people of the South." It was introduced by Mr. Carter Wesley, prominent Negro leader and publisher of the **Houston Informer.** Mr. Wesley explained that of course everyone knew that he was personally opposed to segregation, but he felt that the Council would not get anywhere if the public got the impression that it was out to abolish segregation. He therefore offered the resolution as a strategic measure only. Incidentally, support for the Wesley resolution came from members of both races. A counter-resolution condemning segregation was offered by another member. The discussion was lively but dignified, and the upshot was that both resolutions were tabled.

(3) You state that after the Council declined to make an unqualified statement accepting segregation, "many of the white southerners promptly withdrew." Would you like to know how many resignations we have had since the Council began? Just four, and only two of these can be attributed to the refusal of the Council to adopt the segregation resolution.

(4) You say that "the Southern Regional Council is hanging on with a skeleton organization, without effective friends, and with a most uncertain outlook." That is a very erroneous statement. After diligent searching and many disappointments, we have in the past six months built up a sizeable staff. We have ten full-time employees—six professional and four clerical—and several part-time or temporary workers. You will be interested to know that Dr. George S. Mitchell, formerly Southeastern Director of PAC, has recently joined our staff to develop a program looking toward the protection of the rights of Negro veterans in the administration of the GI Bill. As you no doubt know, our staff is bi-racial. As for our membership, it has more than doubled in the past six months, and it now stands at nearly 1000.

So much for the correction of these factual items. I am sure that your editorial was meant in a sympathetic spirit. You were pointing out the tremendous difficulties which confront an organization such as ours. I quite agree that we are up against a very critical situation and I am sorry to say that many Southerners who should be with us have not yet given us the support which we had hoped for. We are a bit disillusioned, but we are not in the least downhearted. We have many "effective friends," and we expect to have many more. We have a competent staff, and we are going forward with the Council's constructive program. It takes time to build an effective organization, but we are well on the way. We have only begun to fight, and we are not ready to admit that "it is well nigh impossible to assemble and put to work the intelligence and common sense and good will of members of both races in the South."

—GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

Atlanta, Ga.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
Editorial - The Journal and Guide
July 21, 1945

When we pointed out (in our issue of July 7th) that the Southern Regional Council is a good example of how difficult it has been to mobilize and utilize "the intelligence and common sense and good will of members of both races in the South" in matters of better race relations we seem to have started a "family row." This we regret, because it would give us as much distress as it could possibly give anyone, if the efforts put forth by those responsible for the SRC resulted in failure.

On the opposite page this week DR. GUY B. JOHNSON, the able and universally admired director of the council, makes reply to our editorial. We are glad to give space to his statement because it makes a picture that is far more optimistic than the picture that this writer has been able to draw from association with the council.

DR. JOHNSON says that there were certain "misstatements of facts" in our editorial. Narrowing it down to strictly formal actions, and leaving out of consideration debates, discussions, conversations, and consultations, there is some basis for DR. JOHNSON's contentions.

We do not wish to prove that DR. JOHNSON is wrong. We would rather concede that we were too pessimistic in presenting the case as we have seen it. But, to show that there are two sides to this question we will quote a few sentences from a letter we received from a white member of the council after that member had read the July 7 editorial. There are good reasons why we cannot reveal the name of this member:

> "The Council is not going to be openly aggressive; it is not going to blaze any new trails; it is not going to walk down the new trails already blazed. It is going to be cautious if not downright timid . . . .
>
> You who went into the new organization with such enthusiasm and hope were not on the inside as far as the currents of opinion among the white persons at the Atlanta Conference which acted upon the Durham statement were concerned .... I felt then, and still do, that the hopes of the Negroes who made the Durham statement were going to be dashed.
>
> The men who took the lead in the Atlanta Conference did not want an organization. They were willing, even eager, to work on the problems which the Durham conference presented, but through their own organizations."

July 27, 1945

Mr. P. B. Young, Sr.
President and Publisher
Norfolk Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

Thank you for publishing my statement in the Journal and Guide for July 21. I have read your further editorial comment in the same issue with much interest.

Incidentally, the letter which you quoted in your editorial has a very familiar ring. I need only one guess as to who wrote it. She professes great concern over the welfare of the Council, but has carried on a campaign of defeatism and obstruction ever since the Council began.

I certainly would not want to continue the discussion in a public way, but I want to urge you to attend the next meeting of the Executive Committee, August 22, and lay before the Committee whatever suggestions and criticisms you would like to make for the good of the Council.

With highest regards,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

TELEPHONE 25319

The Journal and Guide

MEMBER OF AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

Published Weekly by
THE GUIDE PUBLISHING CO. INC.
711-723 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VA.

August 7, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive
Director, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson: My father, Mr. P. B. Young, Sr., is out of the office for about a month on orders of his physician. I know he would want you to have an immediate reply to your letter of July 27th, and I am sure also that he will be disappointed at not being able to attend the Executive Committee meeting on August 22nd.

As you may know, his health hasn't been too good recently and it is necessary that he remain away from all business details and business activities for the next four or five weeks. But your letter will be brought to his attention just as soon as he returns to the office.

Very truly yours,

Thomas W. Young

THOMAS W. YOUNG

TWY:LHL

August 14, 1945

Mr. Thomas W. Young
711-723 East Olney Road
Norfolk 1, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

Thank you for your letter of August 7th. I have been out of the office for a week and have not had an opportunity to reply earlier.

I am terribly sorry to hear that your father's condition is worse rather than better. Please convey to him our highest regards and our regret that he will not be able to attend the Executive Committee meeting next week.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director.

GBJ:IBT

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A. N. WILLIAMS, PRESIDENT
NEWCOMB CARLTON, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
J. C. WILLEVER, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

WANT A REPLY?
"Answer by WESTERN UNION" or similar phrases may be included without charge.

SEPTEMBER 8, 1945 12:10 P.M.

JG PAID WUX NORFOLK, VA CHG JOURNAL AND GUIDE

DR GUY B JOHNSON
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 AUBURN AVENUE, NE, ROOM 432
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

CONFIRMATION

MR YOUNG UNABLE TO ATTEND MEETING. LETTER FOLLOWING.

L. H. LEGRAND, SECRETARY

SENDER _____ APPROVED: _____

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

TELEPHONE 25319

The Journal and Guide

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September 8, 1945

RECEIVED
SEP 11 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE, Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson: Confirming the telegram sent earlier today, copy of which is enclosed, I regret to say that Mr. Young will not be able to attend the meeting on the 18th. He has just returned to the city following treatment in New York and has not returned to his desk yet.

I am sure he would appreciate a report on the proceedings.

Very truly yours,

William N. McDonald

Secretary to Mr. Young

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

TELEPHONE 25319

The Journal and Guide

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October 3, 1945

RECEIVED
OCT 5 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive
Director, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson: This is the first opportunity I have had to write you since my return from a hospital in New York. I am slowly recuperating from a couple of operations and it appears that I shall be only half-way active for the next month or two. I am sorry I was not able to attend the last meeting and I hardly think I will get to the Howard Board meeting, but I hope very much that you will attend.

Mr. Wesley informs me that the two Journal and Guide editorials and your statement were printed and circulated. I should be grateful if you would send me a copy.

When I wrote the editorials I did not have the feeling that they would create such a stir. I had no intention of placing myself in a position of antagonizing the SRC. I merely wanted to make some constructive criticisms but it seems that I was inept in doing so. My criticisms were not directed directly to the SRC but to the general Southern situation—particularly to the refusal of the more responsible Southerners* to cooperate with the colored people in matters of race relations.

A few days ago I was surprised to read in one of our local newspapers that Mrs. Havens had been to Norfolk and had held a meeting here. The article stated that a local colored woman had been called upon to give the background and history of the SRC. I thought that even though this was a woman's meeting I might have been called upon to assist in making Mrs. Havens' visit here interesting and successful. This omission may be due entirely to local people and not to Mrs. Havens.

Sincerely yours,

P. B. YOUNG

PBY:LHL

* the business and political leaders

October 5, 1945

Mr. P. B. Young
The Journal and Guide
711-723 East Olney Road
Norfolk 1, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

It is good to hear from you and to learn that you are gradually recuperating from your operations. I am sorry that you will probably not be able to attend the October meeting of the Howard University Board of Trustees. As far as I can see now, I expect to attend the meeting.

Mr. Wesley was in error about our printing and circulating our exchange of statements from The Journal and Guide. Some of the members of the Executive Committee had heard of the statements, but had not seen them, and so we sent typed copies to the members of the Executive Committee. I knew that our disagreement was really of a very minor nature and that there was no point in circulating the material to all members of the Council.

The Norfolk Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation came to our attention last month. I think it is a relatively new organization. Mrs. Havens was invited to speak to their meeting on September 28. She was not in charge of the meeting but went as a guest speaker. Even though this is a women's organization, I think that it should avail itself of your advice and assistance as a member and officer of the Southern Regional Council.

I hope that the postponing of our annual meeting from October 10 to November 14 will enable you to attend the meeting. It will be good to see you again.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

TELEPHONE 25319

The Journal and Guide

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November 30, 1945

RECEIVED
DEC 3 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE, Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson: Please pardon this belated acknowledgment of yours dated the 20th. I shall be glad to continue as a vice-president of the Council and I sincerely hope that my health will show such improvement in the very near future that I can attend an early meeting of the Executive Committee of the Board. It just happens that I am convalescing rather slowly from the somewhat tedious double operation I had in New York.

Also I have been very much bothered about getting away from the city lately because of the continued critical illness of Mrs. Young. Unfortunately there isn't much hope for improvement in her case.

I am hopeful that Mr. Williams will make a good president. I happen to know him and it is my impression that he has lots of enthusiasm and energy, and I believe being president of the Council is the sort of thing he would like. I hope that his being a Catholic will not run the Protestants away.

Enclosed herewith is an editorial page tear sheet showing an editorial which we carried on the Council this week.

With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

P. B. YOUNG

PBY:LHL
ENCL

December 3, 1945

Mr. P. B. Young
The Journal and Guide
711-723 East Olney Road
Norfolk 1, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

Thank you for your good letter of November 30 and for the splendid editorial about SRC in your December 1 issue.

Our new president, Mr. Paul D. Williams, seems to be taking hold in a vigorous way. He is going to pay us a visit soon in order to become acquainted at first hand with the operations of the Council's staff.

I am glad that your health is improving, but I am grieved to hear of Mrs. Young's continued critical illness. We join with you in hopes and prayers for her recovery.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1206

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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

January 23, 1946

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Mrs. P. B. Young died yesterday. Funeral Friday Grace Episcopal Church Norfolk.

Guy B. Johnson

Chg - Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Charge to the account of _____ $ _____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
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NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1206

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ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

January 23, 1946

Mr. P. B. Young, Sr.
723 Chapel Street
Norfolk, Virginia

Entire Council staff joins me in extending deepest sympathy to you and yours. Our prayers and best wishes are with you.

Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

Chg - Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue. N.E.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

(44)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

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ATLANTA

DR GUY B JOHNSON, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=

WESLEY MEMORIAL CHURCH ATLA=

MRS P B YOUNG SR DIED YESTERDAY FUNERAL TWO OCLOCK FRIDAY (

GRACE EPISCOPAL CHURCH NORFOLK VIRGINIA=

MORDEACAI W JOHNSON.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

TELEPHONE 25319

The Journal and Guide

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February 19, 1946

RECEIVED
FEB 21 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Dr. Johnson: I have to be in Washington on the night of March 1st for the Wendell Willkie Press Awards and it would be a little hard for me to attend the meeting of the Executive Committee on February 27th and also make the Washington meeting at which I am scheduled to make an address. I hope to be able to attend the next meeting however. I am going to do my very best to do so.

With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

P. B. YOUNG

PBY:LHL

February 21, 1946

Mr. P. B. Young
The Journal and Guide
711-723 East Olney Road
Norfolk 1, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

Thank you for your letter of February 19. We shall certainly miss you at the Executive Committee meeting next week.

I am delighted that you are making an address on the occasion of the Wendell Willkie Press Awards in Washington on March 1.

Very best wishes from all of us here.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

THE NEGRO PRESS IN A CHANGING WORLD

An Address*

by

P. B. YOUNG, Sr.

President and Publisher
The Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Va.

On occasion of the presentation of Wendell L. Willkie Awards for Distinguished Writing by Negro Journalists, Washington, D. C., March 1st, 1946

*Certain paragraphs of this address in parenthesis were omitted at time of delivery in order to conform to radio time at command of program committee.

THE NEGRO PRESS IN A CHANGING WORLD

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

On behalf of my colleagues I wish to thank Mrs. Meyer and her associates on the committee for their interest and for carrying forward in this magnificent way the ideals of our late lamented friend, Mr. Wendell L. Willkie.

As a tribute to the memory of that great American may I also express the gratitude of the Negro Press of the United States for the added recognition implied in these awards.

Our lamented friend envisioned a free world, and he wanted America to lead in the cause of freedom. He believed that a free America was essential to a free world, and he believed with deep sincerity that America could not be truly free unless all of her people were free.

In his private life and public acts he exemplified the high ideals which he so ably espoused.

This occasion focuses public attention on *The Negro Press.* It underlines our efforts in the United States to serve a high purpose in the field of journalism, to establish and maintain harmonious race relations, to deal constructively with a great human question, which our people—at least a majority of our people—are trying to resolve in a spirit of justice.

I have chosen, therefore, to discuss the topic, *The Negro Press in a Changing World.*

In order that you who are not so familiar with the origin, the background and present status of the Negro Press may be able to view it in the proper perspective, let me review briefly these essential details.

ONE HUNDRED NINETEENTH ANNIVERSARY

This week the Negro Press of the United States is celebrating its 119th anniversary. That may seem singular to those who recall that the institution of legal slavery was abolished 81 years ago. With a few exceptions we have been in the habit of viewing the social evolution of Negroes in America in terms of what has happened since emancipation.

But years before this historic change occurred people outside of the region in which slavery was legalized were indulging in the good old American custom of striving to make this Nation free as a whole. Thus, in 1827 there was established in New York City a small paper which bore the significant title of *Freedom's Journal.* It was the first newspaper dedicated to the Abolitionist cause and antedated Garrison's *Liberator* by four years. *Freedom's Journal* was an organ of protest.

GROWTH OF PRESS

From that small beginning the Negro Press has grown to considerable dimensions. There are now more than 200 standard weeklies, ranging in circulation from a few thousand in some cases, to a quarter million in at least two others, with a substantial group able to show through the *Audit Bureau of Circulations* subscribers or regular buyers in numbers ranging from 10,000 to 150,000. There is a standard daily, published in a southern city, that has circulation close to 25,000. Six or seven of the weeklies publish from four to a dozen separate editions for different geographical locations and their operations approximate those of a daily newspaper. There are more than 20 religious periodicals, weeklies and monthlies, some of which are national in circulation. We have a dozen or more journals devoted to education, one of which is recognized as an *authority* on education in the United States. It compares in size, content and circulation with the leading educational journals in Amer-

ica. There are about 20 trade publications, representing different phases of labor, industry and business. We have a large group of magazines, some of which are organs of organizations with nationwide memberships, and their circulations run into large figures. At least one of these magazines of general character has a circulation of more than 100,000. We have a Journal of Negro History, devoted chiefly to historical research, and this is also recognized as an authority in its field. There is a medical journal which has a national circulation, and this is recognized as an authority in its field.

AS MEDIUM OF EDUCATION

As has been pointed out the Negro Press is diversified, covering nearly all phases of human activity. Estimating the circulation of the entire Negro Press on the basis of four readers to the literate family it is safe to say that 8,000,000 Negroes read these publications weekly. That furnishes an idea of the possibilities of this agency as an educational medium.

The standard Negro news-weekly is ahead of the average weekly newspaper in the United States in size, content and circulation, because of the necessity of filling that void occasioned by the policy of numerous members of the other segment of the American press of ignoring anything except crime news relating to Negroes. Thus, to the editorial and news pages of our papers, have been added the magazine page, the page of special commentators, the roving editor, the picture page in addition to profuse illustrations of news activities, the foreign correspondent, the war correspondent, and other features.

I should say here in all fairness that one of the most significant advances in social action made in the United States during the past two decades is the improvement clear-

ly apparent in the writing of editorial opinion and in the handling of news relating to Negroes by the white press.

While this advance has been general throughout the United States, it has been especially noticeable in the southern region.

That includes the nation's capital. Washington is our largest, and architecturally, our most beautiful *Southern* city.

In some cases, especially in the South, the new attitude of the newspaper has been so far ahead of the thinking of their constituents that they have been compelled to make a strategic retreat.

The situation as a whole is highly complimentary to the white press, and we are glad to acknowledge it and to express our thanks.

INFLUENCE ON OTHER AMERICANS

Who, you may inquire, besides Negroes, reads the Negro Press, and what influence does it exert upon race relations, or upon the thinking of other people, upon legislation, or upon the whole American way of life?

It is difficult to answer that question except to say that almost every Negro newspaper of merit has a substantial list of white subscribers, and this includes many college, university and public libraries. Occasional studies have shown that even in the South white people buy our newspapers and magazines in considerable quantities from the newsstands.

Occasionally we receive from white readers letters of approval, just as we frequently receive letters of disapproval. We have this experience also with our own people. Some of our papers are anathema to colored readers because of what

is considered radicalism or sensationalism, and others are anathema because of what is considered conservatism.

The War increased racial tensions in the United States. This fact revealed that a great many white people were reading the Negro Press, some out of interest in the content, some out of curiosity, and others out of concern for possible trouble because of the candor with which our press was dealing with discriminatory practices which were excluding Negroes from participation in the war effort, except the draft for military duty.

LOYALTY UNDIMINISHED

In the early stages of the war it was discovered that one of the most assidious patrons of the Negro Press was the FBI. It was a rare day that one of our papers did not receive a new subscription or a visit from the FBI. The education of this agency in the techniques of legal protest against injustices heaped upon an American minority solely on account of color must have been extensive and unprecedented. The fact that years of watching and distilling of every line, every word printed in the Negro Press that could by any process of reasoning have been classified as treasonable brought not one single arrest, nor one single act of suppression, constituted irrefutable proof of the undiminished patriotism of the American Negro at a time when efforts to sabotage our war effort were quite general in other circles.

(During this period our press was both censured and praised.)

(Racial tensions, which were largely due to vicious rumors secretly conceived and circulated among white citizens, purporting to show that Negroes had all sorts of plans for violent actions of different sorts, were attributed to the Negro Press.)

NO FOUNDATION FOR RUMORS

(But a thoughtful southerner, Dr. Howard W. Odum, of the University of North Carolina, a social scientist of international fame, decided to apply the test of truth to the racial tensions and their origins. Accordingly he employed a corps of social scientists and sent them forth throughout the South to find out something about these rumors and the resulting racial tensions. After months of study Dr. Odum's investigators were able to submit evidence sufficient to make a book of 245 pages, which proved beyond the shadow of doubt that not a single one of these rumors was of Negro origin; that Negroes knew practically nothing at all about their origin, and that the only agency in the South that had, up to that time, tried to do anything about them was a group of Negro leaders from 11 southern states that had met in the fall of 1942 and resolved to invite white southern leaders to join with them in doing something to find the cause and ease the tensions. A Negro publisher was chairman of this group.)

A CRITIC RECANTS

(In 1943 a widely read and very influential columnist wrote a terrific indictment of the whole Negro Press. He did not exclude anybody. In his estimation the whole structure was subversive and rotten to the core. He admitted having read two of the more than 200 of our papers. But he seriously indicted the whole group.)

(Later on, this gentleman, who had spread the virus of his appraisal of our press through the columns of newspapers with many millions of readers, had occasion to meet a fatherless and friendless southern Negro boy of 18 years, who had made his way to New York in an effort to join the U. S. armed forces as a volunteer, and after talking with this youth the influential commentator who had found nothing

in the Negro Press to commend, recanted, in the following words:

"Although my recent venture with the Negro Press has subjected me to some spiritual violence, I am glad I provoked the subject, because the experience has made me realize what awful conditions our indifference has put upon these fellow Americans.

"The injustice to the Negro people of the United States is more a matter of superstition than of conscious cruelty on the part of white men. They live among us, but we do not know them. Except when they erupt and riots result, we ignore their existence. We accept foreigners from Europe and organize leagues to protect their rights. We welcome them into all our residential districts with no more restraint than snobbery, and all our professions and trades are open to them. But the Negro, who has been among us and who fights for the United States when war is up is told to stand aside because he is a Negro.

"If I were a Negro I would live in constant fury and probably would batter myself to death against the bars enclosing my condition. I would not be a sub-American and a sub-human being, and, in docile patience, forever yield my rightful aspirations to be a man; to work, to progress, and to move out of the slums; yield even to strangers come from other countries, including even strangers who had fought me in the wars.")

(Negro editors do not "live in a state of constant fury," nor have any of them "battered themselves to death against the bars enclosing them." Neither have they advised their readers to do these things. They will continue to follow a course dictated by comon sense, tolerence, patience, and faith in the ultimate intelligence and sense of justice residing in the American people.)

NO CLAIMS TO PERFECTION

We make no claims to perfection. The Negro Press is made up of human beings, whose emotional reactions are similar to those of people whose skins are of different pigmentation. Among us are Republicans, Democrats, Protestants and Catholics, conservatives and radicals. Different members of our press hold different views on methods and techniques for extricating the race from the network of discriminatory devices designed to keep us in a permanent status of second-class citizenship. But there is no difference of opinion on the part of any of the members of the Negro Press as to the necessity for rising above second-class citizenship, and the determination to do so.

THE MAIN TASK NOW

The main task of the Negro Press in this changing world is to disseminate the truth as to the status of race relations in America; as to the extent that democracy includes, or touches, America's minority groups; to point out the injustices in the administration of law, and to decry all efforts to perpetuate a system in America under which our minorities are denied equality of opportunity in the lawful pursuit of life, liberty and happiness.

There is a woeful lack of information in this country concerning Negroes. To millions and millions of Americans the sources of information are closed—voluntarily in some cases—involuntarily in others. But they are closed. And the information that is permitted to get out is distorted, diluted and often misleading.

In the United States Senate not long ago, a Senator of one of the more enlightened southern states made the statement that "the South makes the same provisions per capita for the improvement of Negroes that are made for the improvement of white people." Then he asked the Senate, and the world, in apparent earnestness, "why change this?" This Senator is an intelligent, experienced man, and must have known that his statement was erroneous and misleading. But millions of American people read, and believed that what this southern statesman said was true. No other Senator in the august body refuted what he said. We have seen in no American newspaper, other than Negro newspapers, any refutation of what he said. But it is in the record for all Americans and for all the world to see and to believe that in the South there is no discrimination against Negroes in matters of education, health, housing, employment and other fundamental necessities of life.

The fact is that in the Senator's own state the per capita expenditure for the education of children in the public

schools is $38.77 per white child and $11.67 per colored child. And in this Senator's state the conditions are much better than they are in some other states. Is not there a place for the Negro Press?

RACE PROBLEMS WORLD WIDE

In this changing world in which the moral responsibility of one people to another, and of one Nation to another, has been made vastly more acute by scientific advances in communication, by nearness and interdependence, and the very development of scientific means of making war totally disastrous, the nations of the world are re-examining their governmental and national policies on questions that flow from differences of race, color, and creed.

There are no longer any purely local questions of this kind. The problems of the 13,000,000 Negroes in America are linked with those of the 150,000,000 African natives, and with those of the peoples of India and China. Likewise, the political, economic and social problems of England and France and Russia are linked closely with those of America. We have come face to face with the prophetic vision of the late Wendell Willkie.

A CREDO

For the future a large segment of the Negro Press in the United States has accepted as its guide a *Credo* which happened to have been written by the editor of the paper which I publish. I close my remarks by reading this *Credo:*

"I SHALL BE A CRUSADER. . .

"I SHALL BE AN ADVOCATE. . .

"I SHALL BE A HERALD. . .

"I SHALL BE A MIRROR AND A RECORD. . .

"I SHALL CRUSADE for all things that are right and just and I will, with equal fervor, expose and condemn all

things that are unjust. I shall be a CRUSADER but will not permit my fervor nor the rightness of my cause to provoke abandonment of the cardinals of journalism, accuracy, fairness, and objectivity.

"I shall be an ADVOCATE of the full practice of the principles implicit in 'Life, Liberty, and Justice For All.' I shall be an ADVOCATE for these human and civil rights on behalf of those to whom they are denied, and I shall turn the pitiless light of publicity upon all men who would deny these rights to others. I shall ADVOCATE for my country, my state, my city, and my race, but I shall ever be on guard that I will not forget the greatest good for the greatest number while seeking any deserved benefits for those small segments who are disadvantaged by denials of them.

"I shall be a HERALD, a bearer of good news, whenever I may, but of all news, whether it be good or bad, if its heralding is in the public interest. I shall HERALD these tidings, good and bad, in the faith that the people are free only if the truth is known by them. I shall HERALD those things that others would suppress out of bias or for any and all other reasons.

"I shall be a MIRROR AND A RECORD—A MIRROR of our existence as it is and a RECORD of our strivings to better that lot. I cannot deny or overlook my people's vices and shortcomings. Neither will I permit their virtues and good attributes to be hidden or denied.

" I shall have integrity and I will not be bought. I shall be beholden to no man or class, because I am the voice of all my people.

"I will knowingly print nothing with malice nor permit

the exploitation of my columns by self-seekers and narrow special interests.

"I shall mold public opinion in the interest of all things constructive. I shall seem impatient at times. I will be abused and misunderstood, but I shall try always to be right and ignore the abuse, knowing that the wages of advocates and prophets ever have been, in the beginning, abuse and misunderstanding.

"I shall be a crusader and an advocate, a mirror and a record, a herald and a spotlight, and I shall not falter.

"SO HELP ME GOD."

March 12, 1946

Mr. P. B. Young
711 East Olney Road
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

For some time I have planned to write you, but have had my hands full with travel and with the projects in which SRC is interested.

Mr. Paul Williams was here a few days ago and suggested that I stop by there on my next trip to that region, which I hope will be soon. I suggested that I meet him with you at Norfolk.

I trust that the opportunity will come soon for me to travel in that direction.

With kindest good wishes, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:jm

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

TELEPHONE 25319

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MEMBER OF AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

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NORFOLK 1, VA.

March 20, 1946

Mr. Harold L. Trigg
Associiate Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE, Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Trigg: This acknowldges your letter of March 12th addressed to Mr. P. B. Young, who is out of the city at the present and will not return for another week or ten days. Mr. Young will reply to your letter immediately upon his return.

Very truly yours,

Secretary to Mr. Young

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

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March 21, 1946

Dr. H. L. Trigg
Associate Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Ave., NE, Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Trigg: I thought you would be interested in the historical phases of the Negro press covered in the attached copy of an address delivered March 1st on the occasion of the presentation of the Wendell Willkie awards to three Negro journalists for good writing during the past year.

With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

P. B. Young, Sr.

P. B. YOUNG, SR.

PBY:LHL
ENCL

March 25, 1946

Mr. P. B. Young, Sr.
Editor, Journal and Guide
711 East Olney Road
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

I am very grateful to you for the copy of your address on the occasion of the presentation of the Wendell Wilkie awards. It is a pointed and convincing statement, and should be read by all of the millions of people who read Negro papers.

I am to speak to the interracial section of the Virginia Council of Churches on April 25 at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. I have informed Mr. Paul Williams of this engagement in order that it may be possible to arrange to see you both at his request. Whatever day or hour you and Mr. Williams choose will be convenient with me.

I look forward with pleasure to seeing you.

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:jm

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

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March 25, 1946

RECEIVED
MAR 27 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr, Guy B. Johnson, Executive
Director, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE, Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson: Under separate wrapper I am sending you six copies of re-prints of an address I made at the Wendell Willkie Awards dinner in Washington on March 1st. I thought you would be interested in the hsitorical phases of the Negro press covered in this address. On this occasion three Negro journalists were presented awards for good writing during the past year.

With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

P. B. YOUNG, SR.

LHL
enc

April 9, 1946
(Dictated April 6, 1946)

Dr. P. B. Young, Sr.
Editor and Publisher
Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Dr. Young:

Thank you so much for sending me copies of reprints of the address which you delivered in Washington on March 1. It is a splendid address and should be circulated as widely as possible.

All of us wish to congratulate your son on receipt of the Wendell Wilkie Award. It is an honor which was richly deserved.

I shall probably see you at the Howard University Trustee meeting before you get this. Looking forward to seeing you, and with best wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

April 11, 1946

Mr. P. B. Young, Sr.
Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

I thank you for your letter of April 8 and look forward to seeing you and Mr. Williams on April 26 if this is convenient with Mr. Williams. I am writing him today.

With every good wish, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:m
cc: Mr. Williams

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

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April 8, 1946

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Associate Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Trigg: I was out of the city when your letter dated March 25th came in. This is my first opportunity to answer. I will be here in Norfolk on April 25th and I hope that I will have the pleasure of seeing you and Mr. Paul Williams following the meeting of the Virginia Council of Churches to which you referred. I assume the meeting is to be in Richmond and that you and Mr. Williams plan to come to Norfolk afterwards. At any rate I shall be very glad to see both of you.

With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

P. B. YOUNG, SR.

PBY:LHL

April 30, 1946

Mr. P. B. Young, Sr.
Editor and Publisher
Norfolk Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

It was a real pleasure to see you on April 26. You were looking better than I have seen you look in a long time.

I am most grateful for the very sound advice that you have given me over a period of many years, and I was particularly happy to have your frank discussion of SRC.

I was right about the publicity. The one or two small items which you saw originated with calls from the Associated Press. The item about Philip Randolph's meeting and the telegram sent by SRC was published in the Journal and Guide. A copy was sent to you by special delivery. The fact is that there has not been much material for publicity. I am hoping that there will be some with the completion of the Jacksonville, Florida, Survey. I am sending under separate cover a copy of Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation. Two copies were sent to you some time ago. I have suggested that materials be addressed to you and marked "personal" hereafter.

The regular meeting date for the Executive Committee is the fourth Wednesday in May, which falls on the 22nd. I hope you will be able to attend.

You have rendered invaluable service to the Negro in Norfolk and have made a unique contribution to the progress of the Negro in this entire country. I value your friendship and advice very highly.

At present I am quite hopeful over the future of SRC and a new pattern which it is developing. It will take time because it is new. I feel however, that you will be satisfied at the results if all continues to go as it has.

Looking forward to seeing you on May 22, I remain

Yours very faithfully,

HLT:jm

HAROLD L. TRIGG

June 19, 1946

Mr. P. B. Young, Sr.
President, Guide Publishing Company
Norfolk Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

I trust that you have had the opportunity to read the last issue of the New South which contained the article on the Columbia, Tennessee, incident written by Dr. Guy B. Johnson. We have received many comments on this article.

I also hope you have had the opportunity to glance at the report of the Jacksonville survey which was sent to you a few days ago. We feel that this is a precedent that can well be followed by every Southern community. The citizens of Jacksonville are quite proud over the results of their survey, and are already making changes as recommended.

Hoping to see you on my next visit to that region, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:m

June 26, 1946

Dr. P. B. Young
The Journal and Guide
711-723 East Olney Road
Norfolk 1, Virginia

Dear Dr. Young:

We appreciated your telegram and your letter enclosing check for $6.00 covering the cost of six copies of the Jacksonville Survey. We sent the six copies immediately after receiving your telegram. I wish we could have presented them to you, but the supply which was given to us by the Jacksonville Council of Social Agencies is nearly exhausted. We transmitted $6.00 to them so that they can replenish our stock to the extent of six copies.

I am enclosing the statistics on homicide which we talked about when you were here. Please feel free to use these in any way you wish. I would appreciate your mentioning the fact that the study of homicide was made by Mr. Garfinkel and myself at the University of North Carolina and that the Southern Regional Council is planning to publish a detailed analysis of murder in the South in the near future. If you prefer, I could write you a 2,000 word story on this subject accompanied by pictographs or other illustrations to make the facts stand out clearly. If you are interested in this procedure please let me know as soon as possible and we will get busy making the drawings and plates.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Encl.

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

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June 18, 1946

RECEIVED
JUN 20 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive
Director, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE, Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson: Enclosed herewith find check for $6.00 covering the six copies of the Jacksonville Survey Report which I ordered by wire. I should like to have these copies as early as possible this week. I am trying to interest Norfolk city officials in making a similar study here.

I am certain the Jacksonville project is going to create Southwide interest. I am very glad the Council had an important part in it.

If you would care to release the statistics on the crime situation we talked about when I was there last, I should be very glad to have it. However, if you do not care to have these figures used until your findings are published officially by the Council we will hold them in abeyance.

With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

P. B. YOUNG

PBY:LHL
ENCL

July 5, 1946

Dr. P. B. Young
711-723 East Olney Road
Norfolk 1, Virginia

Dear Dr. Young:

Thank you for your letter of June 25.

I am sorry that your statement concerning the addition of Negro police to the Norfolk police force were not interpreted correctly in the minutes. I feel sure that we who have known you through the years understood what you meant, but I can see that your remarks might be misinterpreted by some who read the minutes. We shall be glad to make a correction at the August meeting of the Executive Committee, or, if you prefer, perhaps we could simply delete the sentence before copying the minutes into the official minute book.

Best wishes from all of us here.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

Passage omitted from minutes -

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

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June 25, 1946

RECEIVED
JUN 27 1946
Southern Regional Council

Miss Emily H. Clay, Secretary-
Treasurer, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, NE, Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Clay: I hope it is going to be possible for me to set myself straight on something that is recorded in the minutes of the last Executive Committee meeting of May 27th under the sub-head of Negro Police and Police Training. It is stated in the minutes that "Dr. Young expressed some disagreement with this statement, saying he believed that the addition of Negro police to the Norfolk police force was largely the result of local efforts over a long period of time."

That is substantially true, but I did not have reference to work done in past years by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and continued by the Council.

I had reference to a brand new committee of women organized a few months ago who addressed a letter to our City Manager shortly before the policemen were appointed, and who after the appointment took complete credit for it. Actually the men had been named six months before the new group of ladies made their approach, but their appointment had not been announced because two of them were in the armed service.

The whole thing does not warrant any formal correction but I just wanted you and Dr. Johnson and others there in the office to know that I had no reference to past work on the part of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, or anything that had been done by the Southern Regional Council in this direction. I am quite certain that all of this had some bearing on the appointment of policemen, not only in Norfolk but elsewhere in the South.

With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

P. B. YOUNG

PBY:LHL

Are PBY whether we delete this from minutes before copy is made. EHC

July 9, 1946

Mr. P. B. Young, Sr.
President and Publisher
The Journal and Guide
711-723 East Olney Road
Norfolk 1, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

I am very grateful for your letter of June 27. We are quite proud of the Jacksonville Survey, and the whole office is elated over your comment on the finished report. We would like to have one or two of these Surveys in each of the thirteen Southern states, and hope that they may begin it sometime during the fall. The Jacksonville citizens have already carried out several of the recommendations.

The conflict in statements of fact concerning the Columbia, Tennessee, incident has been noticed by me also. I attribute it to the fact that observers went in with different backgrounds for interpretation. The three persons representing SRC are primarily sociologists. Dr. George Mitchell and Mr. William Twitty are both trained sociologists. Their observations were therefore from the sociologist's point of view. I would assume that the NAACP representatives looked primarily for any grounds for court action. I believe this would have been my approach if I had been a lawyer representing them. The Southern Conference in this region seems to be largely a pressure group, and I would therefore interpret their findings from that point of view. The lengthy statement by Mrs. Agnes Meyer in the Washington Post was very much like the one published by the Southern Regional Council. It is possible that the actual truth, if it is ever learned, will be somewhat in disagreement with all reports so far. I note also that the chief discrepancies exist in the comments made by the various investigators rather than in the actual facts. The Grand Jury report was distinctly different from any others.

I shall be in that region some time during the latter part of the month, and hope that I may have the pleasure of seeing you personally.

With kindest good wishes, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:jm

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

TELEPHONE 25319

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File

June 27, 1946

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Associate Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Trigg: I have received and read the report of the Columbia (Tennessee) investigation. It has been difficult for me to reconcile the wide differences in the recitation of facts as presented by the Southern Regional Council, The Southern Conference for Human Welfare and the NAACP. It is somewhat confusing.

I have received some copies of the Jacksonville Survey. I was very anxious to get copies of this report in the hands of some of our city officials and having done this I have some hope that something of the kind will be undertaken here after September, when a reorganized administration takes over.

The Jacksonville report is the best thing of this kind that I have seen. It could be used as a guide for any Southern city approaching its problems.

With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

P. B. YOUNG

PBY:LHL

Quote Miss Judy Jacksonville

(Dictated July 14)
July 15, 1946

Mr. P. B. Young
Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

The article on homicide which I promised to write is going to be delayed a little. We have really been on the go with the Georgia Primary, and I am leaving tonight for a couple of days at Charles S. Johnson's Institute of Race Relations. However, I will get the article to you before very long.

Let me thank you for the splendid write-up and editorial comment about the Jacksonville Survey.

Very best wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

July 17, 1946

Mr. P. B. Young, Sr.
President and Publisher
Norfolk Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

All of us are very proud over the space which you gave the report of the Jacksonville Survey in the last issue of the Journal and Guide. We are hoping that many thoughtful people in all of the thirteen Southern states will read the news article as well as the editorial, and be encouraged to see that this technique of self-evaluation for communities will spread over the entire area.

I am planning to be present at the Conference on Race Relations at Hampton on August 2 and 3, and trust that I may have the pleasure of seeing you personally.

With kindest good wishes, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive
Director

HLT:jm

December 5, 1946

Mr. P. B. Young, Sr.
Harkness Pavillion
Medical Center
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Young:

I have learned with deep regret of your indisposition and trust that it is temporary.

We missed you very much at the meeting and I was sure that there was some very good reason for your not attending.

I trust that the check-up will expose no serious malady and that you will experience an early and complete recovery.

With kindest good wishes and highest personal regard, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:mp

December 18, 1946

Mr. P. B. Young
733 Chapel Street
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

I am glad to learn through President Mordecai W. Johnson that you have returned home from the hospital and are well on the way to recovery from your recent operation.

We missed you very much at the annual meeting last month. Everyone agreed that it was the best meeting we have ever had. The reports are being published in the December issue of New South, which will be off the press within a few days.

I want you to know that all of us here at the Council are thinking of you and are wishing you a speedy recovery. We send you our greetings and our best wishes for a happy Christmas Season.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

January 22, 1947

Mr. P. B. Young, President
Guide Publishing Company, Inc.
711 East Olney Road
Norfolk 1, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

Thanks for your letter of January 15 received by me January 20.

I am enclosing my first effort at the column--a factual description of this Georgia situation which promises to be highly significant to the Negro in Georgia and the lower South.

I shall have two or three names to send you tomorrow for the vacancies on your news staff.

With every good wish and warm personal regard, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:mp

GEORGIA'S GOVERNOR?

By
Harold L. Trigg

If the turbulent Georgia political scene with its world wide audience is adequately described in headlines and pictures distributed from Atlanta to all parts of the globe, the opponents and proponents of the "democratic way" must be happy and sad.

It would not be fair to give final evaluation until the lower court renders a decision after the hearing scheduled for February 7, and the subsequent decision of the State Supreme Court in case of appeal which is highly probable.

The rapidly moving drama bears semblance to a combination of a reconstruction legislature (no Negroes in this one) and a political upheaval in one of the South American republics.

In the Democratic primary on July 17 Eugene Talmadge had received the majority of the county-unit votes and the party nomination for governor following a torrid campaign in which "white supremacy" had been the major issue. He did not receive the highest number of popular votes.

The Democratic Convention on October 9 at Macon wrote the Talmadge "planks" into the party platform although the governor-nominate was too ill to attend the convention or even address it by radio.

The general election on November 4 found Eugene Talmadge the only qualified candidate for governor, but some of his adherents fearing for his failing physical strength passed the word along on election day to write the name of his 33 year old son into the ballot.

The elder Talmadge died December 21. His followers, ostensibly fearing that the "white primary" plank of Talmadge's platform would be endangered, laid claim to succession for his son Herman on the basis of a constitutional

provision that requires the General Assembly to elect a governor from the two high candidates, in life, in case no candidate is found to have received a majority vote in the election when the returns are canvassed at the opening of the General Assembly.

The State's Attorney General, when asked for an opinion by Governor Arnall, ruled that this clause did not apply in this instance since the elder Talmadge did receive the majority in the November election, and that the incumbent, Governor Ellis Arnall, should hold office until his successor should be chosen and qualified. Governor Arnall then resigned to take effect when the Lieutenant Governor (a new office created by the State Constitution of 1944) could be sworn in and qualified to become Acting-Governor until the next general election.

There followed claims and counter claims based on varying interpretations of the Constitution.

The General Assembly convened on the 13th of the present month. A canvass of the November 4 election returns, impossible on the morning of January 14 because the presiding officer was unable to obtain order in the Assembly, was finally completed in a hectic all afternoon and night session and "write-in" votes gave Herman Talmadge 675, James V. Carmichael 669, Talmadge Bowers (Republican) 637, Kilroy, Mickey Mouse, et al, an unspecified number. Young Talmadge was elected Governor of Georgia by a vote of 161 - 87 in the General Assembly early on the morning of the 15th.

The uncontrollable confusion in the Assembly on the morning of the 14th, the all afternoon and night session in which the galleries showed a substantial number of shirt sleeves and red suspenders ("wool hat boys"), the mass of debris in the meeting hall including empty bottles of many varieties, fainting women, fist fights in the corridors and before Governor's inner office, the taking over of the Governor's office suite on the nights of

January 15 and 16 by Herman Talmadge and adherents, the barring of Governor Arnall from the Executive Mansion by uniformed officers on the 16th, the swearing in of M.E. Thompson (elected in November) as Lieutenant Governor before the General Assembly on the 18th and again before the State Senate as Lieutenant Governor and Acting Governor on the 20th, the march of hundreds of Georgia's white college students on the Capitol January 21, the growing wave of protest on the part of prominent church and lay persons are all symptoms of the political muddle which found Georgia with two Governors from January 15 to 20, and one Governor and one Acting Governor from January 20 to the present.

The "white primary" bill was introduced in both houses of the Assembly on January 20 and received lengthy comment in the message of Governor Talmadge on the 21st.

This is the Georgia political scene with its grim foreboding for Negro suffrage as well as for American democracy and world peace.

December 22, 1946

Mr. P.B. Young, Sr.
733 Chapel Street,
Norfolk, Va.

Dear Mr. Young:

After a few days out of the office, I returned to find your letter of December 16, and the very welcome news that you are out again and back at home. This is a worth while Christmas present for you and your family. All of us here join in wishing you a peaceful and happy holiday, and your complete recovery from your indisposition.

Many thanks for your kind words concerning my report to our Annual Meeting. My only regret is that you could not be here in person. Dr. Hancock and Mr. Paul Williams were highly elated over the evident success of the sessions.

I would consider it a privilege to write a weekly column for the Journal and Guide on the lines mentioned by you. Would you be kind enough to send me the desired length of the column, the dead line for filing it, and any further suggestions or regulations which you wish to make in this connection, also the issue in which you wish it to start.

With every good wish and regards, I remain.

Yours very faithfully,

HLT:k

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

February 12, 1947

Mr. P. B. Young
Journal and Guide
719 East Olney Road
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

Thank you for your check for $5.00 which has been received to cover your 1947 dues and an additional contribution.

In sending the enclosed receipt, I should like to take advantage of this opportunity to tell you how much we appreciate your financial assistance and also your moral support as a member of the board of directors and as Vice President. In carrying out a task which at times seems discouraging, it gives the staff assurance to know that we have your continued interest and confidence.

Cordially yours,

Inez B. Tillison
Secretary-Treasurer

IBT:ms

February 17, 1947

Mr. P. B. Young
Pythian Bath House & Hotel
Hot Springs Arkansas
c/o Dr. John Eve.

Dear Mr. Young:

You are in good hands. I taught John Eve years ago and am proud of the progress he has made. I hope you are recuperating and enjoying it. You couldn't have selected a better place.

We are moving along here. The Executive Committee meets February 26 to select Dr. Johnson's successor.

Hope you can stop over to see us on your way back home.

With every good wish and highest personal regard, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:k

April 10, 1947

Mr. P. B. Young, Sr.,
917 E. Olney Road,
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

I trust that you are back at home and putting a sufficient limit on your work and cares to safeguard you against any further danger of illness.

All of us here were elated at the honor that came to the Journal and Guide in receiving the Wilkie award for the second time. The Guide richly deserves any commendation that comes to it.

I plan to be in that region in the near future and hope that my schedule will permit me to drop in on you for a few moments.

With kindest good wishes, I remain

Yours sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:k

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

TELEPHONE 25319

The Journal and Guide

MEMBER OF AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

Published Weekly by
THE GUIDE PUBLISHING CO. INC.
711-723 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VA.

April 19, 1947

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Associate Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Trigg: Thank you for yours dated the 10th. I am trying to limit my work and up to now I seem to be doing very well since my rest at Hot Springs.

Thank you for your kind comments on the Willkie Award received this year by the Journal and Guide.

I note you are to be in this region in the near future and I certainly hope that you drop in to see us.

With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

P. B. Young

P. B. YOUNG, SR.

PBY:LHL

Young, PB

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

TELEPHONE 25319

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November 18, 1947

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming: Thank you for sending us the articles on the Council's meeting. We are using them in our current week's editions.

There is also some editorial comment.

Under separate wrapper we are sending you a few copies of our National Edition.

We shall be glad to use any material which you deem appropriate for release and hope that you will keep us in mind when something is breaking in which the Council is interested.

I was very sorry that I was unable to be present at the last meeting but hope to attend the next meeting of the Executive Committee. With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

P. B. YOUNG

PBY:LHL

December 3, 1947

Mr. P. B. Young
719 East Olney Road
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

We are indeed glad to advise you of your unanimous reelection as Vice President of the Southern Regional Council at the annual membership meeting of November 12th.

The year 1948 holds much promise, and we look forward to it with confidence, strengthened as we feel ourselves to be by the ability and excellence of our officers.

With kindest good wishes for the coming year, I am

Most sincerely,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:ee

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

TELEPHONE 25319

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December 15, 1947

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming: Thank you for sending me a copy of the Council's letter to President Truman on the report of the Committee on Civil Rights.

We carried an editorial on this report and a member of the Committee asked us to make some reprints that might be distributed to study groups or others interested in the purposes of the Committee's report.

I enclose a couple of copies of this reprint and if the Council could use a few hundred, we shall be glad to send them. You might be able to place them where they would create some favorable sentiments. After you have read the reprint I wish you would let me know whether the Council cares to distribute a few.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

P. B. YOUNG

PBY:LHL
ENCL

Young, P. B.

December 22, 1947

Mr. P. B. Young, Publisher
THE JOURNAL AND GUIDE
7119723 East Olney Road
Norfolk 1, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

Your editorial on the Civil Rights Report struck everyone here as excellent when it was published, and we were glad to learn that you have made it available in leaflet form.

Copies of the reprint would be very useful to the Council, particularly at such time as the conference of local leaders is held to spread interest in the Report to the community level. Then, too, we should like to send copies to our state divisions and affiliates, which will be pushing the Report in their areas.

We could use 500 copies of the reprint, or as close to that number as you can let us have. Many thanks for thinking of us.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

Young, P. B.

February 18, 1948

Mr. P. B. Young, Sr.
Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

I undertook to keep you informed about the matter of the Southern Governors.

On the day of the opening of their meeting at Tallahassee, I prepared a wire to go out to newspaper editors, but, after consulting Ralph McGill, decided on his advice to send it directly to the Governors at Tallahassee, with copies to the various wire services there at Tallahassee for the Conference.

Here is the wire.

For reasons which I have not learned, the wire services did not carry it, but the Governors got it and several of them have acknowledged it by letter. The Atlanta Constitution carried the wire on the front page in the edition of Sunday, February 8, and Ralph McGill ran a column along this line on Monday, February 9. Mr. McGill added a good many extras of his own, most of which I think were weakening, but on balance I think his effort was helpful.

I was in Chicago February 10 and conferred with Dr. Alexander and Mr. Embree. Dr. Alexander and I had lunch with Mr. Frank Bane of the Committee of State Governments. Dr. Alexander and I concluded that the best strategy would be to work from this point on quietly to obtain from the final follow-up session of the Southern Governors forty days from February 8 a positive statement of this kind. We thought we would not get it if we attempted to pressure the Governors through the newspapers and otherwise publicly. Therefore, I have been working hard to get the Governors to assume responsibility at the forthcoming meeting.

I quite realize the many factors of risk, but I feel strongly that the Council should act and not sit quietly by while the South makes a crucial decision of this kind.

The Executive Committee meeting on February 25 should give opportunity for review of the policy decisions involved.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure: cy wire to Southern Governors, 7Feb48

GSM:eb

Young, P. B.

February 18, 1948

Mr. P. B. Young, Sr.
Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

I was in Chapel Hill the other day and picked up from Guy Johnson some word that had reached him from a student at the University of North Carolina that two of the Negro policemen in Norfolk had lately been found asleep in a beer joint.

This comes through several hands and so may be entirely in error. If there is any truth in it, the chance that you would not know about it is minute. But I write on the off chance that you had not heard of it and that you might know of things to do to safeguard the whole movement for Negro police.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Y.J. P.B.

March 2, '48

Mr. P. B. Young, Sr.
The Journal and Guide
711 East Olney Road
Norfolk 1, Va.

Dear Mr. Young,

I have not answered your letter of January 27, about the Highlander Folk School matter, until after the meeting of the Executive Committee.

The matter was put to the Committee, which expressed itself as wishing to leave the decision to me as a personal matter. One or two voiced the idea that it was of some importance to avoid a situation in which the Council's Director would have cut his links to active movements of various groups in the South. It was laid down that if the stationery of Highlander is to list organizational affiliation of Board Members a note must be carried that such organizations are listed for identification purposes only.

Your letter was read to the Committee.

I am reluctant to act in a manner contrary to your good judgment, but I do think it important to keep refreshed with contact with farmers and workingpeople, and I have therefore accepted the chairmanship of the Highlander Board. I will continue to be mindful of the need for distinguishing the School's work from that of the Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

TELEPHONE 25319

The Journal and Guide

MEMBER OF AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

Published Weekly by
THE GUIDE PUBLISHING CO. INC.
711-723 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VA.

January 27, 1948

RECEIVED
JAN 28 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Director, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE, Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell: While the Southern Regional Council is concerned with the improvement of life among all the peoples of the South, I find it hard as a member of the Board Ex-officio to give my approval to an official connection of our director with specialized movements such as the Highland Folk School and the Southern School for Workers.

It is my candid feeling that the Council will achieve its best by avoiding official connections with controversial movements. What I am trying to say is that we cannot afford to alienate the leadership of large segments of industry, business, religion, et cetera in the South by official attachments to matters of controversy.

I hope that we can find a way to give sympathetic consideration to the purposes of the Highland Folk School and the Southern School for Workers without going the distance which you propose.

Yours sincerely,

P. B. Young

P. B. YOUNG

CC- Mr. Paul Williams
Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Mr. Carter Wesley
Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Dr. H. L. Trigg

PBY:LHL

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

TELEPHONE 25319

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Yours P.B.

March 5, 1948

Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive
Director, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE, Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell: I have your letter dated March 2 in which you advise of your decision to accept the chairmanship of the Highlander board. Certainly if a majority of the Executive Committee is agreeable to this I should have no objection.

Yours sincerely,

P. B. YOUNG

PBY:LHL

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

TELEPHONE 25319

Young, PB

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NORFOLK 1, VA.

April 1, 1948

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE, Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for sending me the photostat of the New York Times and Tampa Times articles on the Atlanta conference. I have read them with much interest.

I have heard from various sources that the address by Mr. Prattis created quite a stir. I am wondering if you have a copy of it, and if you would let me take a look at it.

I did not read the Wire Services reports of the conference in any of the Virginia papers, and I suppose that the Raleigh News and Observer ignored them. That is a development which is a little hard to explain, inasmuch as these stories were carried by southern papers further down.

During all of the civil rights aftermath the papers have carried very little that would be favorable toward the more liberal trend. However, they have backed up 100 percent, almost, the program of the southern governors. Despite all that, we are perhaps making a little progress.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

P. B. YOUNG, SR.

PBY:LHL

40 - Young, P. B. Sr.

August 17, 1948

Mr. P. B. Young, Sr.
The Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

As a newspaper man, you will be weary of newspaper stories. Also you know, though, how helpful they can be to an organization such as the Council.

I send you, therefore, for your interest, a roll containing photostats of recent publicity which the Council has been fortunate enough to get--some of it in the Journal and Guide. We don't claim that the stories photostated are inclusive of the publicity we got; the selection was to show good coverage.

We made up only ten of these and we should be grateful, therefore, if you could send your set back to us to circulate to others, unless you have some particular need for it.

We should greatly value your comments and suggestions as to things we could do to improve the country's knowledge of the work of the Council.

Cordially,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

40 - Young, P.B.

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

TELEPHONE ~~25319~~ 53686

The Journal and Guide

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711-723 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VA.

RECEIVED
AUG 23 1948
Southern Regional Council

August 20, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell: I have read with much interest the photostats of the clippings which you sent me, and am pleased to note that the work of the Council is receiving pretty generous press notes.

Considering everything, I think we should be encouraged by this development.

As requested, I am returning the photostats under separate cover.

With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

P. B. Young, Sr.

P. B. YOUNG, SR.

PBY:LHL

2/15

GSM:

Are we to understand that P.B. Young Sr. is willing to serve as outlined in the letter?

met

ok

SRC - Bd. of Dirs. - Membership

December 15, 1948

Mr. P. B. Young, Sr.
Norfolk Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

Paul Williams and I, and the members of the nominating committee for the Council, consulted a good deal at the time of our annual membership meeting on November 10, 1948, as to your wishes about your office in the Council. We were unable to get in touch with you at the time and, therefore, did our best to decide from earlier correspondence with you just what would be in accordance with your own desires.

We concluded that we should agree to letting you withdraw as a vice president of the Council, but that you should be willing to serve as a member of the Board of Directors.

In your place as vice president, the meeting elected Mr. John H. Wheeler of Durham. You were unanimously elected to the Board for an unexpired term, ending in November, 1949.

I do hope that you can write us that you are agreeable to remaining in this way as a member of the Board. We all greatly value your long interest and firm support for the Council's purposes.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
cc: Paul Williams
Mrs. McKoy

Excerpts from letter of
Miss Flemmie P. Kittrell, Head
Department of Home Exonomics
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

"For some time I have been wanting to write to tell you how fine I thought your answer to the editorial that appeared in the Journal and Guide was. Your setting forth of the objectives of the Council, its activities to date, and the friends who support it were clearly done. Your answer served a good purpose and I am glad that it had a wide circulation."

PERSONAL DATA

May 1, 1955

NAME:	Thomas White Young
RESIDENCE:	1660 Corprew Ave.,Norfolk 12,Va.,Telephone MAdison 2-2254
BIRTHPLACE:	Norfolk, Virginia, October 26, 1908, son of Plummer Bernard Young and the late Eleanor White Young.
MARITAL STATUS:	Married Marguerite Chisholm March 2, 1943; one daughter, Millicent, born August 29, 1944.
OCCUPATION:	President and general manager, The Guide Publishing Company, Inc.,publishers of the JOURNAL AND GUIDE, Norfolk, Virginia.
RELIGION:	Episcopalian. Member Grace P. E. Church, Norfolk, Va.
MEMBERSHIPS:	Kit Kat Club, Inc.,Hiawatha Beneficial and Social Association, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Twin City Bar Association.
EDUCATION:	Public Schools, Norfolk, Va.; Hampton Institute, 1926; Ohio State University, B.Sc. in Journalism,LL.B.,1932.
EXTRA-CURRICULA ACTIVITIES:	At Hampton Institute: Member Adams Prize Debating Team, 1923; captain in student ROTC; sports editor of the Hampton Script; president senior academy class and editor of class book. At Ohio State University: Freshman tennis team; varsity tennis squad; managing editor student daily newspaper, the Ohio State Lantern, 1930; winner, 1931, Wolfe Journalism Honor Medal; president Kappa Chapter, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity.
OTHER ACTIVITIES:	Accredited war correspondent overseas with 99th Fighter Squadron in North Africa and Sicily, 1943, and aboard destroyer escort USS Mason in Atlantic, 1944. Enrolled in naval orientation course for leaders of commerce and industry on invitation of Navy Department in October, 1949.

Personal Data

Thomas White Young

PUBLIC SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS:

Board of Trustees 1935-1943,1951, vice chairman 1939-1943, Norfolk Community Hospital.

Vice chairman District 7, Tidewater Council Boy Scouts of America, 1934-1937.

Norfolk Living War Memorial Committee, 1946-1951.

Member board of directors, Anti-Tuberculosis League of Norfolk, Va., since 1953.

Smith Street USO Board of Management, 1942.

Chairman United Negro College Fund Norfolk Campaign Committee, 1951.

Camp E. W. Young Cooperative Committee, since 1948.

Chairman, Committee of Management, Hunton Branch YMCA, since 1949.

City-wide USO Committee, since 1951.

NATIONAL AFFILIATIONS:

President 1947-1949, director since 1946 of the National Newspaper Publishers Association.

National Bar Association.

Director since 1946, secretary since 1948, Associated Publishers, Inc., national advertising representative of major weekly newspapers.

Director, Southern Area Council, YMCA, since 1953.

Director, Blue Ridge Assembly, since 1955.

Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc., since 1954.

Director, Virginia Council on Human Relations since 1955.

Listed in Who's Who In America.

P. B. YOUNG PUBLISHER

Journal and Guide

MEMBER AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

TELEPHONE 53686

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE GUIDE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

719 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VIRGINIA

August 22, 1957

Mr. Paul Anthony, Administrative
Assistant, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE, Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Enclosed is a brief biographical sketch which I prepared a few months ago at the request of the local YMCA for use on the occasion of the dedication of its new building. This will supply the information requested in your recent letter.

There is also attached a somewhat more detailed personal data sheet which you might wish to file with the other material for some possible future reference.

Yours very truly,

Thomas W. Young

Thomas W. Young

Encls

Tom Young

Thomas W. Young, chairman of the Hunton Branch Committee of Management since 1949, is president and general manager of The Guide Publishing Company, Inc., which publishes the Journal and Guide. A member of Grace Episcopal Church, he is married and has one daughter. He was born in Norfolk where he attended public schools. He graduated from the Hampton Institute Academy in 1926 and the Ohio State University in 1932 with degrees in law and journalism.

He is a director and member of the executive committee of the Norfolk Community Chest; a director of the Anti-Tuberculosis League, Southern Area Council of the YMCA, Southern Regional Council, Blue Ridge Assembly, and Virginia Council on Human Relations.

A former secretary and president of the National Newspaper Publishers Association, Mr. Young has served on the board of directors of that organization since 1946.

During World War II he represented the Journal and Guide overseas as an accredited U. S. war correspondent.

He is a member of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Kit Kat Club, Hiawatha Beneficial and Social Association, and the Twin City Bar Association.

Rec'd 2/26/58

P. B. YOUNG PUBLISHER

Journal and Guide

MEMBER AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

TELEPHONE 53686

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE GUIDE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

719 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VIRGINIA

February 24, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

My father, P. B. Young, Sr., publisher of the Journal and Guide has also read your article in "The Progressive" and would like your permission to reprint it in a forthcoming issue of the Guide.

He is also writing to the editor of "The Progressive" for permission to reprint inasmuch as the features are copyrighted. We hope to be able to run this article in the near future.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas W. Young

Thomas W. Young

jy

Rec'd 2/26/58

P. B. YOUNG PUBLISHER

Journal and Guide

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE GUIDE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

719 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VIRGINIA

February 24, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you ever so much for sending me a marked copy of "The Progressive." Your article was a clear and convincing analysis of the state of desegregation in the South today. This deserves even wider distribution than it would normally receive among the subscribers of "The Progressive." I hope the Council will consider reproducing it in pamphlet form for this purpose.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas W. Young

Thomas W. Young

jy

Board

February 27, 1958

Mr. Thomas W. Young
JOURNAL AND GUIDE
719 East Olney Road
Norfolk 1, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

I am complimented by your request for permission to reprint my article from the Progressive. Of course, I will be happy to have the article appear in the Journal and Guide, as I am sure the Progressive will be.

My kindest regards to you and your father.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. B. YOUNG PUBLISHER

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NORFOLK 1, VIRGINIA

March 17, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I think I acknowledged your very good letter of November 19 and informed you that I should be happy to continue as a member of the board, but I cannot find the copy in my file.

Just in case I overlooked it this note is to say that I am pleased I was re-elected and will do whatever I can to advance the work of the Council.

In the event that this is the first acknowledgement of the notification to me, please forgive the oversight.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas W. Young

Thomas W. Young

jy

March 19, 1958

Mr. Thomas W. Young
Norfolk Journal and Guide
719 East Olney Road
Norfolk 1, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

As a matter of fact, I don't believe we ever did get a letter of formal acceptance from you, but in view of our other correspondence I felt I could safely assume your willingness to serve.

We are very glad to have your recent letter making it official.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

June 6, 1958

Mr. Thomas W. Young
President and General Manager
NORFOLK JOURNAL AND GUIDE
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

I have written Mr. P. B. Young, Sr. as enclosed and am taking this means to convey the same sentiments to you.

We appreciate increasingly the constructive leadership which the Journal and Guide and the Young family give to the South.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 1 (Copy of Letter to Mr. P. B. Young, Sr.)

April 5, 1961

Mr. Thomas W. Young
Journal and Guide
719 E. Olney Road
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Tom:

Harold spoke about your call last night. It looks as though I can come to Norfolk May 12 and speak at your dinner. Do I understand that this celebrates the merger of the Norfolk Council and the Women's Interracial Council? If you have any preference as to what I will talk about, I would be glad to hear what it is. These are pretty busy days for me and I only hope I can find time to give this as much preparation as the occasion requires.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD/mf

P. B. YOUNG PUBLISHER

Journal and Guide

MEMBER AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

TELEPHONE 53686

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE GUIDE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

719 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VIRGINIA

April 7, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar,
Director of Research,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201 - 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I was mighty happy to learn from your letter of April 5th that you can accept our invitation to speak at the dinner meeting on May 12 at which the Norfolk Council on Human Relations and the Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation will merge and combine their efforts in the future as a strengthened and enlarged Norfolk Council.

I wonder if your trip down here can be related to the Southern Regional Council's development of state and local Councils? Under such circumstances, I should think, your transportation expenses might be taken care of by SRC.

My reason for even suggesting this is that the local Councils, as you well know, are something less than affluent. Four dollars of the $5 membership fee goes out of Norfolk and so we have very little money available for local activities and affairs of this kind.

However, do not let that in any way deter you from making the trip. If SRC cannot properly provide transportation then we will find a way to do it and you will have no worry on that score.

We do not want to limit you in the scope of your remarks, so feel free to speak on any subject and in any manner that seems to you appropriate.

However, this thought might stimulate your imagination and suggest a line you might follow. One of our handicaps in this type of work is getting good but timid people moved from the center where they are reluctant to do more than to exchange good wishes and good will and go home contented with the feeling that they have done something to break down the barriers to communication. That's all well and good, but getting to know and like each other better is doing very little for the vast majority of the people who are totally beyond the sphere of interracial activity.

This to some measure can be corrected by relating and discussing the methods and programs by which other Councils in other places throughout the South have tackled the many problems involved in intergroup relations.

For instance, we know that right here in Norfolk there is much to be done but nobody knows how to get started in the way that will enlist the active support of our membership. I believe it would be most helpful if you could describe and evaluate some of the projects that have been successfully undertaken by local Councils throughout the South and especially some of the various types of discrimination and inequality they have tackled.

In other words, what is the role of a local Council in a community like ours, and what can it do to improve intergroup relations.

In closing I want to emphasize again that we will be delighted to hear you talk about any subject that you wish to, and what I have said in this letter in no way is to be regarded as a suggestion for your subject matter. I have simply unburdened myself of some of the thoughts I have had in the hope that they might suggest some of the concerns of our membership.

The meeting is scheduled for 6 p.m. on May 12 and it

should be finished by 8 or 8:30. There will probably be a brief business session in connection with the dinner, for the purpose of adopting merger resolutions and electing officers. This latter is a perfunctory thing since a nominating committee will bring in a slate that in all probability will be accepted routinely.

I look forward to seeing you when you are here and I think you will find the occasion interesting and pleasant. If you need overnight accommodations let me know and we will find them for you. Also, notify us of your arrival time so we can meet you at the airport.

Sincerely,

Tom

Thomas W. Young

jy

April 11, 1961

Mr. Thomas W. Young
Journal and Guide
719 East Olney Road
Norfolk 1, Virginia

Dear Tom:

I am sure my visit to Norfolk is a legitimate SRC expense, so you should not be concerned about that angle.

May I let you know later when I shall arrive? It would be very kind of you to reserve a room for me the night of the 12th.

Your suggestions for the content of my talk are good and I shall follow them.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

404P EST MAY 4 61 AB410

RA345 R NFA461 PD NORFOLK VIR 4 310P EST

PAUL ANTHONY, ADM ASST SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 FORSYTHE ST NORTHWEST ATLA

AIR MAIL BIOGRAPHICAL DATA AND PHOTOGRAPH OF LESLIE DUNBAR

THOMAS W YOUNG JOURNAL AND GUIDE.

Sent 5-4-61 JJA

pic + bio details

P. B. YOUNG PUBLISHER

Journal and Guide

MEMBER AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

TELEPHONE 53686

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE GUIDE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

719 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VIRGINIA

File

July 19, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

This is inexcusably tardy but nevertheless a sincere expression of appreciation to you for coming to Norfolk in May to address the annual meeting of the Norfolk Council on Human Relations.

Every expression I have heard has included the highest praise for the very fine speech you gave. It was just the kind of talk which our members and friends needed at this time and in this community.

Although the summer season has brought our activities almost to a standstill I hope the Norfolk Council will resume its program and get some constructive projects underway early in the fall.

Sincerely,

Thomas W. Young

jy

CONFIDENTIAL

NOMINEES FOR
SRC OFFICERS
and
MEMBERSHIP
AS PROPOSED BY THE
NOMINATING COMMITTEE
SEPTEMBER 5, 1962

OFFICERS

All re-nominated

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

All present members renominated except:
Brooke
Rothschild
Sigur

Replacements:
John P. Nelson, Jr.
Raymond Wheeler
Thomas W. Young

MEMBERS

For vacancy in Class of 1965 (to replace Arthur Gray):
Mrs. Moise Cahn - New Orleans

Class of 1966:
All present members of Class of 1962 re-nominated except:

McDowell	Robinson
Reddix	Smith

Replacements and additions:
Paul Johnston - Birmingham
Nat Welch - Auburn (Ala.)
Rossevelt D. Crockett - Little Rock
John G. Lewis - Baton Rouge
Mrs. Martin Harvey - Jackson (Miss.)
Hyman Rubin - Columbia
Martin Ochs - Chattanooga
Kenneth B. Piper - Chattanooga
J. Rupert Picott - Richmond

Albernates:
Alabama - Clifford Durr - Montgomery
Arkansas - William H. Townsend - Little Rock
Louisiana - A. P. Tureaud - New Orleans
Mississippi - Henry Clay - Laurel
South Carolina - Wright Spears - Columbia

Tennessee - 1. A. J. Wagner - Knoxville
2. Robert Harris - Nashville
Virginia - Edward Haddock - Richmond

September 11, 1962

Mr. Thomas W. Young
Publisher
The Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Tom:

Your colleagues on the Nominating Committee regreted and were disappointed that you could not be with them last week, and I would like to add my personal regrets. The Committee did, however, an excellent job, I think, as you will see from the attachment. One of the best things it did, of course, is among its nominations for the Executive Committee; please note. Because I need to work closely with the Executive Committee it is not inappropriate for me to say that I am pleased no end that you will be joining it.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
Enclosure

P. B. YOUNG PUBLISHER

Journal and Guide

MEMBER AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

TELEPHONE 53686

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE GUIDE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

719 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VIRGINIA

TAN
MA-file

September 19, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I appreciate your letter of September 11 telling me about the results of the Nominating Committee's deliberations there on September 5.

I am flattered by the nomination to the Executive Committee and will attempt to serve, if elected, to the best of my ability.

I will see you at the annual meeting in November.

Sincerely,

Tom

Thomas W. Young

jc

Young

RESOLUTION

The ship sailing out of the harbor bound for distant shores is soon lost to view beyond the horizon, but it sails on. The sun which so recently shone in its meridian splendour is so soon hidden behind the hills of the solemn west, but it shines on. So those we love and lose a while live on in that Great Beyond and in the labours and in the memories of their comrades in the great struggle to make this a better world. So lives Dr. P. Bernard Young, whose recent passing fills us with profound sorrow and with revential concern. Dr. Young was one of the moving and effective figures who helped to shape events which surrounded the genesis of our great Southern Regional Council.

He was chairman of the historic Durham Conference which eventuated into the Atlanta and Richmond Conferences which eventuated into the Southern Regional Council. Without the great influence of Dr. Young and his ably edited Journal & Guide, the Durham Conference would not have come to pass. This Council will remember Dr. Young with a reverential gratitude born of the knowledge that in him we have lost one of our illustrious founders and stalwart supporters.

Be it resolved that this Council, in annual session assembled on November 20, 1962, subscribe the sentiments as our humble but grateful tribute to him who was in spirit and in deed our great benefactor; and that a copy of this resolution be tendered the family.

File Board - (Young)

The family of

Thomas W. Young

acknowledges with grateful appreciation

your kind expression of sympathy

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file

November 15, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

The letter you received from Vernon Eagle of the New World Foundation strengthens my confidence in SRC as a catalyst in the foment of a new order in the Southern Region.

And I am certain that it also reasured and encouraged you to carry on the work of the council which is often frustrating, sometimes agonizing

I look forward to seeing you at the meeting on the 25th and 26th.

Sincerely,

Tom

Thomas W. Young — board

File: Board — Young, Thomas

Journal and Guide — Editorial Page
ESTABLISHED 1900 — STURDAY, MARCH 14, 1964

Freedom Takes A Holiday

THE Freedoms Foundation, headquartered, appropriately enough, in Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, has just awarded its George Washington Honor Medal to Mr. HAL J. BONNEY JR., of Norfolk for outstanding achievement during 1963 in bringing about a better understanding of the American way of life.

Mr. BONNEY is the superintendent of Tidewater Academy and a Bible class teacher at Epworth Methodist Church. His contribution to the American heritage of freedom which won the admiration of the judges was one of his Sunday school lessons titled "God and Country."

In 1958 when a federal court ordered the city of Norfolk to desegregate its public schools, Mr. BONNEY was teaching history and government at all-white Norview High School. Some elements of the population — including the City Council — rebelled in a display of emotion and defiance that resulted in the closing of all of the city's white high schools and some of its junior highs. For four months 10,000 children were locked out of their classrooms.

During this era of "massive resistance," the daily papers were frequently flooded with letters to the editors reviling the Supreme Court, and the whole federal judiciary, in fact. The writers castigated the government and vowed that democracy, if it meant letting colored children attend classes with white children, was a vile and repugnant thing which the white people would never tolerate.

One of the better known and more articulate letter writers of that era was Mr. BONNEY whose come support of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties.

Answering a question put to all the candidates by the Norfolk League of Women Voters — "Will you support the continuation of a free state-wide public school system?"— Mr. BONNEY replied:

Yes, but only segregated can it be maintained. Integration will surely destroy it.

Asked, "Do you feel that the abandonment of a public school system will deter industry from settling in Virginia?" Mr. BONNEY answered:

As occurred in Washington, D. C., integration will drive the people from Norfolk to other areas . . . with traditional schools, either public or private. Integration with the above-mentioned effect, lowering of the educational standards, and a lack of continuous harmony will deter industry. OUR SCHOOLS MUST REMAIN SEPARATE and government must be returned to the people.

Mr. BONNEY lost that one, too, but he did not give up the fight for segregated schools. A truly obstinate man, he resigned his teaching position at Norview High School, by then integrated, to become superintendent of Tidewater Academy.

Now, Tidewater Academy is Norfolk's version of the Prince Edward County device for evading federal court rulings requiring public schools maintained with tax money collected from all citizens to open their doors to all children on

Cassius And The Muslims

IT WILL go down in boxing history how the myth of Sonny Liston, The Great Unconquerable, was exploded in the flurry of the hammering fists of a brash, brave, and talkative young man.

Say all you will about Cassius Clay and his great flow of language, his towering ego, his unorthodox manner of projecting himself. You must still admit that he put deeds behind the words and came through victoriously.

Clay did more than win. He achieved the feat of outsmarting a man who had not only captured the title, but who had built a tremendous reputation for being able to scare his opponents, almost literally, to death.

Despite all those headlines about how worried Cassius was before fight time, the young Louisville Lip roared into fray in the first round, attacking and proving that there was no fear in his heart.

Actually, Clay delivered a greater psychological beating to the now deposed champ than a physical one. His fight did not begin in the ring in Miami. It began months ago when Cassius initiated his phychological warfare, taunting Liston, making him angry, and low-rating him in his own inimitable way.

I don't think there can really be any doubt or shadow cast upon Clay's clear-cut victory. Liston's failure to come out into the ring to take the rest of his beating is upheld by medical testimony.

Liston A Keen Disappointment

However, most of us, who are accustomed to seeing the gladiators win their honors in the center of the ring and lose them there, could not help feeling a keen disappointment that Liston should go out like this. Frankly, I feel it was the beating he had taken and the cuts on his face which caused him to decide not to show for the seventh round.

Many people have asked me if I am disturbd because, ideologically, Cassius has taken on a new "trainer"—Malcolm X of the Black Muslims. Why should I be disturbed? Clay has just as much right to ally himself with the Muslim religion as anyone else has to be a Protestant or a Catholic.

There are those who scoff at the claim by Mr. Muhammad's Muslims that they represent a religion. These people have the right to their opinion. On the other hand, one of the basic American principles involves the right of each individual ot embrace a philosophy and call it his religion.

People who are concerned over Clay's alliance with the Muslims seem mainly worried lest great flocks of young and adult Negroes will suddenly turn to the Islam ranks. I don't believe this will happen. I don't think the Negro people, en masse, will embrace Black Muslimism any more than they have embraced Communism.

What The Negro Really Wants

Young and old, Negro people by the tens of thousands, went into the streets in America and proved their willingness to suffer, fight, and even die for freedom. These peopl want more democracy—not less. They want to be integrated into the mainstream of American life, not invited to live in some small cubicle of this land in splendid isolation.

If Negroes ever turn to the Black Muslim movement, in any numbers, it will not be because of Cassius or even Minis-

Watch On Potomac

Presidential Meetings With Press

By ROBERT G. SPIVACK

WASHINGTON

The President sat at a desk. In a semi-circle seated around him were some of his questioners, also seated at desks. Others a little further away sat in foam-cushioned chairs. The International Treaty room of the State Department is a cozier, more comfortable place in which to meet reporters than the cavernous auditorium where JFK met the press or the overcrowded Indian Treaty room where Gen. Eisenhower held his press conferences. To get recognized, the newsmen and newswomen raised their hands and the President called on them as a teacher might. In fact, at one point in answering a question about the first 100 days, the President said: "I think, generally speaking, the American nation has conducted itself as you would expect it to in a crisis, and would get very good grades."

MR. SPIVACK

From that almost casual comment we begin, I think, to get some insight into the kind of President the new Chief Executive will become. He is going to be a kind of teacher for the nation, taking us along step by step as he becomes more familiar with his task, but not expecting either the public or the President to absorb everything in one easy lesson.

And, at times, there may be a verbal spanking if he thinks someone is getting out of line. It's likely to be gentle but pointed. Mindful of some recent complaints, the President said he would continue to see individual members of the press "and I may see some of my oldtime friends socially, occasionally, and I hope without too much criticism."

Makes A Point

"The Best Years Of My Life"

Cancer Can Be Stopped --If Discovered In Time

(EDITOR'S NOTE: UPI staff correspondent Clarence Rawlings of Los Angeles underwent surgery for cancer five years ago. Last week he passed the medical deadline of five years without recurrence. Here are his observations on "the best years of my life" and on cancer and its cure.)

By CLARENCE RAWLINGS
United Press International

DESPITE impressive medical advances in recent years in the fight against cancer, the disease remains one of the most feared of mankind's afflictions. Even the word cancer—or its medical term "carcinoma"—has an ominous tone. The abbreviation "ca" doesn't help mucn.

It should be remembered, however, that fear is usually a result of a lack of knowledge. Cancer is not quite as ominous as it sounds—if it is discovered in time. I'm not saying I wasn't frightened when I was told I had cancer five years ago. And I've kept in contact with doctors since then to make sure there are no signs of a recurrence.

The Five-Year Grace Period

The doctors say that if there is no recurrence of the disease within five years after the initial treatment, the treatment is considered a success. I have passed that magic mark now, and I feel that I am one of the luckiest guys in the world for having had those five years. They were among the best years of my life.

I've led a normal life during those years—as normal as a newspaperman's life can be, that is—and am looking forward to many more years of healthy, interesting living. Some aren't so fortunate. My sister-in-law died of stomach cancer at the same time that I was on the operating table with chest cancer.

I was just 26 years old when I was told I had cancer. The infection was in the lymphatic glands on the left side of my upper chest area. Of nine lymph nodes removed during the operation, seven were malignant—but apparently the malignancy had spread no further.

As a precaution, there was a second exploratory surgery, with no malignancy showing up, and subsequent X-ray therapy, or cobalt treatments in the area of my chest. The amount of radiation given was the maximum allowed for safety—until my skin began to peel away.

The only signs that remain of this today is a long scar running diagonally down across my chest, with my skin stretched tight across my rib cage with no fatty tissue or chest muscles underneath. One of the most frightening aspects of the case for me was the fact that immediately after surgry—and for several weeks afterward—I was unable to use my left arm or hand. This was because of the removal of chest muscles that usually are used to manipulate the arm and hand.

I thought: "How can I be a news writer when I can't use my left hand to type with?" There was no need for this fear, however. Through therapy, I learned to use nomally unused muscles in my arm to do the work of the muscles missing from my chest.

A long and tedious process, to be sure, but not so difficult when you know you must before you can ever get back to work. Within three months I was back at the typewriter and out covering news stories.

Another Who Wasn't Lucky

On one occasion, shortly after my return to the job, I had occasion to meet Dr. Thomas Dooley, the famous "jungle doctor" who cared for the sick in the wilderness of Laos. He had undergone surgery very similar to mine. The young doctor with whom I was so impressed later succumbed to the disease despite all science could do for him. Knowing

NEY was teaching history and government at all-white Norview High School. Some elements of the population — including the City Council — rebelled in a display of emotion and defiance that resulted in the closing of all of the city's white high schools and some of its junior highs. For four months 10,000 children were locked out of their classrooms.

During this era of "massive resistance," the daily papers were frequently flooded with letters to the editors reviling the Supreme Court, and the whole federal judiciary, in fact. The writers castigated the government and vowed that democracy, if it meant letting colored children attend classes with white children, was a vile and repugnant thing which the white people would never tolerate.

One of the better known and more articulate letter writers of that era was Mr. BONNEY whose epistles in the newspapers must have strengthened and encouraged the segregationists. His essays on the evils of integration and the illegality of federal court desegregation orders were written with stubborn fervor.

When the voters were to have the opportunity in the 1959 Democratic primary to choose between massive resisters and moderates for their representatives in the Virginia General Assembly, Mr. BONNEY entered the political arena. He ran on a segregationist ticket which enjoyed the open and apparently wel-

people from Norfolk to other areas . . . with traditional schools, either public or private. Integration with the above-mentioned effect, lowering of the educational standards, and a lack of continuous harmony will deter industry. OUR SCHOOLS MUST REMAIN SEPARATE and government must be returned to the people.

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Now, Tidewater Academy is Norfolk's version of the Prince Edward County device for evading federal court rulings requiring public schools maintained with tax money collected from all citizens to open their doors to all children on a non-discriminatory basis.

But, of course, superintending a private, segregated school is a weekday occupation. On Sundays Mr. BONNEY teaches his Bible class at Epworth Methodist Church and delivers sermonettes on such subjects as "God and Country," which the Freedoms Foundation thought was good enough to merit its George Washington Honor Medal.

Which gives us the idea that we ought to enter this little dissertation in the Freedoms Foundation's 1964 competition. Maybe we, too, can win a prize.

The President Eases Doubts

IMMEDIATELY after the dreadful event at Dallas on November 22, many Negroes — and white sympathizers of their civil rights thrust—wondered whether the accident of Southern (or Southwestern) birth and exposure to regional attitudes would mitigate against President LYNDON B. JOHNSON's support of the drive to erase second-class citizenship from American life. If there ever, actually, was cause for misgivings that cause appears today no longer to exist.

On at least four major occasions the President—who took office under tragic circumstances upon the assassination of JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY — has reaffirmed his unqualified support of equal citizenship. Within days of LEE OSWALD'S murderous marksmanship, Mr. JOHNSON addressed Congress and the world. He gave priority then, as he did later in his State of the Union message, to civil rights.

Late last month, in a Miami visit, he reiterated that position and, again, on February 29th he gave his commitment to human equality and dignity. On his 100th day in the loneliest and most powerful office of all, Mr. JOHNSON denied (during his first "live" press conference) that he would compromise on the Civil Rights Bill of 1964, initially put forth by Mr. KENNEDY. He stressed that he wants the Senate to pass the legislation in the "same form" that it was passed by the House of Representatives on February 17th.

Said the President: "I never discussed with anyone" the idea of compromising on the public accommodations section of the pending bill. Moreover, he declared, "I suspect that these rumors are strictly Republican in orgiin."

A day or so later the Southwooing aspirant for the GOP's nomination for the White House, Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, visiting in North Carolina, opined that only by winning the South could the Republicans evict Mr. JOHNSON from 1600 Pennsylvania avenue.

Of course, he added that he was the man to get the electoral votes of the old Confederacy. (Fortunately, every day Senator GOLDWATER talks himself out of serious consideration to lead this nation).

Neither ROOSEVELT, nor TRUMAN, nor KENNEDY went any further in advocating the broadest spectrum of citizenship rights for disadvantaged Americans than President JOHNSON has done so far.

Walter Lippmann describes Goldwater as an "unquenchable boy." Maybe so. But Rockefeller did his best to quench Barry in New Hampshire.

When his fourth child was born recently, says Sargent Shriver, the doctor remarked that the baby "looks like a senator." A more pressing question is whether Shriver looks like a Vice President.

gladiators win their honors in the center of the ring and lose them there, could not help feeling a keen disappointment that Liston should go out like this. Frankly, I feel it was the beating he had taken and the cuts on his face which caused him to decide not to show for the seventh round.

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Young and old, Negro people by the tens of thousands, went into the streets in America and proved their willingness to suffer, fight, and even die for freedom. These peopl want more democracy—not less. They want to be integrated into the mainstream of American life, not invited to live in some small cubicle of this land in splendid isolation.

If Negroes ever turn to the Black Muslim movement, in any numbers, it will not be because of Cassius or even Minister Malcolm X. It will be because white America has refused to recognize the responsible leadership of the Negro people and to grant to us the same rights that any other citizen enjoys in this land.

Despite the loudness and, sometimes, crudeness of Clay, he has brought excitement back to boxing. He has also spread the message that more of us need to know. "I am the greatest," he says. I am not advocating that Negroes think they are greater than anyone else. But I want them to know that they are just as great as other human beings.

If we can learn to believe in ourselves one iota of the way Clay does, we'll be in great shape. I wish good luck to Cassius, but don't be surprised if Floyd Patterson becomes the first three-time champ—one of these days.

The Lighter Side

Congressmen Waltzing On Eggs Over Pay Hike

By DICK WEST
United Press International

ALL SIGNS indicate that members of Congress are getting ready to vote themselves a $10,000-a-year pay increase. As they go about preparing for this painful ordeal, I would like for them to know that they have my full sympathy and understanding. Right now their someager pay is $22,500.

Next to voting to declare war on somebody, voting themselves a pay raise is probably the most wrenching duty that congressmen are called upon to perform. They approach the task gingerly, as though waltzing on egg shells. Reluctance is etched in the lines of their faces. Plainly, it is not something they want to do.

But sooner or later they must face the moment of truth.

It's The Perquisites That Count

Each member, acting according to the dictates of his own conscience, or pocketbook, will have to stand up and be counted—provided they are unable to get the thing through by voice vote. Actually, in my view at least, the pay of a congressman is not as important as his perquisites. Or, to use a more familiar term, the fringe benefits.

One of the most scholarly dissertations on congressional perquisites that I have seen was composed by Rep. Otis F. Pike, D-N. Y., who was startled to find upon arriving at the Capitol that he was entitled to a free cuspidor every year.

"In addition to the cuspidors, which make nice flowerpots for us effete youngsters who don't chew, we are presented at the start of each Congress with one comb and one hairbrush," Pike reported. "Such are the glorious traditions of our Republic that this presentation is made without regard to the question of whether the member possesses any hair."

As In Stagecoach Days

He also observed that a law-giver can annually avail himself of a footlocker, a throwback to the days when congressmen at the end of a session sent their belongings home by stagecoach. "Those who have been here as long as the chairman of my committe could build a pretty good-sized wall with all the trunks he's entitled to," Pike commented.

'I get haircuts for only 75 cents in the House barbershop," he continued. "They are subsidized. The meals in the House cafeteria are at cost, which makes them very reasonable. When you're a senator, you have a pool to swim in. The House of Representatives hasn't a pool, but they're building a new building to correct this obvious oversight."

I suppose that many members of Congress would resent my move to deprive them of these perquisites. In Pike's case, this would be known as Pike's Pique.

can nation has conducted itself as you would expect it to in a crisis, and would get very good grades."

From that almost casual comment we begin, I think, to get some insight into the kind of President the new Chief Executive will become. He is going to be a kind of teacher for the nation, taking us along step by step as he becomes more familiar with his task, but not expecting either the public or the President to absorb everything in one easy lesson.

And, at times, there may be a verbal spanking if he thinks someone is getting out of line. It's likely to be gentle but pointed. Mindful of some recent complaints, the President said he would continue to see individual members of the press "and I may see some of my oldtime friends socially, occasionally, and I hope without too much criticism."

Makes A Point

He also made a point in passing which seems to have eluded some commentators. Several have taken a rather superior attitude towards the new President whose "Texas style" they regard as less sophisticated than their own.

"I think the President has a responsibility to do the very best job he can as President for all the people. I think, in order to do that, it's important for the people to know the problems that confront him," said Mr. Johnson.

In his own low-key way of talking, Mr. Johnson seemed to be noting that some comments have been less than generous. When one recalls that the first 100 days included a one-hour transition to a new Chief Executive after President Kennedy's assassination, the rioting at Panama, a second coup d'etat in South Viet Nam, and Castro's decision to put the squeeze on the residents of Guantanamo by cutting off their water supply, Mr. Johnson had a point.

On the whole, though, the President said he was "rather pleased with what has been accomplished in the first 100 days." And he had good reason to be pleased. Things were moving more smoothly than usual, business was showing improvement, and Khrushchev seemed to realize that LBJ was no one with whom to trifle.

The new locale of the

(Continued On Next Page)

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Another Who Wasn't Lucky

On one occasion, shortly after my return to the job, I had occasion to meet Dr. Thomas Dooley, the famous "jungle doctor" who cared for the sick in the wilderness of Laos. He had undergone surgery very similar to mine. The young doctor with whom I was so impressed later succumbed to the disease despite all science could do for him. Knowing him—even though it was only briefly—was an experience I shall never forget.

Apparently the big difference between the disease that hit Dr. Dooley and the affliction that struck me was that the doctors found mine sooner—soon enough to arrest it and to keep it from spreading out of control.

Cancer can be stopped—if it is discovered in time.

Inquiring Reporter:

By SOUTHALL BASS III

QUESTION: What's your idea of a dream job?

(Editor's Note: This question was asked of members of the Quest Club at D. G. Jacox Junior High School, composed of top scholastic students.)

Mr. Thomas

Miss McDaniel

Miss Matthews

Mr. Tucker

Miss Jordan

Mr. Ramey

JOHN CHARLES THOMAS, 1464 Proescher street, eighth grade: To be the top scientist in the country and head a chemical division in some big company would be it. I can't think of anything more exciting than to have other scientists refer to you as a "scientist's scientist."

JOSEPHINE McDANIEL, 2545 Tidewater drive, eighth grade: First, before I think of a job, I want to finish my schooling and be able to qualify for the tops in my field. I am interested in art and a dream to me would be to receive a commission to do a mural in a famous building at a fabulous fee.

DEBORAH MATTHEWS, 600 Goff street, eighth grade: I think social work is most fascinating, and I plan to enter that work. A dream come true would be to come on an idea that would improve slums and help education. To know that you had contributed to this situation would be most rewarding.

HENRY TUCKER JR., 2833 Mapleton avenue, eighth grader: Science is what I really like, and hope to work towards that end. I think a dream job for me would be to design an atomic power reactor plant, one so powerful it could be used in rockets. This would be a dream come true.

CONSTANCE JORDAN, 1030 Parish road, eighth grade: I have always dreamed of a job that would be interesting and never hold a dull minute. I want to be a secretary, an dto be able to be confidential secretary to a top government official would be all one could dream for.

CLAYTON RAMEY, 2504 Ruffin street, ninth grader: I like medicine and hope to go on to finish school and be a good doctor. But as a dream job I would like after I finish school to intern in the research field of medicine so as to try to prevent these dread diseases and really help mankind.

P B YOUNG PUBLISHER

Journal and Guide

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE GUIDE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

719 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VIRGINIA

March 14, 1964

General Dwight D. Eisenhower
Gettysburg, Pennsylvania

Dear General Eisenhower:

I am writing this letter under the assumption that you may have a connection with the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, Pa. If you do not, please forgive the intrusion.

But even so, you might find interesting an editorial in the current issue of the Journal and Guide, commenting on the Foundation's selection of a Norfolkian to receive one of its medals.

You may recall that I was one of the group of five newspaper publishers who visited you last November to discuss civil rights. That was for us a very pleasant and rewarding experience. We left with the feeling that you are genuinely and sincerely concerned about the denial of basic human and civil rights to any person on the basis of race or color or religion.

With that in mind, I am enclosing a tear sheet containing the editorial and a copy of the letter I have written to the Freedoms Foundation about this particular award.

Cordially yours,

Thomas W. Young
Publisher

TWY:wm
Encls.

P B YOUNG PUBLISHER

Journal and Guide

MAdison 5-3686

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE GUIDE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

719 EAST CITY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VIRGINIA

March 14, 1964

Freedoms Foundation
Valley Forge, Pennsylvania

Gentlemen:

You recently awarded the George washington Honor Medal to Mr. Hal J. Bonney, Jr. of Norfolk. The article about the award in local newspapers said it was in recognition of Mr. Bonney's "outstanding achievement during 1963 in bringing about a better understanding of the American way of life."

In view of that I think you will be interested in an editorial in the current issue of the Journal and Guide. This relates some of Mr. Bonney's other activities and interests which we find extremely difficult to reconcile with the Foundation's appraisal of his dedication to the cause of freedom.

For example, he is an ardent supporter of (1) racial segregation; (2) "massive resistance"--the words used by Senator Harry Byrd to describe the posture of defiance he thought Virginians ought to assume in the face of federal court orders to desegregate public schools; (3) the closing of public schools, as a noble alternative to integrated classrooms; and (4) the establishment of private, segregated schools to defeat the mandate of the Supreme Court of the United States.

As a believer in the purposes for which the Freedoms Foundation Awards were established, I think there is ample reason for maintaining that freedom, in this instance, did take a holiday.

Very truly yours,

Thomas W. Young
President

TWY:wm

FREEDOMS FOUNDATION AT VALLEY FORGE

VALLEY FORGE, PENNSYLVANIA 19481

215-933-8825

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GENERAL THOMAS D. WHITE
KENDRICK R. WILSON, JR.
WILLIAM ZECKENDORF, JR.
* EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

March 23, 1964

Mr. Thomas W. Young, President
Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

I appreciate very much your letter of March 14 and believe deeply that you have been sound in writing to me as you have.

In the work of Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, we look constantly to every phase of American life, speaking up for economic, political, spiritual and social aspects that are fundamental to the American Credo. It is our deep hope that as we proceed that we shall, through our independent Awards Jury, always have the privilege of selecting those individuals as recipients who have touched the very deep points of the American constitutional purpose.

The Sunday School lesson, entitled "God and Country" was a fine spiritual message as one reviews it.

We have no detailed information on all the aspects of each recipient's life and works.

You may be interested in knowing that we have announced the building of the George Washington Carver Library at Valley Forge. Its purpose is to build a better understanding of the contribution of the American Negro to the American culture. A very distinguished committee of people from all races have been working on this subject which will research from the early days on this continent to the present.

FREEDOMS FOUNDATION AT VALLEY FORGE is located west of Valley Forge State Park and the village of Valley Forge on Pennsylvania Route 23.

FREEDOMS FOUNDATION AT VALLEY FORGE

2 March 23, 1964

Mr. Thomas W. Young, President
Journal and Guide

These are tumultuous, difficult hours when emotion seems to be ruling reason in so many ways.

I thank you for sending me your very reasonable letter for I am sure we understand together that the relationships between people in our country are not fully settled down. We pray that they shall be and that we shall be working harmoniously together all through the future in this constitutional Republic with its democratic methods.

Faithfully yours,

Kenneth D. Wells

Do Come to Valley Forge when you can.

DDE

GETTYSBURG
PENNSYLVANIA

Palm Desert, California
March 24, 1964

Dear Mr. Young:

I read with real interest the editorial entitled, "Freedom Takes a Holiday." I should explain that all the recipients of awards made by Freedoms Foundation are selected by a jury habitually made up of Justices of the Supreme Courts of the several states. The officials of the Foundation strive to maintain complete aloofness from the selection process.

In any event, I am sending your letter to the operating officials of the Foundation to look into the incident which is the subject of your letter.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Dwight D. Eisenhower

Mr. Thomas W. Young
Publisher
"Journal and Guide"
719 East Olney Road
Norfolk 1, Virginia

Board - Pg. 20.
Young, T. W.

P. B. YOUNG PUBLISHER

Journal and Guide

MEMBER AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

TELEPHONE 53686

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE GUIDE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

719 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VIRGINIA

March 25, 1964

Mrs. Mildred M. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

Thank you ever so much for the information in your letter of March 17th.

I will contact the manufacturer in Philadelphia for further help in designing and producing the badges.

Sincerely,

Thomas W. Young

Thomas W. Young

TWY:wm

March 17, 1964

Mr. Thomas W. Young
Publisher
Journal and Guide
719 E. Olney Road
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

I had not intended to be this long answering your letter of the 11th, but all of us here are kept with our noses to the grindstone.

I have checked with the local branch of Dennison Manufacturing Company, which makes the little convention badge we used for Annual Meeting. I was told that the district outlet which serves your area is located at 1621 Broad Locust Building, 1405 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (19102).

The lady with whom I talked here told me that the number of badges you'd probably need for your purposes, would constitute a special order, and suggested that if you would want special wording on the ones you order, the company would make them up to your specifications without, she thinks, any additional cost.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

Jite: Brown v. Young Thomas

P. B. YOUNG PUBLISHER

Journal and Guide

MEMBER AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

TELEPHONE 53686

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE GUIDE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

719 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VIRGINIA

March 11, 1964

Miss Mildred M. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Johnson:

At the last Council meeting the members were given identification badges which had a self-adhesive back and could be attached to the clothing by pressure.

I would like to know where these are manufactured, or where they can be purchased.

What I have in mind is getting a large quantity printed to give away to groups holding conventions and conferences as a form of advertising for the Journal and Guide.

I would appreciate the information if you can furnish it.

Sincerely,

Thomas W. Young

Thomas W. Young
Publisher

TWY:wm

Rec'd 3/30/64

Journal and Guide

719 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VIRGINIA

March 27, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Leslie:

Not encl.

You may find of interest the enclosed editorial published in the Guide recently, and copies of communications between the Freedom's Foundation and General Eisenhower and myself.

Sincerely,

Thomas W. Young
Publisher

TWY/df

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE GUIDE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

MJ
file
Board - Thomas Young

April 1, 1964

Mr. Thomas W. Young
Publisher
Journal and Guide
719 E. Olney Road
Norfolk 1, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

We have your letter of March 27 to Mr. Dunbar. You mentioned that you were enclosing an editorial frpm your paper, and correspondence between yourself, General Eisenhower and Freedom's Foundation. These enclosures were missing from your letter. I'm sure Mr. Dunbar would appreciate seeing them.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

P. B. YOUNG PUBLISHER

Journal and Guide

MEMBER AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

TELEPHONE 53686

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE GUIDE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

719 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VIRGINIA

TAV
VJ
PW Wonderful!
ML
SB - file enclosures
MJ - file letter
File Board
Young, Thomas

May 4, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Leslie:

After it was brought to my attention that I had inadvertently omitted the enclosures from my letter of March 27th, I decided to wait until the replies were in so that you would have the full story.

We have just now gotten around to making these copies and I am pleased to enclose them herewith, along with the March 27th editorial. I think you will find these of interest.

Sincerely,

Tom

Thomas W. Young
Publisher

TWY:wm
Encls.

See you on the 11th

J.

May 7, 1964

Mr. Thomas W. Young
Journal and Guide
719 E. Olney Road
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Tom:

Thank you for your letters and the copy of your editorial. It is all great.

If you per chance get into town Sunday, please give me a call at home: Me. 4-0182.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

32
8
14

Journal and Guide

MEMBER AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

MAdison 5-3686

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE GUIDE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

719 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VIRGINIA

File
Board: Young, Thomas W.

July 20, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Mailed July 21, 1964

Dear Les:

I have just received the enclosed letter from Mr. Dabbs. I am sure he intended that I would sign it and mail the letter to Governor Collins.

However, since he did not include an envelope and I do not have any council stationery, I am sending the letter to you to be mailed from Atlanta in one of your envelopes.

In view of the urgency, I suggest sending it by air mail. You will observe that I have affixed my signature to the letter.

Sincerely,

Tom

Thomas W. Young
President

TWY:heh
enc.
cc: Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, S. C.

Bring up in September or later

MEMORANDUM May 26, 1969

To: Janet Smith

From: MMJohnson

Dr. A. D. Beitel has resigned from the Board effective immediately. He's moving to California. However, we will not have a permanent California address until early fall of this year. In the meantime, and after June 10th, should you need to send something to him, his address will be: 215 West King Street, Lancaster, Pennsylvania 17603. Paul suggests that you simply pull his plate from the Board tray and await a permanent address in the fall at which time we will begin again sending him our materials.

May 26, 1969

Dr. A. D. Beittel
1666 Lelia Drive
Jackson, Mississippi 39216

Dear Dan:

While I know you look forward to your summer and your new residence in California, I am, nevertheless, very saddened that you are leaving the region.

You have made quite a contribution to the region and have been a good and loyal friend and adviser to the Council.

In the fall let us know your permanent address so that we can continue to send you all our materials.

In the meantime, have a good trip and my warmest regards to you both.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.

Mississippi Program

P. O. Box 4325, Fondren Station, Jackson, Mississippi 39216

(601) 366-8242

1666 Lelia Drive
Jackson, Ms. 39216
May 23, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I am writing to let you know that reluctantly I must resign from the Southern Regional Council inasmuch as we are moving out of the Region.

On June 13th, the movers are scheduled to load our belongings and put them into storage. On June 14th we expect to leave Jackson, apend a few days with my sister in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, a couple of days in New York, and fly to London on June 22d. The summer will be spent chiefly in Northern Europe, Ireland, Scandinavian countries, Helsinki, Leningrad, Moscow, Warsaw, then to Berlin to visit our younger son. Returning to the United States in September, we shall spend a little time in Lancaster with my sister, then travel west to California, where we expect to establish residence in the Bay area, not far from our older son in San Rafael, California.

After June 10th, our address will be 215 West King Street, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 17603, until we settle down in the fall, perhaps about November. Will you please see that my address is changed to Lancaster for the present. When we have a permanent address California I shall advise you and become a paying subscriber to New South.

I have enjoyed working with the Southern Regional Council and I want to continue to see the developments in the South through the eyes of SRC.

Cordially yours

Dave

A. D. Beittel

South Central Regional Office • 4717 Crawford • Houston, Texas 77004

October 24, 1969

Dr. A. D. Beittel
206 Emerystone Terrace
San Rafael, California 94903

Dear Dan:

Many thanks for the note. We will change your address on our New South mailing and will add you to our general mailing list.

Warmest regards to you both.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.

Mississippi Program

P. O. Box 4325, Fondren Station, Jackson, Mississippi 39216

(601) 366-8242

206 Emerystone Terrace
San Rafael, Cal. 94903
October 21, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Goergia 30303

Dear Paul:

After spending the summer in Europe, then driving across Canada, we have landed in California, bought a house at the above address, and are now awaiting the arrival of the moving van bringing our belongings from Mississippi.

Please see that NEW SOUTH has our new address and send us a bill for the subscription. Also keep us on your mailing list so that we may continue to have some intelligent commentary on developments in the South. It appears that the present administration has made no significant moves in the implementation of civil rights.

Keep our address in your files and when your travels bring you to California, stop to see us.

Ruth joins me in sending our love to you and to all our SRC friends.

Cordially yours

Dan

A. D. Beittel

South Central Regional Office • 4717 Crawford • Houston, Texas 77004

Past Member

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 1, Ga.

Board of Directors - Biographical Data Sheet

Name Most Rev. Joseph B. Brunini Address 124 N. West St., Jackson, Miss.

Current Profession and Employment Auxiliary Bishop of the Diocese of Natchez-Jackson and Pastor of St. Peter's Co-Cathedral, Jackson, Miss.

Background:

See biographical sketch enclosed.

LIFE SKETCH OF THE MOST REVEREND JOSEPH B. BRUNINI, D.D.

The Most Reverend Joseph B. Brunini, D.D., J.C.D., LL.D., V.G., was born July 24, 1909, at Vicksburg, Mississippi, the son of Mr. and Mrs. John Brunini. He received his grammar grade and high school education under the Sisters of Mercy at St. Francis Xavier Academy, Vicksburg, and at St. Aloysius School, Vicksburg, conducted by the Brothers of the Sacred Heart.

After receiving his A.B. degree in 1930 from Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., he studied at North American College, Rome, receiving the degree of Bachelor of Sacred Theology, and was ordained as a Catholic priest on December 5, 1933.

Bishop Brunini returned from Europe in 1934 and was appointed to study Canon Law at the Catholic University, Washington, D.C., where he received the degree of Doctor of Canon Law in 1937. He then became assistant at the Cathedral in Natchez and was appointed Chancellor of the Diocese on October 27, 1941. Bishop Brunini has also served as rector of the Cathedral in Natchez and in other Diocesan capacities. He was designated by His Holiness, Pope Pius XII, as a Protonotary Apostolic with the title of Right Reverend Monsignor. He has served as Pastor of St. Peter's Co-Cathedral, Jackson, Mississippi, since December of 1949. In 1951 he was appointed by Bishop Gerow as Vicar General of the Diocese. He is also Dean of the Jackson District and a Diocesan Consultor.

For a number of years, Bishop Brunini represented Bishop Gerow in assisting the nursing Sisters who staff Mercy Hospital-Street Memorial in Vicksburg, St. Joseph's Hospital in Meridian, and St. Dominic's Hospital in Jackson. He has been active in the Mississippi State Hospital Association and is the past president of the Catholic Hospital

Association of the United States and Canada. He is a Fourth Degree Knight of Columbus.

On January 29, 1957, Bishop Brunini was consecrated Auxiliary Bishop of the Diocese of Natchez-Jackson.

In November 1957 Bishop Brunini received an honorary Doctor of Laws Degree from Georgetown University.

Clement

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 1, Ga.

Board of Directors - Biographical Data Sheet

Name Rufus E. Clement Address Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.

Current Profession and Employment President - Atlanta University

Telephone: Ja. 3-6431

Background:

EXCERPTS FROM WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA

Born: June 26, 1900, Salisbury, North Carolina

Education: AB degree, Livingston College, 1919
BD " Garrett Bible Institute, 1922
AM " Northwestern Univ., 1922
PhD " Northwestern Univ., 1930

Married: Former Pearl A. Johnson, 1919

Experience: 1922-25 Inst. in history, Livingston Coll.
1925-31 Professor and Dean, Livingston Coll.
1931-37 Dean, Louisville Municipal Coll. (University of Louisville)
1937 President, Atlanta University

Memberships: Elected member Atl. Bd. of Education, 1954-57 term.
NEA delegate World Organ. of Teaching Profession, 1949
PRES. Conf. of Presidents of Land Grant Colleges
Del. World Methodist Conf, Oxford Univ., 1951
Trustee Livingston College, Morehouse & Spelman Colls.
Vice-Pres. Southern Conf. Educational Fund

Dr. Clement has contributed to various publications on the subject of Negro education.

Home address: 691 Beckwith Street, S. W.

Resigned

Knoxville College

UNDER AUSPICES OF THE BOARD OF NATIONAL MISSIONS
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
KNOXVILLE 21, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

February 11, 1959

file

Mrs. Mildred Flowers
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Flowers:

In accordance with your request, I am enclosing background information for your files.

Kind personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

James A. Colston

James A. Colston
~~President~~

jac/mab
enclosures: 2

Residence: Ph. 2-3434

Business: Ph. 5-9588

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 1, Ga.

Board of Directors - Biographical Data Sheet

Name James A. Colston Address 901 College Street, Knoxville College
Knoxville 21, Tennessee

Current Profession and Employment President of Knoxville College

Knoxville, Tennessee

Background:

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

of

James Allen Colston

President of Knoxville College
Knoxville, Tennessee

GENERAL INFORMATION

Born- Quincy, Florida, July 27, 1909

Present Address- Knoxville College, Knoxville 16, Tennessee
Telephone 5-9588 or 2-3434

Permanent Address- 889 West Fairbanks Avenue, Winter Park, Florida
Telephone 3-1801

Married- Wilhelmina T. White, December 22, 1935

Children- Jean Alliece Colston- 15 years old

Church Affiliation- United Presbyterian

Fraternal Organizations- Mason- Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity

EDUCATION

Morehouse Academy, Atlanta, Georgia	Diploma	1928
Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia	B.S.	1932
Atlanta University	M.A.	1933
New York University	Ph.D.	1950
Monmouth College	LL.D.	1954

EXPERIENCE

Rigby High School, Ormond Beach, Florida	-1933-1937-	Principal
Ballard High School, Macon, Georgia	-1938-1941-	Director
Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Florida	-1942-1946-	President
Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia	-1946-1947-	Director of Public Relations
Georgia State College, Savannah, Georgia	-1947-1949-	President
New York University, New York	-1949-1950-	Lecturer in Education
A & T College, Greensboro, North Carolina	-1950-1951-	Professor of Education and Chairman of the Department
Knoxville College, Knoxville, Tennessee	-1951	- President

Past Member

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 1, Ga.

Board of Directors - Biographical Data Sheet

Name J. K. Carsman Address Ryan Consolidated Petroleum Corp.
3400 Republic Nat'l. Bank Bldg.
Dallas 1, Texas

Current Profession and Employment

Background:

JEROME K. CROSSMAN

Born Gainesville, Texas, September, 1896
Moved to Dallas with parents 1909
Attended Dallas Public Schools
Graduated University of Texas

American Expeditionary Forces, France, World War I

Business and Professional

Ryan Consolidated Petroleum Corporation - President and Director
Axe-Houghton Fund A - Director
Axe-Houghton Fund B - Director
[illegible]
Great American Reserve Insurance Company - Director
Crossman, Ballen & Hoffman - Investments - Partner
Dallas Capital Corporation - President
Member, American Bar Association, Dallas Bar Association, [illegible] and Texas Bar Association

Civic

Dallas Chamber of Commerce - President 1954 and 1955, and Director
Dallas Citizens Interracial Association - President and Director
Greater Dallas Planning Council - Director
Texas Research Foundation - Member of Board of Trustees Vice Pres. 1957
Dallas Council on World Affairs - Member General Board of Directors and Executive Committee/
Community Chest - Vice President 1952-53, Director, and ex-officio member, Church Relations Committee
Children's Development Center - Board of Directors
The Menninger Foundation, Topeka, Kansas - Member of Board of Governors
National Conference of Christians and Jews - Director and Member of Executive and Finance Committees, and former Co-Chairman Dallas Division
Dallas Art Association - Member Board of Trustees, and Vice President 1956-57
Dallas Heart Association - Chairman of the Board 1950-54
Dallas Child Guidance Clinic - Vice President and Director 1954
Dallas Citizens Council
Dallas Civic Music Association - Chairman of 1954 Membership Campaign
Dallas Employment on Merit Council
Dallas Mental Health Society - Director
Dallas Peoples Bond Committee - Co-Chairman
Dallas Pilot Institute for the Deaf - Member Advisory Committee
Dallas School for Blind Children - Director
Dallas Rehabilitation Institute
Dallas Symphony Orchestra - Sponsor
New York Guild for the Blind - Consulting Director
St. Peter's Academy Building Fund - Chairman of Finance and Budget Committee
Texas Good Roads Association - Director
Texas Heart Association - Director
Texas Psychiatric Foundation - Director
University of Dallas - Co-Chairman Advance and Memorial Gifts 1954
U. S. O. - Member of Operating Committee
American Red Cross - Chairman of Group II 1950-54
Citizens Advisory Committee - City Transit Problem 1954
Citizens Charter Association - Member of Advisory Council
Citizens Hospital Advisory Council
Commission on Health Needs of the Nation - Chairman Regional Southwest Meeting at Dallas
Central Dads' Club of Texas - Dallas County Region - General Chairman for 1954 Variety Show
Dallas Grand Opera Association - Sponsor
Dallas Health Museum - Sponsor
Northwest Dallas Public Library - Board of Trustees
Walnut Hill Dads' Club - Executive Committee - Chairman of Budget Committee
Institute on American Freedom, Southern Methodist University, 1953 - Sponsor
Soroptimist Club Crippled Children's Camp Fund Raising Campaign - Chairman 1956

Received 1954 Linz Award (The highest honor for outstanding civic work in Dallas)
Received 1954 "Headliner of the Year" Award from the Press Club of Dallas "for significant contributions to his community."

[illegible]
Southwestern Legal Foundation - Board of Trustees
National Municipal League - Board of Governors
Salvation Army - Member of Advisory Committee
Dallas Theater Center, Inc. - Board of Directors
Girl Scouts of America -
Temple Emanu-El - Trustee (Past President Temple Emanu-El Brotherhood)
Educational TV Foundation - Director
National Jewish Hospital at Denver - Chairman, Southwest Region 1957

past Member

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 1, Ga.

Board of Directors - Biographical Data Sheet

Name Mrs. Jas. S. Crate Address ~~2410 Inwood Dr. Houston 19 Tex.~~ 8510 Ferris Street Houston 35, Tex.

Current Profession and Employment President Texas Council on Human Relations (new name)

Background:

1930-31 - Social Service Bureau divided Houston in seven (7) divisions - I served as chairman of one division with 10 assistants - handling 850 cases - 75% were Negro families.

Chairman co-ordinating committee of Negro Branch YWCA with the Board of Central Y. (6 yrs.). Served on Board 16 yrs.

Christian Social Relations Chairman (4 yrs) United Church Women of Tex. Then served 6 yrs. as Race Relation Chairman.

Social Education & Action of Presbyterian Church U.S.A. as chairman in local Church - Presbyterial and Synodical (state wide) 4 yrs in each office.

Member of Tex. Commission on Race Relations since 1931

Chairman Houston Commission on Race Relations 6 yrs.

Treasurer of Tex. Commission on Race Relations (4 yrs)

President of Tex. Commission on Race Relations (5 yrs)

Awards for work in Race Relations:

1953 - Zeta Phi Beta Sorority Inc. (Negro)

1955 Olivia Hogue Memorial Award by Houston Council on Education in Race Relations (8 organizations)

TEXAS COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS

Affiliated With

The Southern Regional Council

GReenwood 6-3150
~~309 W. 21st Street~~ 504 N. 24th St.
Austin, Texas

DIRECTORS

Ponnie Ames
Tivoli

Dr. F. Rivers Barnwell
Fort Worth

Mrs. Pauline W. Campbell
Houston

Mrs. C. H. Christian
Austin

Dr. J. L. Clark
Huntsville

Jerome K. Crossman
Dallas

Mrs. B. J. Covington
Houston

Mrs. E. E. Crowder
Fort Worth

Dr. Erie I. Darnall
Dallas

Rev. Sherwood S. Davis
San Antonio

Mrs. C. D. Eidson
Waco

Miss Laura Edwards
Waco

Thomas S. Friedman
Houston

Mrs. John M. Hanna
Dallas

I. Q. Hurdle
San Antonio

Mrs. A. E. S. Johnson
Marlin

Mrs. C. L. Johnson
Conroe

Mrs. P. D. Johnson
Marshall

A. E. McMillan
Waco

Rev. J. T. Morrow
San Antonio

O. A. Rowe
Jasper

Charles A. Shaw
Houston

Dr. Blake Smith
Austin

Mrs. Tommie Stroud
Waco

Carter G. Wesley
Houston

Mrs. H. D. Winn
Dallas

OFFICERS

PRESIDENT
Mrs. James S. Crate
Houston

VICE PRESIDENTS
Dr. W. R. Banks
Prairie View

Dr. W. J. Kilgore
Waco

SECRETARY
Mrs. Nanie B. Aycox
Houston

TREASURER PRO TEM
W. G. Carnahan
Austin

HISTORIAN
J. D. McLeod
Huntsville

2410 Inwood Dr.
Houston 19 Texas
July 16 - 1957

Mr. Paul Anthony
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Your letter requesting biographical material came whil I was out of the city. I just returned last night.

I presume what you want is a history of my work in Race Relations which I am enclosing. If this is not correct I will be glad to supply further information.

Sincerely

(Mrs. Jas. S.) Margaret B. Crate

PHILANDER SMITH COLLEGE
ROOSEVELT D. CROCKETT, PRESIDENT
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

April 23, 1964

Mrs. Mildred Johnson
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

I have enclosed a biographical sketch of my life in response to your request of April 21. I regret that this was not placed in your hands earlier.

Sending best regards, I remain

Cordially yours,

Roosevelt D. Crockett
President

RDC:rws

Encs. - 2

file. See Board "Who's Who" Past Member

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Dr. Roosevelt D. Crockett was born at Forrest City, Arkansas where he received his primary and secondary training. His higher education consists of the B.A. degree from Philander Smith College, B. D. degree from Drew University in Madison, New Jersey, and the Ph.D. degree from Boston University in Massachusetts. His professional experiences include the following:

1. He has been a pastor of Methodist churches in Jersey City, New Jersey and Greensboro, North Carolina.
2. Director of Religious Extension Work at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama.
3. Acting Chaplain, Tuskegee Institute
4. Director of Religious Activities at Bennett College, Greensboro, North Carolina
5. Professor of Philosophy and Sociology at Bennett College
6. Director of Youth Work at the Church of All Nations and at Goodwill Industries in Boston
7. Professor of Education and Sociology at Alabama State College in Montgomery
8. Associate Dean of the Graduate Division at Alabama State
9. Administrative Assistant to the President of Alabama State
10. President of Philander Smith College since June, 1961

Dr. Crockett's academic and professional memberships include:

1. The American Sociological Association
2. The Southern Sociological Society
3. The Rural Sociological Society
4. The American Teachers Association
5. The Arkansas Teachers Association
6. Association of Presidents of Methodist Colleges and Universities

(Over)

His church affiliations are:

1. He is a member of the Southwest Conference of The Methodist Church.

2. His Quarterly Conference membership is with Wesley Chapel Methodist Church, Little Rock.

Board Memberships are:

1. Southern Regional Council

2. Advisory Board of Arkansas Council on Human Relations

3. Board of Directors of the Pulaski County Health and Welfare Council

4. Advisory Committee of the Little Rock Housing Authority

5. Little Rock Citizens Committee

He holds membership in the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc., and in Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity. He is also a member of Alpha Kappa Mu Honor Society.

His literary productions have appeared in the "Central Christian Advocate," and in the "College and Church", an organ of the American Council on Education, and the "Leadership Review."

Dr. Crockett is married. Their son is an instructor of English at San Jose State College, San Jose, California.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 1, Ga.

Board of Directors - Biographical Data Sheet

Name Dr. Roosevelt D. Crockett Address Philander Smith College

Current Profession and Employment President, Philander Smith College

Little Rock, Arkansas

Background:

Home Address: 1123 Izard Street, Little Rock, Arkansas

Home Phone: FR. 2-7709

Livingstone College

Salisbury, N. C.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 28, 1960

Mrs. Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Flowers:

As per your request of June 24, 1960, I am enclosing biographical information for the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

S. E. Duncan by: n.v.

S. E. Duncan, President

SED:mg
Enclosure

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

Duncan

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 1, Ga.

Board of Directors - Biographical Data Sheet

Name Samuel Edward Duncan Address Livingstone College, Salisbury, N. C.

Current Profession and Employment President, Livingstone College
Salisbury, North Carolina

Background: Telephone: ME 6-3062

Born in Madisonville, Kentucky, 1904
Finished high school and college at Livingstone College, A.B. 1927
Received M. A. degree, Cornell University, 1932
Received Ph.D. degree, Cornell University, 1949
Served as instructor of Science at Washington High School, Reidsville, N. C., 1927-1930
Principal of Dunbar High School, East Spencer, North Carolina, 1931-1938.
Principal Washington High School, Reidsville, North Carolina, 1938-1946
State Supervisor Negro High Schools of North Carolina, 1946-1958
Served during summer sessions at Livingstone College, A. & T. College, North Carolina College at Durham, and Tuskegee Institute.
President of Livingstone College, 1958-

Not long on Board

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

May 18, 1962

The Rev. John E. Hines
520 San Jacinto Street
Houston 2, Texas

My dear Bishop Hines:

It has been very helpful in the past to have in our central files biographical information on each of our Board Members. However, our files show no such data for you.

Since we are in the process of up-dating our Board membership file, we would appreciate your submitting a bit of background information on the enclosed form and returning it to us. We realize that you are very busy, but hope that this will only deprive you of a few minutes.

Sincerely yours,

Mildred M. Johnson

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

LWD
mj-file

NEWS RELEASE

RECEIVED
MAY 25 1968

RELEASE DATE:

From Charles P. Thobae, Tel. JA 9-4347

DIOCESE OF TEXAS, 520 SAN JACINTO ST., HOUSTON 2, TEXAS

Resigned - Left Region

BIOGRAPHY
THE RT. REV. JOHN E. HINES

HOUSTON, TEXAS -- The Rt. Rev. John Elbridge Hines, fourth Bishop in the 112 year history of the Diocese of Texas, received his early education in his birthplace, Seneca, South Carolina.

He studied at the University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee, receiving his B.A. Degree in 1930. He obtained B.D. and D.D. Degrees from Virginia Theological Seminary, and in 1933 was ordained a deacon of the Episcopal Church. In 1934 Bishop Hines was ordained a priest. In 1946 Bishop Hines received a D.D. Degree from the School of Theology of the University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee. He also holds a D.D. Degree from the Virginia Theological Seminary.

While at Sewanee as an undergraduate, Bishop Hines was elected to membership in Phi Beta Kappa.

Following completion of his education, he served churches in St. Louis and Hannibal, Missouri, in Augusta, Georgia and then, from 1940 to 1945, he served as rector of Christ Church, Houston.

In 1945 he was elected Bishop Coadjutor of the Diocese of Texas, at which time he had the distinction of being one of the youngest members in the Episcopal Church's House of Bishops.

Bishop of the Diocese of Texas since 1955, Bishop Hines has been active both during and prior to that time in the affairs of the National Council of the Episcopal Church. From 1943 to 1945 he served as a member

of the National Council. In October, 1957, he was elected to National Council membership, representing the Church's Seventh Province. In 1960 he was re-elected to this office.

He is Chairman of the Board of Episcopal Theological Seminary of the Southwest and of St. Stephen's Episcopal School, Austin. He is a member of the boards of the General Theological Seminary in New York City and the University of the South and has been Chairman of the National Commission on College Work for the Episcopal Church.

In 1959, he was elected president of the Council of Churches of Greater Houston.

He served for four years as a member of the State Board of Hospitals and Special Schools during which time he was instrumental in laying the groundwork for the present chaplaincy system.

Bishop Hines and his wife, the former Helen Orwig of St. Louis, Missouri, have five children. Their eldest son, Michael John, and only daughter, Nancy, are both married. They have three other sons: John Christopher, John Moore, and John Stephen.

- 30 -

1/61

First Methodist Church

SEMMES AND GREEN STREETS
ALEXANDER CITY, ALABAMA

DUNCAN HUNTER
MINISTER

BUS. ADAMS 4-3331
RES. ADAMS 4-2633

MILTON CLOUD
MINISTER OF MUSIC

BUS. ADAMS 4-3331
RES. ADAMS 4-4126

February 12, 1959

Mrs. Mildred Flowers
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Flowers:

In reply to your request regarding the file for on the Board Members, my home address is 504 Green Street, Alexander City, Alabama, and my residence telephone is Adams 4-2633.

Yours truly,

Duncan Hunter

Duncan Hunter.

DH:ew

RECEIVED JUL 12 1957

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 1, Ga.

Past member

Board of Directors - Biographical Data Sheet

Name Duncan Hunter Address Alexander City, Alabama

Current Profession and Employment Minister, First Methodist Church
Alexander City, Alabama

Background:

Educated in public schools of Alabama. Graduated from Gadsden, Alabama High School in 1935. Received AB from Vanderbilt University in 1939 and BD degree from Yale Divinity School, Yale University in 1942. Ordained in the Methodist Church in 1942. Served church in Boaz, Alabama where I taught Religion at Snead Junior College. Associate Professor of Religion at Birmingham-Southern College for three years, and interim minister at the Pilgrim Congregational Church in Birmingham. Minister of the First Methodist Church in Russellville, Alabama for four years and in fourth year as minister of the First Methodist Church in Alexander City, Alabama.

Beta Theta Pi social fraternity, ODK honorary fraternity, Kiwanis Club. Deputy Chaplain of the Alabama Wing of the Civil Air Patrol. At times, served as chairman of TB Association, Crippled Children's Society, Community Chest. Third year as President of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

Son of The Rev. J.D. Hunter, Sr. Minister (retired) of the Methodist Church and Katherine DeBardeleben Hunter, both natives of Alabama.

Married Margaret Mattison of Anniston, Alabama.

Three daughters; Ann, Beth, Jeni-su

B'nai Israel

Past Member

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 1, Ga.

Board of Directors - Biographical Data Sheet

Name E. T. Kehrer / Business Address 1065 Gordon Street, SW, Atlanta, Ga.

Current Profession and Employment Southeast Regional Director

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

Phone: PL. 3-1151

Background:

Education: AB - Olivet College, Olivet, Michigan
MA - Yale University, New Haven Connecticut

Union Affiliations: 1936-1937 - UAW, Detroit, Michigan - Organizer
1943-1946 - Ships Clerk Union, Indiana, Organizer
1948-1950 - Workers' Education Bureau, AFL - Field Representative
1950-1953 - Assistant Director, ILGWU Training Institute
1953-Present - Southeast Regional Director, ILGWU

Age: 38

Marital Status: Married - two sons.

Home Address: Route 2, Austell, Georgia

Home Telephone Number: 8671

Mrs. Austin L. Kimball
3131 S. W. 1st Ave., Black Acres
Gainesville, Florida
6-12-59

Dear Mrs. Flowers-

Please please forgive my just plain "put-off-doingness". I just hate writing about myself - so I seize any excuse to avoid so doing. That I've had a few valid ones still does not excuse me.

I am putting what seems important on the enclosed yellow sheet. Please choose what you want for your files and type

it on your form. I do not have a typewriter.

Thank-you so much. I promise to do better in the future.

My warmest wishes to all of you up there for a wonderful summer.

Faithfully,

Norma M. Kimball

Past Member

Name Norma M. Kimball (Mrs. Austin L.)
3131 S.W. 1st Ave., Black Acres,
Gainesville, Florida.
Current Profession or Employment - None
Background -
Born - July 23, 1894 in Colorado
Married - Have one husband, two children, four grandchildren -
Educated in Public Schools Seattle, Wash.
Have no formal degree. My education has come thru countless hundreds of Seminars, Work Shops, Short Courses and disciplined home study.
My interests are Social Group Work, Modern (Progressive (?)) Education, Modern Art, ~~and~~ Music, and Theology. Also all movements that tend to break down barriers between people. I have always done all my own housekeeping and can cook and clean, (no sewing please) wash and iron. I am a real dirty-dirt gardener.
I am a member of
Episcopal Church
National Board Y.W.C.A. (Life Member)
Charter Member American Assn. Social Work
Fellowship of Reconciliation
Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship
American Civil Liberties
Southern Regional Council
Gainesville Garden Club
Advisory Comm. Episcopal Student Chapel U. of Fla.
(over)

My past belonging:

National President Y. W. C. A. 1938-42
World Council Y. W. C. A. 1940-42
Buffalo Chamber Music Society
" " Peace Council
" " Urban League
" " Council Social agencies
Charter Member American Assn. for Study of Group Work
League of Women Voters
Volunteer Training Section Community Chest

I have lived in all sections of this country. (Tennessee, Georgia, West Coast, middle West + New England.)

There - I'm sure you can choose from that hodge podge

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 1, Ga.

Board of Directors - Biographical Data Sheet

Name _____ Address _____

Current Profession and Employment _____

_____

Background:

LPA-fyi
MJ-file

Rec'd 1/31/66

Past Member
Moved from region
1966

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Board of Directors - Biographical Data Sheet

Name LEHMANN, HENRY Business Address PO BOX 2500
DAYTONA BEACH
Business Phone FLA
Home Address 194 WINDWARD CIRCLE
ORMOND BEACH, FLA
Home Phone 904-677-2376

Current Profession and Employment ENGINEER
GENERAL ELECTRIC CO

Background:

BORN - Leipzig, Germany 1929
HIGH SCHOOL - NEW ORLEANS
COLLEGE - TULANE UNIVERSITY
EMPLOYMENT - GENERAL ELECTRIC SINCE 1948

CIVIC ACTIVITIES -
PRESIDENT - VOLUSIA COUNTY CONTINUING COUNCIL ON EDUCATION
CHAIRMAN - TASK FORCE FOR TAX REFORM
(GROUP TO GENERATE MORE FUNDS FOR EDUCATION)
VICE PRES - HALIFAX COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
EXEC COMM - FLORIDA COUNCIL ON " "
BOARD DIR - MENTAL HEALTH GUIDANCE CLINIC
CHAIRMAN - VOLUSIA FEDERATED JEWISH CHARITIES DRIVE

File. Board
Who's Who - Alphabetically
Past Members Please
John Lewis
(dropped 11/66)

Vita

Jno. G. Lewis, Jr.

John Gideon Lewis, Jr., was born December 9, 1903 at Natchitoches, Louisiana, of the union of John G. Lewis, Sr., and Virginia Thompson.

He is married to the former Amelia Jones, daughter of the first dean of Southern University.

He attended private schools and one year of public schools through fifth grade. Fortuitous circumstances placed him in Nashville Tennessee, where he continued his education at Fisk University through the elementary, preparatory, and college, graduating in 1923 with the degree of A.B. in political science.

He was accepted for graduate work at New York University but was unable to pursue his formal education because of the need of his services at home in Louisiana.

From 1923 until 1937 he was engaged in the business of farming, and at the same time, assisted his father and brother as an official of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge to which they had been elected to leadership.

As a farmer, he had the distinction of serving as collaborator without pay to the Department of Agriculture under Secretary Henry A. Wallace. He served in this capacity in many agricultural conferences designed to shape national agricultural policy. He was active in the formative period of the Farm Security Administration.

By 1937, work in the fraternal world engaged his full attention. He became manager and director of the "Fraternal Press," a printing and publishing establishment owned by the M. W. Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Louisiana - and upon the death of his mother in 1945, moved this facility to Baton Rouge, La., where he now resides.

He was elected to the position of M. W. Grand Master of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge in June 1941, which position he presently holds having been re-elected each year without opposition. He has received distinction in this field of endeavor and has contributed articles to several outstanding fraternal publications. He serves as editor of a fraternal journal, the "Plumb Line." His accomplishments in this field

caused him to be elected Puissant Lieutenant Grand Commander of the United Supreme Council, A.A.S.R. of Freemasonry, Prince Hall Affiliation, of the Southern Jurisdiction, and Sovereign Grand Commander in October 1961.

Other services - past:

Chairman of Citizens Committee of Louisiana Education Committee, engaged in securing full educational opportunities for Negro children.

Past chairman of Board of Trustees of State Industrial School for Negro Youth.

Member of governor's committee to study penal system in Louisiana.

Member of National Board of Directors, N.A.A.C.P.

Other services - present:

Life member, N.A.A.C.P.

Life member, Louisiana Education Association.

Member, Board of Trustees and treasurer, Mt. Zion First Baptist Church, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Member, Community Services Council of Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Member, Board of Directors, Legal Defense and Educational Fund, N.A.A.C.P.

Member, Board of Directors, Flint Goodridge Hospital, New Orleans, Louisiana.

President, Scotland Loan and Mortgage Co.

Member, Board of Trustees, National Urban League.

Member, Community Relations Committee (Bi-racial), City of Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Awards:

Delta Sigma Theta, "Man of the Year," 1960.

Peoples Defense League of New Orleans, "Citizen of the Year."

Doctor of Humanities (L.H.D.), 1961, Central State College, Wilberforce, Ohio.

American Legion Award for distinguished service - 1955.

State Conference N.A.A.C.P. Distinguished Service Award - 1953.

Government of Liberia, Africa - Knight Commander Humane Society of African Redemption.

Supreme Council, A.A.S.R. of Freemasonry - "Man of the Year Medal," 1957.

National Urban League - "Equal Opportunity Day Award," 1961.

Past Imperial Potentate, Ancient Arabic Egyptian Order, Nobles of the Mystic Shrine.

Member: (in addition to Masonic Bodies)

Alpha Phi Alpha

Sigma Pi Phi

Pro Frontiers of America

Bunch Social Club of New Orleans

Grand United Order of Odd Fellows in America

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 1, Ga.

Board of Directors - Biographical Data Sheet

Name _____ Address _____

Current Profession and Employment _____

_____

Background:

Home Address:
Home Phone:

Past Member

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 1, Ga.

Board of Directors - Biographical Data Sheet

Home - 2012 Meharry Boulevard
Nashville, Tennessee
Office-327 Charlotte Avenue

Name Z. Alexander Looby Address Nashville, Tennessee

Current Profession and Employment Attorney at Law

Background: Copied from Who's Who in the South and Southwest

Born: Antigua, B.W.I., April 8, 1809; Son: John Alexander and Grace Elizabeth (Joseph) L; A.B., Howard U., 1922; LL.B., Columbia U., 1925; S.J.D., N.Y.U., 1926; Married: Grafta L. Mosby, March 31, 1934; Asso. Prof. econs. Fisk U., 1926-28, lectr. on law and govt. since 1949; admitted to Tenn. bar 1928. since practiced in Nashville; lectr. on med. jurisprudence Meharry Med. Coll. since 1937. Mem. City Council since 1951. Received Omega Award for outstanding contributions during 1946; Howard U. Alumni Award, 1947; selected So. Beauty Congress, Inc. Tenn's Most Eminent Leader, 1948. Mem. N.A.A.C.P. (dir.; legal com.), So. Regional Council (dir.), Nat. Bar Assn. Republican. Episcopalian. Mason (33°). Author article in law jour. Home: 2012 Meharry Blvd. Office: 327 Charlotte Av., Nashville.

Member Charter Commission For Nashville Metropolitan City

VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY

SAMUEL DEWITT PROCTOR, PRESIDENT

RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

February 16, 1959

Mrs. Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Flowers:

Enclosed you will find a brief biographical statement of Dr. Samuel D. Proctor which you requested in your letter of February 9th. Any further information will be forwarded upon your request.

Kindest regards.

Very truly yours,

Loretta Y. Jones

Loretta Y. Jones
Secretary to Dr. Proctor

Moved from Region

Past Member

SAMUEL DeWITT PROCTOR

Biographical Memorandum

Born, July 13, 1921, Norfolk, Virginia; parents: Herbert Q. and Velma G. Proctor

A.B., Virginia Union University, 1942

B.D., Crozer Theological Seminary (Chester, Pa.), 1945

Studied at Yale University, Graduate School, 1945-46

Th.D., Boston University, 1950

Pastor, Pond St. Baptist Church, Providence, R. I., 1945-49

Married Bessie L. Tate, Fredericksburg, Va., Sept., 1944

Two sons, Herbert Stuart and Timothy DeWitt

Traveled in Europe, Palestine, India and Burma from August through December, 1953 for the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society

Dean, School of Religion, Virginia Union University, 1950-1955

Toured Soviet Union and the Baltic States for Baptist World Alliance in summer of 1958

Member, General Council, National Council of Churches; Executive Board, Southern Regional Council; Member, National Committee, 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth.

Richards
Past Member
(dropped 11/66)

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 1, Ga.

Board of Directors - Biographical Data Sheet

Name J. McDowell Richards Address 701 Columbia Drive, Decatur, Ga.

Current Profession and Employment President of Columbia Theological Seminary

Office telephone Dr 3 3690
Home " Dr 3 0190

Background:

See attached sheet of biographical data.

James McDowell Richards

Born, Statesville, N. C., November 6, 1902; graduated from McCallie School, Chattanooga, Tenn.; B. A., Davidson College 1922; D. D., 1933. M. A., Princeton 1923, B. A., Oxford University (England) 1925, M. A. 1930 (Rhodes Scholarship). B. D., Columbia Theological Seminary 1928, LL. D., King College, 1956. Ordained 1928 and served as pastor at Clarkesville, Nocoochee, and Helen, Georgia, 1928-31: First Presbyterian Church, Thomasville, Ga. 1931-32; President of Columbia Theological Seminary and Professor of Practical Theology since 1932. President of Trustees of Davidson College; member of Permanent Committee on Christian Education, Presbyterian Church, U. S.; Vice President Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America 1942-44; member of Executive Committee of National Churches of Christ in the U. S. A., 1941-50; Moderator of the Synod of Georgia 1948, President of the Presbyterian Educational Association of the South 1947, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., 1955-56. Member of Rotary Club, Kappa Alpha, Omicron Delta Kappa, Phi Beta Kappa.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

October 8, 1962

Just found the attachedin my files and thought I had filled this out months ago. If this proves to be a duplicate, just toss this copy away. Will you please notify me of the date of ~~May 17, 1962~~ the trustee meeting of the Southern Regional Council? I remember that it is to be held in November, but can't remember the date, and I need to know right away to arrange a speaking date for a weekend in November. Thanks.

A. M. Secrest,
A. M. Secrest
The Cheraw Chronicle

Mr. Andrew M. Secrest
Editor
The Cheraw Chronicle
Cheraw, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Secrest:

It has been very helpful in the past to have in our central files biographical information on each of our Board Members. May I, therefore, intrude on your very valuable time by asking you to furnish us with such data? Enclosed for that purpose is a form which I hope you will fill in and return to us.

We are pleased to list you among our Directors.

Sincerely,

Mildred M. Johnson

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

Past Member

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Board of Directors - Biographical Data Sheet

Name Andrew McDowd Secrest **Business Address** The Cheraw Chronicle PO Box 191, Cheraw, S. C.

Current Profession and Employment Editor and Publisher, The Cheraw Chronicle, Cheraw, S.C.

Business Telephone LE 7-7287

Personal Background:

Born Sept. 15, 1923, son of Mr. and Mrs. A. M. Secrest of Monroe, N.C. Attended public schools of Monroe, graduated Duke University, class of 1944. Education interrupted by service in U.S. Navy. Attended midshipman's school, Harvard University, receiving commission as Ensign, May, 1944. Saw service aboard U.S.S. Hammann, DE-131, in both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans from June, 1944 to May, 1946.

Out of the Navy, with rank of Lt. (jg) USNR, in May, 1946. Returned to summer school at Duke, where I received my AB degree that summer. Worked in resort hotel management at Saranac Lake and Lake Placid, N.Y., from 1946-1948. Married the former Ann Eastman, librarian at Saranac Lake, May 31, 1948.

Attended graduate school at University of North Carolina, working for a Master's degree in history, but shifted to journalism in 1950, completing work for my degree there in July 1950. Have worked at Laurinburg Exchange, a semi-weekly newspaper, and at Charlotte News, evening daily, before buying the Cheraw Chronicle in April, 1953. Since that time The Chronicle has won several state journalism awards, and I won first place in the National Editorial Assn. "Better Newspaper Contest," in 1957 for editorials on civil rights and human liberties.

Also won Sidney Hillman Foundation Award, as a co-winner with Harry Ashmore, in 1957, and in 1960-61 was selected as one of 12 American newsmen for a Nieman Fellowship at Harvard University. I serve on the South Carolina Advisory Committee to the Federal Civil Rights Commission, as a trustee to the S.C. Council on Human Relations, and as a trustee to Penn Community Services, Frogmore, S.C.

Home Address Box 191, Huckleberry Drive,

Home Telephone Cheraw, S.C. Tel. No. LE 7-3354

SRC/May 1962

Past Member

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 1, Ga.

Board of Directors - Biographical Data Sheet

Name Walter Buchanan Sharp Address Box 1630- Vanderbilt University- Nashville

Current Profession and Employment Chairman, Department of Fine Arts and Music

Vanderbilt University

Background:

Born in Nashville, Tennessee, 16 September 1911. Educated Nashville public schools, Peabody Demonstration School, and Vanderbilt University. A.B. ~~degree awarded by~~ Vanderbilt ~~in 1932~~. Junior auditor, State of Tennessee. Free lance writing and farming. Married Huldah Warfield Cheek of Nashville on 14 February 1942 and received ~~draft notice~~ same day. ~~Served as enlisted man in~~ Coast Artillery (Anti-aircraft), attended Officer Candidate School and was commissioned in Adjutant General's Department. Taught on staff of The Adjutant General's School for several years and was separated from the service as a captain in 1946. Upon return to Nashville, organized the Nashville Symphony Orchestra and was first president of the Symphony Association, serving for three years. Invited to give lectures in art and music at Vanderbilt University in 1949 and have been here ever since. Master of Arts degree from Harvard University in 1952. First chairman of new Department of Fine Arts at Vanderbilt. First president of Nashville Arts Council, 1956-57, 1957-58. Vice-president Nashville Community Relations Conference. Currently president Tennessee Council on Human Relations. Currently secretary-treasurer Southeastern College Art Conference. Recently elected a fellow of the International Institute of Arts and Letters. One child, a daughter named Leslie.

Home address: Cheekwood - Nashville, Tennessee Telephone: CYpress 2 - 0550

Business telephone: ALpine 4 - 5411, Extension 411

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

June 24, 1960

Mr. J. Ray Shute
P. O. Box 24
Monroe, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Shute:

I should like to intrude on your valuable time by asking you to furnish SRC with biographical information on yourself. Enclosed is a form which I hope you will fill in and return to us.

Sincerely,

Mildred Flowers

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF
Enclosure - 1.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 1, Ga.

free Shute
Board: Past Members

Board of Directors - Biographical Data Sheet

Name J.Ray Shute

Business Address P.O.Box 24, Monroe,N.C.

Current Profession and Employment Industrial Development

Semi-retired

Background:

Business Telephone AT 3-2062

Home address and telepone same

317 E.Windsor St.,Monroe,N.C.

Civic: Past President: Lions Club, Duke Univ.Alumni Assn., Red Cross Chapter, Chamber of Commerce, Board of Trade, Real Estate Board, Executives Club, North Carolina League of Municipalities.

Political: Former Chairman: Union County Board of Commissioners, County Library Board, County Board of Education, County Retirement Board, County Hospital Board, County Planning Board, County Industrial Development Commission, County Board of Health; former Mayor of Monroe (two terms); State Senator (1935-6); Former Chairman, Congressional Executive Comm.(8th Distr.); District Director of the Office of Price Stabilization (N.C.)

Religious: Past President: All Souls' Chapel (Unitarian), Southern Unitarian Council, Unitarian Laymens League (international), Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice (international), Colloquium on the Nature of Man (national); Vice President, American Unitarian Association, Member of Board (six years), Executive Comm., recipient annual Citation; recipient of the 1960 Holmes-Weatherly Civil Liberties Award; Member of Board of Unitarian Service Comm. and two terms as national chairman of Fund Raising; lectured in every state, Canada, Mexico and Europe.

Business: President: J.R.Shute Co., Nocalore Press, The Shute Foundation, Inc.; former President: Union Aircraft Corp., Union Broadcasting Corp., Union Laundry Service, Inc., Shute Motors, Inc., S&W Motor Lines, Monroe Investments, Inc., etc.

Educational: Educated in local city schools, Georgia Military Academy and Duke University; member of Duke National Council; Fellow of Royal Society of Antiquaries; Member, Authors Club, London; author of 15 books, many articles.

Past Member (dropped 11/66)

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 1, Ga.

Board of Directors - Biographical Data Sheet

Name Courtney Siceloff Address Frogmore, S.C.

Current Profession and Employment Director, Penn Community Services, Inc.

Background:

Born in Bartlett, Texas, Jan. 4, 1922. Father was a Methodist minister in a number of central Texas towns; graduated from high school in Fort Worth, received B.A. degree from Southwestern Uni., Georgetown, Texas in 1943.

Was a Conscientious Objector during World War II--drafted in 1943; most of time--3 year service--was in District Training School, Laurel, Maryland, serving as attendant for mental deficient children; 6 months of service on UNRRA cattle boat carrying cattle as relief to European countries.

Spent 2 years with American Friends Service Committee in south France working with Spanish Refugees of Civil War, setting up vocational training schools. Another year was spent in Houston Texas, working and studying for teachers certificate.

Attended Haverford College, 1949-50, Haverford, Pa, receiving Masters Degree in Sociology. Married the same year, December 22, 1949, to Elizabeth Taylor, Charlotte, N. C.

Took job as Director of Penn Community Services in September, 1949 and have held position to present time. Am a member, with family of Augusta Meeting, of the Society of Friends

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED
ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
Director

Sorry this is so late - it had already received a burial - tho informal.

Courtney

Lillian Smith

Honorary degrees from Oberlin College, 1950; Howard University, 1950; Atlanta University, 1957 (?) may have been 58; Western Maryland College, 1964.

Awards: Constance Lindsay Skinner award for "Best book by a woman author" 1945; Page One Award for Strange Fruit, 1945; Special Citation for Contribution to Belles Lettres (Killers of the Dream) given by National Book Award Com. 1950, Southern Authors Award for Killers of the Dream, 1950; Award for "Most Distinguished Book by Georgia Author" (The Journey) given by Georgia Writers Association, 1955; Queen Esther Award, "Woman of the Century" 1965, from National Jewish Congress.

Life Fellow
Life Board
Who's Who
+ S

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 Forsyth Street N.W.

Atlanta 3, Ga.

Past member
(Deceased Nov. 1966)

Board of Directors - Biographical Data Sheet

Name Lillian Smith **Business Address** P. O. Box 766, Clayton, Ga. 30525

Business Phone 782-3196

Home Address ~~XXXXX~~ Box 766, Clayton, Ga.

Home Phone 782-3196

Current Profession and Employment Writer

Background: (You can find details in Who's Who.)

Author of Strange Fruit, Killers of the Dream, The Journey Now is the Time, One Hour, Memory of a Large Christmas, Our Faces, Our Words --and hundreds of essays, reviews, etc. in various magazines, Life Magazine, REDBOOK, MCCALLS, New REpublic, Nation, Saturday Review, Christian Century, New York Times, New York Herald Tribune, reviews in Chicago Tribune; had a weekly column for a year in Chicago Defender; pieces in Childhood Education, Progressive Magazine, Phylon, many others.

Editor and Publisher of North Georgia Review-South Today for ten years; circulation of this "little" magazine was nation-wide and reached 10,000 in circulation. Pub. from 1936-46.

Director (and owner) of Laurel Falls Camp (1925-49) for Girls which was noted not only for its unusual painting, sculpture, modern dance, children's theater etc., but for the "creative conversations" the campers and I had on social, political, psychological, racial, international subjects. These children were from the South's "power structure" families to a large degree; also from the professional group (college teachers, psychiatrists, clergymen, social scientists, and middle-class business people; children came from cities and small towns.). We did not have Negroes in camp although I urged both parents and children to let me do it; children and counselors 100 % willing; parents were afraid (although some were otherwise willing) of Klan, of bombs, etc. But we did have Negro visitors spend the night here and eat with children and the rest of us; also had a party for nearby Negro community where campers danced with Negro children; White and Negro worked side by side in dining room and kitchen.

Background Material (continued)

Lillian Smith
Clayton, Ga.

My family was never a bigoted family; honest people who called a spade a spade. Nobody in my family ever justified slavery or racial discrimination; all were strongly opposed to violence. My father urged us to think straight, to admit our mistakes, to hold no grudges; to fear hate within ourselves more than any outside enemy. Our family soil was not good for prejudice. Also, members of my family lived in China from 1910 on and saw colonialism for the evil it is.

My parents did have "adjust" to segregation as a "custom" this tore my heart & mind to pieces (see Killers of the Dream)

I went to China in 1922 and stayed three years as head of music department in Virginia School at Huchow, Chekiang Province, China. I was not a missionary as some have said; I was an "expert" brought in to build up the music dept. I was something of an agnostic at the time; I found myself admiring the missionaries' courage and deploring their provincial blindness; but in my school, one of the most progressive in China, the teachers were anti-colonial, anti-imperialistic, and raised many important questions about the political and social state of the world, including USA. There was tolerance toward me and my agnostic questionings, also. I worked hard on the music dept., and also (because young, active, etc.) had charge of dancing, and the sports. A tremendous intellectual and esthetic and philosophical experience for me: this living in China during its most fierce transitional period when war lords were exploiting peasants and coolies and "the gentry" where things were almost anarchic, when Sun Yat Sen was begging USA to help make China a democracy; otherwise as he said it would go under the influence of the new ideas of Russia. (Which it did, of course). I read Gandhi's magazine while in China; became aware of the freedom movement in India; I stretched big those three years and have never been the same since. (I went to school in Baltimore where there was at that time quite a bit of integration and "adjusted" easily to it; later, Baltimore became more segregated. While at Columbia University (Teachers College) I taught music at a public school at 125 St. in the Morningside (or west) district; I taught Negroes, Italians, Jews, and white Protestants; my supervisor was a charming Negro man from whom I learned a lot. This was in 1927-28 so I've been "integrated" a long long time.

Peabody Conservatory

My own feelings became clearer to me when I began to write books in 1931-32; I wrote first about China and much came clear there; but the book was too shocking for American publishers because it was sort of sprinkled with homosexual experiences of lonely missionaries; this in 1932 was a shocking business; nobody would take the book. It was burned when the two white boys burned my home and office, destroying 13,000 letters; many many manuscripts, two complete novels, much data of enormous historical and literary value. A dreadful loss, I think, to the history of this transitional age. I have files of all since the fire (1955). I was teaching at Vassar when the fire happened; great blow to me; quite a few threats and acts have been turned against me; but nothing has hurt me like that fire.

I have traveled quite a bit; have spent six months in India --in 1946 and 1954-55; one winter in Brazil; a few (5 or 6) weeks in London, Paris, Rome; a good bit of time in Canada; kept an apartment in New York City for eight years; but always "The Mountain" has been home--since my family left Jasper, Florida in 1915, just after I completed high school. We are a traveling family, all of us; many of us have lived in Europe, India, China, Japan etc. Parochialism is not one of our faults; although God knows, we have plenty. Nine children; seven still living. I mean sisters and brothers. I have never married.

W. E. Solomon

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 1, Ga.

(1963)

Board of Directors - Biographical Data Sheet

Name Walker E. Solomon Home Address 1915 Germany Street, Columbia, S. C.

Current Profession and Employment Executive Secretary
Palmetto State Teachers Education Association
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia, S. C.

Background:

Born: June 8, 1915
Son of a CME minister & school teacher, Rev. & Mrs. Z. C. Solomon

Graduate: Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Georgia
Graduate Study: Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia
Indiana University,

Employment: Science teacher, Trupe County Training School, Westpoint, Georgia, 1939-40

Field Executive, Boy Scouts of America, Macon, Ga., 1940-46

U. S. Army, April, 1942--January, 1946

Field Executive, Boy Scouts of America, Columbia, S. C., December, 1946--November, 1950

Present position, December, 1950

Organizations:

President, Lay Activities, South Carolina Annual Conference, CME Church

Sunday School Teacher and Trustee: Sidney Park CME Church, Columbia, S.C.

Member; Board of Trustees, Penn Community Center, Frogmore, S. C.

Vice-chairman, National Council Officers of State Teachers Associations

Home Address: 1915 Germany Street, Columbia, S. C.

Home Telephone: ALpine 3-1074

Office Telephone: ALpine 2-9383

Stewart

(1963)

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 1, Ga.

Board of Directors - Biographical Data Sheet

Name James Edward Stewart, Sr. Address 548 N. E. 4th Street

Current Profession and Employment Branch Manager: Oklahoma Natural Gas Co.
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Background:

Public schools of Oklahoma City and Wichita, Kansas.

College: Langston university

Religion: Episcopal

Worked as theatre manager, table waiter, and operated a confectionary before my present employment.

Employed as porter for Oklahoma Natural Gas Company in 1937, worked in various departments and appointed branch manager in 1940.

Served as president of Oklahoma City branch, NAACP from 1941 to 1959, with the exception of three years of service in the U. S. Marine Corps during World War II.

Regional director of NAACP for five state area of Texas, Lousiana, Arkansas, New Mexico and Oklahoma since 1947. (Ada Lois Sipuel case, entrance to law school, univ. of Okla.)

Write the column "Jimmy Says" in the Black Dispatch Newspaper, 1939 to present date.

Directed United Fund drives in Negro areas of city from 1948 thru 1956.

Member: YMCA board of management; Langston U. alumni Association; Vestryman of Episcopal church; Urban League; AmVets; Citizens and Oklahoma City chambers of commerce; Mayor's Committee to revise City Charter.

Enclosure: Newspaper story on my retirement as NAACP president.

Home phone: Central 5-2839
Office Phone: Central 5-0441

Home address 1113 Euclid
Phone FOrest 5-2839

1113 Encl

OKLAHOM

Jimmy Stewart, left, longtime leader, and Dr. E. C. Moon jr., incoming president, scan past achievements, present challenges and future hopes for the Oklahoma City NAACP branch. (Times staff photo by Jim Lucas).

NAACP 'Negotiates–Then Sues'

Jimmy Stewart Stepping Down

By MARY GODDARD

"There will always be people, who would rather be pleasant than free."

That statement helps explain why Jimmy Stewart has been willing to spend 17 years bringing up unpleasant facts at public meetings where men looked sideways at him and muttered, "What does Stewart, want this time?"

It also explains what Stewart wanted then, now and always: ordinary citizens' freedoms for ordinary Negro citizens.

Lest the community mistake a whole race's problem for a one-man crusade, Stewart is bowing out this week as president of the Oklahoma City branch, National Association for Advancement of Colored People.

Ulcers Tell

He feels it's time to give new leadership a chance to develop, for the battles still to be won.

Besides, the doctor says he must slow down. Stewart has never been visibly angry in those long, tough years, but he has acquired ulcers. He's also loaded with regional leadership chores more far-reaching than most of the men at those public meetings have ever suspected.

The branch found its new leader in Dr. E. C. Moon jr., 33-year-old dentist who has been membership chairman the past year (total now: 1,200). The name is familiar because his father is the general practitioner, Dr. E. C. Moon sr., and his uncle is F. D. Moon, Douglass highschool principal.

Reins will change hands officially at 3 p.m. Sunday at a general meeting in Providence Church of the Nazarene, 531 NE 10. Coincidentally, that's the anniversary date of the emancipation proclamation, and Dr. Moon will speak on its significance.

Five Years in Army

Other officers to be installed are:

Rev. M. A. Curry, Albert Alexander, and Mrs. Theodosia Crawford, first, second and third vice-presidents, respectively; Leslie Brown, recording secretary; Mrs. Vera Holmes, corresponding secretary, and Dock E. Williams, treasurer.

A graduate of Maharry Medical college, Nashville, Tenn., Dr. Moon entered practice here in 1948, and returned in 1954 after Negro patrons needed their own branch office. Having learned all he could from friendly OCU kids training in the business department, Stewart was ready to shoulder the branch managership.

The man with the soft voice and the iron backbone began to come to public attention in 1941. Named NAACP vice-president, "just to fill the spot" that year, he fell into the top job when the president moved away.

Becomes Region Chief

The really tough work, and the years of change began in 1945, when Stewart came hom with other veterans after his 3½-year marine corps stint. Increasingly interested in the national movement, he became regional director in 1947.

Opposition wasn't all one-sided, as the nearly broke branch struggled to build on the foundation laid by Stewart's friend and mentor, Roscoe Dunjee.

"We faced not only apathy, but opposition. There will always be people who would rather be pleasant than free, and even those who have gained the most from our efforts sometimes don't realize where the help came from."

A case in point: the 1948 court drive to obtain an equal pay scale for Negro teachers, whose standard was set lower than white the word for one, and found Miss Sipuel."

The Ada Lois Sipuel case has been re-hashed from countless news stories to the bulky U. S. archives. For her, and for George McLaurin, the NAACP knocked down barriers, one by one, until a special little lawschool, and segregated seating had faded into truly equal status for Negro students.

Oklahoma files were among those at hand when the supreme court finally ordered all public schools de-segregated in 1954.

Co-Operation Recalled

What Stewart remembers best are things that never hit the headlines—things like the white students who raised money, held hot indignation meetings and named a committee to welcome Miss Sipuel when her fight was won.

He remembers, too, "The wonderful co-operation from officials in high places," in that big court campaign and numerous little ones. "In by far the majority of the Oklahoma situations, officials have tried to defend the law, but they have done it honorably."

All this time, Stewart's phone was ringing, to bring problems large and small. Often, victims of injustice couldn't, or wouldn't speak up on their own and some

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A graduate of Maharry Medical college, Nashville, Tenn., Dr. Moon entered practice here in 1948, and returned in 1954 after five years in the army dental corps. Ronald, 2½, and Coletta, 8, are two close-to-home reasons for his interest in future freedoms.

Challenge Ahead

As the new administration begins, Dr. Moon declares, "Oklahoma City has made a splendid start in many areas of race relations. The many organizations which have helped are to be complimented."

Biggest challenge ahead, he believes, is "making possible a fairer chance for Negroes in city and state jobs and private industry employment."

Stewart agrees job opportunities head the work list. But looking back over the 17 years this week, he sees enormous progress in the fact that equal jobs can be discussed with serious hope.

Just a Name

Anything approaching a fair crack at jobs was a misty dream when Stewart joined the NAACP back in the 30's. "Transportation was Jim Crowed all the way, we had terrific housing restrictions, police brutality . . ."

He was just a name on the rolls then, a young fellow struggling through depression months in his own confectionary. Texas-born and reared in Oklahoma City and Wichita, Kan., he had come here after giving up an athletic scholarship at Langston.

"The coach had me doing some extra work. After 25 laps around the football field, he said, 'all right, now do 25 more' and I decided that was enough. Actually, that decision changed my whole life," Stewart muses.

Jobs Out of Reach

"Too many of our people were getting education degrees and then going back to small towns and losing themselves."

Stewart found himself, perhaps, one day in 1933, when a friend who owned a little bakery got to talking about how much he and other Negro businessmen paid in light and gas bills, although no one of their race would dream of a utility job higher than janitor.

"I was considerably younger then," Stewart grins. "I just decided to go right to the top men. Fired with the idea of better job chances, he talked to the late Thomas H. Sterling, Oklahoma Natural Gas Co. vice-president.

He's Remembered

As in the countless later encounters, Stewart was speaking for Negroes, not a Negro named Stewart. The whole thing startled Sterling and "we talked pretty heatedly for a while. But he seemed to strike a liking to me."

Four years later, Sterling sent down word that Jimmy Stewart, junior bell captain at the Biltmore, should be offered a porter's job newly open at ONG.

In 1960, ONG officials here and the Negro chamber of commerce convinced the Tulsa office that Negro patrons needed their own branch office. Having learned all he could from friendly OCU kids training in the business department, Stewart was ready to shoulder the branch managership.

The man with the soft voice and the iron backbone began to come to public attention in 1941. Named NAACP vice-president, "just to fill the spot" that year, he fell into the top job when the president moved away.

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A case in point: the 1948 court drive to obtain an equal pay scale for Negro teachers, whose standard was set lower than white teachers.

Others Share

"We had to go in secret and gather up the money. Emma Lee Freeman was the only teacher willing to come out in the open," he recalls. A class action was filed, and won, in her name.

More than 1,600 Negro teachers shared the salary triumph. The same thing happened in 36 other states, and a 37th, Florida, raised salaries even though teachers lost their court case.

Now there was stronger backing, and less apathy from many Negro citizens, and uneasy new respect among white leaders. The day came in 1951 when Stewart sat with other delegates in Atlanta and made the historic decision: "We were going to leave off just fighting for equal separate schools and attack segregation itself."

Barriers Fall

The Oklahoma conference of branches laid its battle line in 1946, voting at a McAlester contention to seek University of Oklahoma entrance for a qualified Negro student. "We put out the word for one, and found Miss Sipuel."

The Ada Lois Sipuel case has been re-hashed from countless news stories to the bulky U. S. archives. For her, and for George McLaurin, the NAACP knocked down barriers, one by one, until a special little lawschool, and segregated seating had faded into truly equal status for Negro students.

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All this time, Stewart's phone was ringing, to bring problems large and small. Often, victims of injustice couldn't, or wouldn't speak up on their own and somebody had to do it for them.

Not Agitation

A swimming pool for Negroes, OU band admission for a near-professional musician in graduate school, park privileges, post-office jobs for Negro veterans, are typical of "what Stewart wanted now."

From his side of the conference table, the work was not agitation, but an attempt to straighten out trouble that was already there. "What people don't seem to realize is that we never sue first and negotiate second," he points out.

Stewart is not a man to glory in a fight. "We none of us want to be martyrs, but there's a difference between martyrs and leaders, and we have got to have leadership," he says firmly.

With new leadership emerging, he is frankly looking forward to some thoroughly pleasant meetings involving YMCA projects, church activities and community betterment. "It will be nice to sit down with men who know I'm not bringing up a problem," he admits.

Stokely (1963)

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 1, Ga.

Board of Directors - Biographical Data Sheet

Name James R. Stokely Address 405 Clifton Heights, Newport, Tenn.

Current Profession and Employment ~~Author~~ Free-lance Writer

Background:

Graduate, University of Tennessee, 1934

Apple Grower for 15 years in Asheville, N.C. and Newport, Tenn.

Author articles and poems for NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, ATLANTIC MONTHLY, NATION, NEW REPUBLIC, READER'S DIGEST. Co-author, NEITHER BLACK NOR WHITE, a book on the current South. With wife, Wilma Stokely, author of SEEDS OF SOUTHERN CHANGE, this year.

Telephone: 4394

Resigned Summer 1966 ~~Retired~~ Left Program

Biographical Data for:

Stephen Junius Wright

Born: Dillon, South, Sept. 8, 1910

Received B. S. degree from Hampton Institute - 1934
" M. A. " " Harvard Univ. - 1939
Ph.D " " New York Univ. - 1943

Teacher at Kennard High School, Centerville, Md. - 1934-36

Principal, Beckwith High School, Upper Marlboro, Md. - 1936-38

Director of Student Teaching, N. C. College - 1939-41

Educational Director, Division of Education, Hampton,Inst. - 1944-45

Professor of Education and Dean of Faculty, Hampton Institute 1945-53

President, Bluefield State College, West Va. - 1953-57

1957 became President, Fisk University.

Past Member

Louisville Urban League

AN INTERRACIAL AGENCY FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

608 W. Walnut St. ✳ Louisville 3, Ky. ✳ Telephone: JUniper 3-4835

CHARLES T. STEELE
Executive Director

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

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Chairman

D. A. Sachs, III
1st Vice-Chairman

John O. Blanton
2nd Vice-Chairman

Mrs. Maude B. Porter
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Mrs. Elsie Ahrens Long
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Lieutenant A. Wilson Edwards
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J. E. Hankins
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Joe M. Kirkham
Arthur S. Kling
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Harry Lewman
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Charles W. Morris
Mrs. Ruth C. Morris
Rev. W. J. Murphy
Rev. Wilfred Myll
Dr. C. H. Parrish, Jr.
Mrs. Hortense Perry
E. E. Pruitt
Richard Renneisen
Ben Robertson, Jr.
James Rosenblum
Miss Dorcas Ruthenburg
J. E. Smith
Thorp Wolford

March 6, 1959

Mrs. Mildred Flowers
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue North East
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Flowers:

Please pardon my delay in answering your request for a biographical sketch of myself. I have been very busy preparing for our annual dinner and membership campaign.

I will get it off to you in a very few days.

Sincerely yours,

Charles T. Steele

Charles T. Steele,
Executive Director

LOUISVILLE URBAN LEAGUE

CTS:sw

May 18, 1962

Mrs. Charles White
2209 Southmore Boulevard
Houston 4, Texas

Dear Mrs. White:

It has been very helpful in the past to have in our central files biographical information on each of our Board Members. However, our files show no such data for you.

Since we are in the process of up-dating our Board membership file, we would appreciate your submitting a bit of background information on the enclosed form and returning it to us. We realize that you are very busy, but hope that this will only deprive you of a few minutes.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

October 9, 1962

Mr. Andrew M. Secrest
Editor
The Cheraw Chronicle
P.O. Box 191
Cheraw, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Secrest:

Mrs. Mildred Johnson is on maternity leave, so your letter to her came to me for reply. Thank you for the information you sent; we are in process of updating the biographical information on each of the SRC board members.

The date for the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council has been set for November 19-20. It will begin around noon on the 19th and end with luncheon on the 20th. I hope this does not conflict with the speaking engagement you mentioned.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Secretary to Leslie W. Dunbar

File Board: Who's Who

LETTER SENT TO: James Youngdahl, Mrs. Mary Sands, C. H. Parrish, Sylvan Meyer, Paul Johnston, Ralph Dreger, Mrs. Lawrence Coe, Nat Welch, William H. Townsend, Moreland G. Smith, J. Rupert Picott, Samuel Nabbit, John G. Lewis, Mrs. Martin Harvey, Robert H. Harris, Edward E. Haddock, Roosevelt D. Crockett, McNeill Smith, The Rev. Kelly M. Smith, Lucius Pitts, John P. Nelson, Jr., The Rev. M. D. McCollom, Mrs. Vivian C. Mason, Mrs. Charles White, The Rev. Powers McLeod.

April 21, 1964

Mrs. Jane Schutt
955 Pecan Boulevard
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Schutt:

In checking our files I find no biographical information for you. Would you be kind enough to fill in the attached form and return it to this office as soon as it is conveniently possible?

I am sorry to intrude on your very valuable time, but this information is very much needed here in our office.

Cordially,

(Mrs.) Mildred Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MJ
Enclosure - 1

Same ltr. sent to:
Mr. Lewis , George, II
Mr. Herman H. Long
Mrs. Leo M. Mervis
Mr. Patrick J. Owens
Mr. Matthew J. Perry
Mr. Gray, M. Duncan, Jr.
" Mr. C. H. Thomas, Jr.

File Board
Who's Who - A-14

December 6, 1965

Mr. H. A. Brown
President, AFL-CIO, Texas
Box MM - Capitol Station
Austin, Texas

Dear Mr. Brown:

It has been very helpful in the past to have in our central files biographical information on each of our Board Members. May I, therefore, intrude on your very valuable time by asking you to furnish us with such data? Enclosed for that purpose is a form which I hope you will fill in and return to us.

We are pleased to list you among our Directors.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ/pf
Enclosure - 1.

January 25, 1966

Elected Nov. 1965
to Class of 1969

Mr. J. William Becker
State Director
Arkansas AFL-CIO
1408 Rebsaiman Park Road
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Becker:

Please fill out the enclosed form and return to us at your convenience.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Mildred Johnson
Secretary

MJ/km

Enclosure - 1

January 25, 1966

Mr. Donald Hollowell — Elected Nov. 1965 to Class of 1969
Attorney
859½ Hunter Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Hollowell:

Please fill out the enclosed form and return to us at your convenience.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Mildred Johnson
Secretary

MK/km

Enclosure - 1

January 25, 1966

Mrs. Barbara Jordan - elected Nov. 1965 to Class of 1969
Attorney
5303 Lyons Avenue
Houston, Texas

Dear Mrs. Jordan:

Please fill out the enclosed form and return to us at your convenience.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Mildred Johnson
Secretary

MJ/km

Enclosure - 1

January 25, 1966

Mr. Henry Lehmann - Elected Nov. 1965 to Class of 1969
194 Windward Circle
Ormond Beach, Florida

Dear Mr. Lehmann:

Please fill out the enclosed form and return to us at your convenience.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Mildred Johnson
Secretary

MJ/km

Enclosure - 1

January 25, 1966

Mr. William A. Maness - Elected Nov. 1965 to Class of 1969
Attorney
603 Florida Theatre Bldg.
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mr. Maness:

Please fill out the enclosed form and return to us at your convenience.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Mildred Johnson
Secretary

MJ/km

enclosure - 1

January 25, 1966

Mr. Hollis F. Price
President
LeMoyne College
Memphis, Tennessee

Elected Nov. 1965
To Class of 1969

Dear Mr. Price:

Please fill out the enclosed form and return to us at your convenience.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Mildred Johnson
Secretary

MJ/km

Enclosure - 1

January 25, 1966

Mrs. Tom Ragland
3821 Abbott Martin Road
Nashville, Tennessee

Elected Nov. 1965
to Class of 1969

Dear Mrs. Ragland:

Please fill out the enclosed form and return to us at your convenience.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Mildred Johnson
Secretary

MJ/km

Enclosure - 1

January 25, 1966

Elected Nov. 1965
to Class of 1969

Mr. Claude Ramsey
President
Mississippi AFL-CIO
133 South Lamar Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Ramsey:

Please fill out the enclosed form and return to us at your convenience.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Mildred Johnson
Secretary

MJ/km

Enclosure - 1

January 25, 1966

Miss Lillian Smith — Life Fellow · Elected Nov. 1965
Old Screamer Mountain
Clayton, Georgia

Dear Miss Smith:

Please fill out the enclosed form and return to us at your convenience.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Mildred Johnson
Secretary

MJ/km

Enclosure - 1

Same ltr. sent to: Dr. T. Franklin Williams, Father Sigur, Mrs. Mary Sand, Mr. John P. Nelson, Mrs. Leo Mervis, Rev. M. D. McCollom, Mrs. Barbara Jordan, Dr. Douglas Jackson, Mr. I. H. Burney, and Mr. Walter Sharp.

July 7, 1966

Mr. Fred D. Alexander
2140 Senior Drive
Charlotte 8, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Alexander:

We very much would like to have on file in our office some biographical data for you. We try to make it a practice to keep some such information readily accessible for each of our Board members; it has proven to be most helpful in the past. Would you, therefore, be good enough to fill in the enclosed form and return it to us as soon as is conveniently possible for you to do so?

With very best wishes,

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to theDirector

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

Please ret. J Smith

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

OF THE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

A Review of Program Activities for the
Annual Meeting of the Council

November 1960

Not for publication or quotation
without permission.

ANNUAL REPORT OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

November 1960

This is the seventeenth anniversary of the Southern Regional Council. If we consider the work of its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the Council can claim forty-one years of effort in Southern race relations.

When an organization reaches this kind of venerability, a certain amount of self-examination is in order. Is it maturing, or simply ageing? Are its aims still valid? Have its methods kept pace with the drastically changing times? Is its work more, or less, relevant to the big questions of history which our society and our civilization must answer?

While a reasonably brief program report cannot do justice to these fundamental questions, this is a propitious time at least to raise them. Racial discrimination has become a world-wide preoccupation. The pressures against color prejudice and injustice everywhere are mounting by tidal-wave proportions. Almost no aspect of American life -- and no aspect at all of Southern life -- is untouched by this issue. The majority of the earth's population that is dark-skinned is gaining decisive power in world councils. And the forces of protest in our own midst are growing commensurately.

To be relevant in a situation like this is a tall order. Race relations are no longer the peculiar concern of moralists and avant-garde reformers. Increasingly, these problems claim the serious attention of powerful and influential leaders -- presidents and potentates, law-makers and law-givers, leaders of business and labor. Scarcely anyone in a position of importance or influence can ignore for long the problems of interracial change, however unenlightened some of their reactions may be.

The implications for an organization like ours are profound. It is no longer, if it ever was, enough simply to be on the right side of this great moral question. Such commitment is basic, but it is only the first step toward being useful. The big further need is to command enough skill and detailed, practical knowledge -- governmental, economic, and cultural -- to assist the translation of principle into practice.

We must be equipped not only to talk among ourselves, but to communicate meaningfully with people whose involvement is pragmatic rather than moralistic. We must understand the claims of self-interest on the man who is more concerned with expediency than with justice. It is our job to help reconcile the two: to help develop public policies that are both just and expedient, both right and practical.

In this sense, our approach must become more "professional," which is another way of saying "specialized." Only so, after

advocating what we believe is the right objective, can we take the all-important next step of proposing ways to reach the objective. For example, it is seldom enough to say to a fearful and uncertain school administrator and to those who influence his decisions that segregation is morally wrong. At some point, they must be persuaded that desegregation works, that the common fears about it are largely illusory, that there is a sound and growing body of experience on which to rely in carrying it out. This is not just a matter of having the facts and presenting them; knowledge of how to present the facts, and to whom, is equally important.

There are other imperatives. An organization like ours that seeks to influence opinion and policy must be prepared to move swiftly. Critical situations arise overnight and, within hours or days or weeks at most, official attitudes and private opinions have hardened into new and inflexible molds. (The sit-in protests are a case in point.) To be most effective, information and interpretation must be fed into the stream of opinion quickly, while minds are still open and attitudes malleable.

There is also the matter of sheer volume. With race relations in the forefront of public consciousness, it is only expectable that the demands on the Council for information, advice, and other services should multiply. The

problem is to respond to these many demands without unduly crippling the organization's capacity to originate and carry out its own program ideas, based on coherent standards of policy, priorities, and overall strategy.

Viewed in the perspective of its seventeen years, most particularly the last five or six, what progress has the Council made in these directions?

1. The research, fact-finding, and reference functions of the Council have been greatly enlarged and improved. The Director of Research and his staff assistants maintain a voluminous library of reference materials and up-to-date newspaper clippings on virtually every aspect of Southern race relations. These files and special studies commissioned by the Council are the basis for a steady stream of reports and releases that are widely publicized and distributed. Scores of information requests from government agencies, private organizations, community groups, scholars, and newsmen are handled in the course of a year.

2. The Council functions on an ever larger scale as a center of information and analysis for all of the mass communications media. The Council's outreach through the press, popular magazines, television, radio, books, speakers, and specialized publications reaches a national as well as a Southern audience.

3. A special Southern Leadership Project, inaugurated a year-and-a-half ago, reaches public officials, business

men, school authorities, and other influential leaders throughout the region. The project director and an experienced school administrator, supplemented by other specialists as needed, carry on this quiet work with decision-makers in Southern states and communities.

4. The skills represented on the Council's staff are augmented by the temporary services of some of the ablest scholars, community relations specialists, and civic leaders in the South. A business leader of Norfolk, two educationists at Emory University, social scientists at half-a-dozen Southern universities, an associate professor of law at the University of North Carolina, a leader of the Virginia Committee for Public Education, a newspaper man of Nashville, a nationally known writer of South Carolina -- these are some of the specialists who have performed consultant assignments from the Council during the past year. The further use of such consultants offers us the best hope of continuing to enlarge our talents and services without prohibitive expansion of full-time staff.

5. The Council's materials and services are in greater demand than ever before. Court-ordered school desegregation, sit-in protests, and other pressures are bringing the issue to a head in more and more states and communities, including larger cities of the Deep South. As realistic leaders in those places wake up to the high price of resistance, they find themselves for the first time in need of

the kind of background and guidance the Council can supply. Usually working discreetly with local groups and individuals, we now reach a more influential segment of Southern leadership than in the past.

6. The quality of the Council's lay leadership has never been higher. The willingness of outstanding Southerners to continue or newly accept membership on the Council is one of the organization's great assets.

7. Most of the state councils on human relations have weathered the period of greatest hostility to their operations. The Council's major investment of funds and program services in these state groups is showing increasing promise of valuable returns over many years.

8. The move to larger, more modern quarters in a centrally located office building has increased the efficiency of the staff operation. Moreover, it is in itself some measure of progress that the Council can now rent desirable, commercial office space in downtown Atlanta.

9. The Council's budget is both larger and based on more diversified sources of support than in the past. Twice in its history the organization has almost expired because of termination of support from a single source on which it was over-dependent. While fund-raising is still a perennial problem, the danger of a sudden collapse is minimized by a broader financial base.

Of course, the Council is far from having achieved perfection. In practically all of the areas just touched

on, there is ample room for further improvement. But we may be justified in feeling that both the direction and rate of the Council's development are healthy.

HIGHLIGHTS OF 1960 PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

The Sit-ins

It is generally agreed by now that the student protest movement has had a profound effect on the course of race relations in our time. In psychological terms, its impact has probably equalled that of the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 in the legal sphere. The concrete results to date are remarkable -- desegregation of eating facilities in some eighty cities in the South, as well as a substantial number in border states. One does not have to sentimentalize the protest movement, or uncritically applaud all of its manifestations, in order to see it as a new and powerful creative force in the transition to an integrated society.

These conclusions would be widely subscribed to today. But in February 1960, when the first few student protests were still restricted to North Carolina, their meaning was by no means so clear. Yet there seemed to the Council staff urgent reason to attempt a major evaluation of the protests, and quickly, while public reactions were still uncrystallized. Within a matter of days, the research staff compiled and published a comprehensive Special Report summarizing current developments, citing border-state precedents

for lunch counter desegregation, and interpreting the deeper meanings of the protest -- in terms that have been fully justified by subsequent events. The report had wide coverage in the press (including front-page play in the New York Times) and quickly became a standard informational and program document for the several parties to the lunch-counter controversy.

This and subsequent Council reports on the subject have been distributed to a specially compiled list, including Southern mayors, variety chain store executives and directors, business publications, members of local negotiating committees, human relations councils, and others. The Florida Governor's Commission on Race Relations, which has promoted bi-racial negotiations in that state, used several hundred copies of the Council report as a basic background document for local leadership.

As the lunch-counter situation and related protests have unfolded, the Council has issued frequent progress reports; especially useful have been the case studies of communities which accomplished desegregation, in response to "selective buying" campaigns, through newly created interracial committees, mediation by public officials, or direct negotiation between student leaders and merchants. Through articles in national publications and many speeches in influential forums, staff members abetted by the officers have added to the Council's public interpretation of these developments. We may take justifiable satisfaction in the

speed, accuracy, and overall effects of the Council's informational and opinion-making role in the rapid sequence of events generated by the sit-ins.

Our efforts, however, have not been limited to this role. On local invitation, we have supplied consultants to official and private leadership in Raleigh, N. C., Nashville, Tenn., and Oklahoma City, Okla. In each of these three cities, the consultants' work contributed to mediating efforts in the lunch-counter dispute which ultimately resulted in desegregation. Members of the Council's staff and board have also played a constructive part in bringing about negotiations, still in progress, in Atlanta.

Under the banner of the Southern Leadership Project, Colonel Benjamin Muse counselled with public officials and other community leaders in a number of Southern cities which have subsequently achieved desegregation of eating facilities. He and the research staff have supplied steady advice and information to the Florida Commission.

As this is written, there is no prospect of an early demise of the protest movement launched by the students. On the contrary, its objectives have been broadened to include many public and private facilities, the adult Negro community has become involved in many areas, and efforts are being made to coordinate the activity on a region-wide basis. The Council clearly must plan for a continuing role in the further crises and changes which these developments portend.

School Desegregation

Public school desegregation, mostly of a token variety, made modest gains in the states of the upper and middle South during the past year. But by far the most significant development was the joining of the issue in the Deep South. At the beginning of the summer, New Orleans was ordered by the Federal court to begin desegregation of the first grade with the fall term, later extended to November 14. The date of desegregation in Atlanta was finally -- and apparently irrevocably -- set for September 1961.

In both cities, the Council has worked closely with local citizens advocating compliance with the court orders and opposing the forces that would close public schools rather than desegregate them. The Field Director spent the greater part of August in New Orleans, in response to requests by local citizens' groups that the Council advise them on strategy and community educational efforts.

We were also able to make a notable contribution through a consultative visit to New Orleans and Baton Rouge by John J. Brewbaker, former superintendent of Norfolk schools, now serving our Southern Leadership Project as education consultant. Mr. Brewbaker conferred at length with the local school authorities and made several public appearances which were extensively and favorably treated by the press. The New Orleans situation closely resembles the plight of Norfolk before the state permitted school desegregation under Mr. Brewbaker's direction. Hence, his consultative visit was

especially well-timed and effective.

Under Col. Muse's direction, Mr. Brewbaker planned and carried out an impressive series of consultations in other cities where the school desegregation issue is under consideration. In each case, he went at the eager invitation of the local school superintendent; in some, he met with other community leaders as well, addressed public meetings, and was interviewed by the newspapers and on television. Since assuming his part-time position with the Council on July 1, 1960, he has visited in this way some two dozen cities in eight Southern states; he has counselled with school superintendents of additional communities at conferences of such professional groups as the Associated Public School Systems.

We have long felt the need to make available to school authorities the detailed knowledge and advice of an administrator who has lived with the problems they are newly confronting. Mr. Brewbaker is well equipped to perform this function. An able school man, widely and favorably known in Southern educational circles, he is experienced in both the calamitous effects of school closing and the successful execution of desegregation.

Col. Muse brings to the position of project director outstanding qualities as counsellor to governmental, business, and other state and community leaders. His insight into the dynamics of the rise and fall of "massive resistance"

in Virginia and his command of the spoken and written word are assets which the Council is fortunate to have.

As part of the Southern Leadership Project, a series of brief, factual reports on educational, economic, and other aspects of race relations has been issued. These "L-Reports" are aimed at busy persons for whom racial problems raise administrative, public relations, or dollar-and-cents questions. They are sent regularly to a sizeable list of school superintendents, chamber of commerce executives, city officials, and the like. It is some measure of this material's usefulness that the adverse reactions have been negligible, whereas the favorable comments and requests for additional copies have been substantial.

The research staff has also produced several major publications as aids to school desegregation. One of these, which appeared as a special issue of New South, was School Desegregation: The First Six Years, a comprehensive summary of the school experience to date. Another was the annual Background Report on School Desegregation, released a few weeks before the beginning of the current school term in September. Both publications have been widely used by the information media and by those charged with responsibility for effecting desegregation.

The State Councils on Human Relations

It has now been six years since the Council undertook large-scale program and financial assistance to the state

councils. The goal, of course, was to make possible autonomous and effective interracial organizations in all of the Southern states. Three years ago, they became independent, cooperating agencies. Ten of the original twelve state groups have survived, eight of them with at least one full-time professional staff member. Most importantly, they have shown generally a marked rise in effectiveness and in local financial support during the past year. The Council's aid to them has been conditioned on certain matching requirements, which were met or exceeded in every case.

Space prohibits more than a generalization or two about the program achievements of the state councils during the year. As one measure of vitality, it is noteworthy that the state groups and their local affiliates have played a significant part in stimulating and aiding settlement of the lunch-counter protests through desegregation. An official commission on human relations newly created by the State of Kentucky is, in important respects, an outgrowth of the work carried on over the years by the Kentucky Council on Human Relations. In several of the states, the councils have not only attracted a substantial number of new members, but have also organized strong new local chapters.

In one of the most difficult states, Alabama, the state council director resisted with courage and success punitive efforts by local authorities to bare confidential records of his organization. The Rev. Robert E. Hughes went

to jail for contempt rather than yield to this unwarranted demand; and, with the aid of legal counsel, he regained his freedom and vindicated the principle at stake. The Rev. Mr. Hughes and the Alabama Council have set a courageous and encouraging precedent for other interracial groups that may face legal harassment.

Work with Other Private Agencies

Religious, youth, civic, and human relations agencies working in the region have long relied on the Council for a variety of services. The increasing demands of this kind in the past year have afforded us important opportunities to help strengthen the forces of progress in the South. Through staff members and consultants, we have met a wide range of requests for speakers, resource persons, program advisers, information, special materials, and in a few cases financial assistance to unusually worthy projects.

Among the groups assisted in one or more of these ways were the Southern leaders of a major denomination, several state councils of churches, organizations committed to preserving public education, student associations, foundations, P-TAs, major professional societies, and a host of other interracial and inter-faith efforts.

In a category of its own is the program carried on by the Council's Director of Women's Work, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, with church women and their organizations throughout the South. For a multitude of people Mrs. Tilly's devoted work has

become a living legend. Her regional and state convocations of women leaders who call themselves "The Fellowship of the Concerned" are rallying points for some of the finest leadership the South can offer. The Council is fortunate to have the untiring services of this gallant and rare personality.

The Council has on several occasions in 1960 provided leadership for regional and state gatherings of labor union representatives. Organized labor, no less than the church, faces an enormous challenge in furthering respect for human rights among its rank-and-file members. It is gratifying to note that union requests for the Council's materials and services have shown a perceptible increase during the past twelve months.

As it has for several years now, the Council continued to serve as convener and secretariat of the Southern Inter-agency Conference, an informal association of human relations staff persons working in the region.

Cooperation with Governmental Agencies

As we have pointed out before, the Council believes the work of official and private agencies should be complementary rather than competitive. Accordingly, we have cooperated wholeheartedly with those agencies of government, mainly Federal, which are charged with civil rights functions. The Commission on Civil Rights and the Civil Rights Division

of the Department of Justice have had particularly frequent occasion to solicit advice and information from the Council. The Council's staff, in turn, has called to their attention instances of discrimination in voting, administration of justice, etc., in which there appeared to be grounds for Federal action. Similar cooperation has also been extended to the Southern state advisory committees of the Commission on Civil Rights.

We see this function as one deserving special emphasis in the year ahead. The new administration will presumably be considering afresh the powers and obligations of the Executive Branch in the civil rights field. This, then, is a time for the Council (as well as other concerned groups) to prepare the best possible background information and recommendations for administrative action. To this end, we have in process a comprehensive memorandum setting forth the Council's views on this subject.

Shortly after the turn of the year, this report as completed will be transmitted to appropriate persons within the new administration, as well as to key individuals in private life.

Whatever the effect of these recommendations, the Council may anticipate many opportunities to cooperate with government officials and agencies during 1961, and few program matters merit as high a priority.

Other Activities in Brief

A Council field study of the voting situation in McCormick County, S. C., led to a Justice Department investigation, followed shortly by registration of the first Negro voters there in years. Further voting studies have been commissioned in South Carolina and Louisiana.

Two well known Southern journalists -- Prof. Walter Spearman of the University of N. C. School of Journalism and Sylvan Meyer, editor of the Gainesville (Ga.) Daily Times -- evaluated for the Council newspaper handling of racial stories. The results were published and given appropriate distribution under the title "Racial Crisis and the Press."

At the request of several large professional associations, the Council surveyed facilities for biracial conventions in the South. The findings were published in New South.

Other commissioned studies nearing completion and publication include: (1) An assessment of police handling of disorders in Little Rock and other Southern cities, by author George McMillan. (2) An analysis of Federal Court rulings on school desegregation, by Professor Robert Steamer of LSU. (3) A study of race and crime by Dr. Elmer Johnson, sociologist and former penal official of North Carolina. (4) An appraisal of the operation of private schools in Prince Edward County, Va., by education specialist Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman. (5) A comparative study of biracial education in Georgia, done by the Council for the Georgia Conference on

Educational Opportunities.

The Council provided major assistance to the preparation of magazine articles appearing in Look, Life, Esquire, The Reporter, The Nation, New Republic, The New York Times Magazine, Harvard Business Review, Business Week, Time, Newsweek, and The Reader's Digest; it also assisted the NBC and CBS television networks in the preparation of documentaries on the South.

Council President Dabbs and Vice-President Wright each appeared on national television programs, in addition to many speaking engagements during the year. Articles by the Executive Director appeared in The Reporter and The New York Times Magazine.

IN CONCLUSION, the past year has been a busy and, we think, a fruitful one. The staff is grateful to the members, friends, and supporters of the Council for helping make possible a period of new growth and productivity.

As we consider the nature of the work in the coming year, it is timely to recall once again the objectives adopted by the Council at its Williamsburg meeting of November 1956:

> Our task, as we see it, includes but goes far beyond the stimulation of local action to deal with matters of desegregation and democratic racial relations at the community level. We must play a greater role in establishing a broad national and Southern climate of opinion in which positive local efforts can succeed. We must assume more of the leadership in educating and rallying those national forces whose action or inaction at this time is critical.

The goal for 1961 could hardly be better stated.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
OF THE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

A Review of Program Activities During 1961

February 1962

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without permission.

ANNUAL REPORT OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

1 9 6 1

My predecessor was wont to have his Annual Report in your hands in November. In this as in many things it has been hard for me to emulate.

The year 1961 brought important changes in the leadership of SRC. Dr. Rufus E. Clement, for many years Chairman of the Executive Committee, resigned that post in January 1961. John H. Wheeler, of Durham, was elected as his successor. In March, Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director since 1957, resigned, and the staff direction of the Council was entrusted to me. I know that I speak also for John Wheeler in acknowledging the great contributions made by Dr. Clement - still an active member of the Executive Committee -, and by Harold Fleming - still the Council's good friend and valued co-worker.

New members of the Executive Committee are H. Franklin Williams, Vice-President of the University of Miami; and Stephen J. Wright, President of Fisk University. They succeed the Rev. Duncan Hunter and L. D. Milton, both of whom have served the Council long and devotedly.

The past year in the South measured up in interest and excitement to the dizzying marks set by its forerunners. From crowded events to select a few as chief is, at best, a clumsy attempt to predict the future. One can,

nevertheless, say with some confidence that four developments dominated the year's events. The federal government was incomparably more active than ever before. School desegregation was entirely peaceful, and in Tennessee and Virginia began to advance beyond token dimensions. A noticeably more moderate political climate gained and spread, to everywhere except Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina; even in Louisiana, Baton Rouge was induced to tolerate school desegregation in New Orleans. The Freedom Ride into Alabama and Mississippi, important in itself, introduced what have become two new patterns of challenge and response: direct action against segregation led by organized staffs; more sophisticated techniques of police suppression.

These were the trends and occurrences within which the Council's activities took place during 1961.

Field Programs

A game of semantics has been popular in recent years, played around the terms "integration", "desegregation", and "race mixing". The word "desegregation" has been preferred by the South's liberals and moderates, both because it seemed more palatable to many and because it is, in fact, the most accurate in describing what has been taking place. The good old English word "mix" has been taken over by the segregationists, and put to use as an epithet.

Yet it is clear that the only realistic solution to the South's - and the nation's - racial ills is neither a topys-turvy mixing nor a grudging desegregation, but a wholesome integration of the talents, the strengths, the dreams of neighbors in a community, of fellow-citizens in the nation. To this end the obstructions of law and custom have to be overcome, and the civil rights struggle is doing that. But beyond civil rights is the opportunity to build in the South a decent, satisfying human community.

The state and local Councils on Human Relations are dedicated to that end. Through combined labors in the civil rights campaign, their Negro and white members are learning now the values of the integrated society which has to be woven here in the South. During 1961, the Councils grew in number, in activity, and in influence. Membership was up from 4700 in 1960 to 6400, and there are now some 65 local councils. Funds raised locally (exclusive of any foundation grants or SRC grants-in-aid) increased from $50,335 to $56,626. With the help of SRC's Director of Field Activities, Paul Rilling, promising beginnings were made in the formation of a Council in Mississippi and first steps were taken in Louisiana; in Texas, the other state without an active state Council, the Houston Council grew steadily. Exceptionally able staff persons were found to fill vacancies in Alabama, Georgia, and Virginia. Special foundation grants permitted Georgia

to appoint an associate staff director, and Tennessee to put into effect a very interesting plan of enlarged staff services.

There are places in the Deep South where local Councils still feel constrained to meet secretly. The Fairfax County (Va.) Council conducts integrated youth camps. These contrasts reflect the differences of the region. Within the contrasts there is a similar need for racial cooperation in ending discrimination and in integrating the energies of the South.

Our interests in this field are expressed not only through the state Councils, but through the overlapping organization of southern church women into the Fellowship of the Concerned, led by SRC's and the South's indomitable Mrs. M. E. Tilly. The Fellowship's annual meeting in November was the largest in years. Speakers included the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Bishop John O. Smith, of the North Georgia Conference of the Methodist Church. State meetings of the Fellowship were held in Florida and Georgia. Despite a broken hip and the saddest of family trials, Mrs. Tilly continues her great captaincy of the southern conscience.

The third principal field program is quite different. The Southern Leadership Project is a quiet ministry of realism among economic, educational, and civic leaders of the South. Benjamin Muse, who has led the Project since its inception in early 1959, and his associates have been

remarkably successful in establishing dialogue with decision makers, supplying them with information, linking them into communication with their counterparts in other locales of the region. This valuable program began in 1961 a concentrated focus on the Deep South states.

Col. Muse's book, Virginia's Massive Resistance, was published by Indiana University Press, and received wide and favorable reviews. Many copies of the book, written as a part of the Leadership Project, have been selectively distributed throughout the South.

Other field activities are less a matter of program than of service. Officers as well as staff members are involved in numerous conferences, in speech making, and in unending and fruitful conversations with other agencies and persons working in the race relations field. SRC acts as the secretariat for the Southern Interagency Conference, which quarterly brings together the agencies conducting human relations and civil rights programs.

The Voter Education Project

An extraordinary amount of staff time, energy, and thought were given to the development of what will be one of the most ambitious projects in SRC's history. The Voter Education Project will place SRC in the role

of allocating substantial sums of money to other civil rights groups for the support of their voter registration work, and of coordinating their efforts. Our involvement will be designed and limited in such a way as to serve our traditional research interest in voting patterns. The Project's beginning waits now on receipt of a requested advance ruling from the Treasury that it is consistent with our tax-exemption charter. Note is made of it here, however, because the planning of it bulked so large in our 1961 activities.

One by-product of the planning stage of the Project has been a phenomenon that appears throughout our other affairs as well. The Council has always enjoyed close and friendly relations with allied agencies. During 1961, with the emergence into prominence of some relatively new groups, SRC was tested as perhaps never before in its capacity to be a trusted co-laborer and resource for all. Numerous informal relationships, as well as the heavy demands of the Voter Education Project, obligate SRC to make its unique contribution to the maintenance of both momentum and responsibility, and the minimizing of inevitable friction, within the civil rights movement.

Research

In January 1961 the Council brought out The Federal Executive and Civil Rights. Few if any of our

publications have been as useful. Not only was press attention excellent, but the report was gratifyingly well received by the new Administration.

Shortly after publication, an officer and three staff members of the Council were among a small group of Southerners called to Washington for a conference with the Attorney-General on civil rights issues, and a subsequent meeting with the Vice-President.

A Special Report in May, The Freedom Ride, also got wide-spread comment. Because the report asked certain questions about the practicality of the Freedom Ride, although indicating at the same time a basic approval, some of our friends had reservations about it. SRC staff read and heard of these reservations. The staff's conviction has not lessened on the crucial point, which is that the Council has achieved a reputation for informed, objective interpretation of events in the South, and it is our constant responsibility to merit that reputation. It is essential that the Council maintain its intellectual independence, and for the Council it would be out of character to register its interpretations and judgments covertly. We were gratified, therefore, by the observation of the Atlanta Constitution's editor, in his daily column, that we had "not dodged self-searching, which is a requirement of responsible liberalism."

Under the able guidance of Research Director James A. Moss, other publications were released during 1961. The entire list is as follows:

Pamphlets

Houston: The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South. Based on a survey by Art Gallaher, Jr., Associate Professor of Anthropology and Sociology, University of Houston. (The first of a series of employment studies in southern cities.)

Notable Addresses

Haywood N. Hill, This I Believe

Daniel C. Thompson, The Case for Integration

Special Reports

Mary Ellen Goodman, Sanctuaries for Tradition: Virginia's New Private Schools

The Freedom Ride

The Student Protest Movement: A Recapitulation

Leadership Reports

L-23 - Desegregation in Higher Education

L-24 - From an address by Malcolm Bryan, President of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta,---on the Importance of Maintaining Law and Order to Secure Outside Capital Investment

L-24A- New School Laws in Georgia

L-25 - New Census Look at Cities and Race
(Reprinted from the Washington Post)

L-26 - From an address by General Lucius D. Clay, Chairman of the Board, Continental Can Company, etc.

L-27 - The Hard or the Easy Way?

L-28 - Organizations Supporting the Student Protest Movement.

L-29 - ---A resolution passed at the recent annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association ---

Miscellaneous

The Federal Executive and Civil Rights.

A brief special mention is due Dr. Haywood Hill's This I Believe. Demand has been so great that, after an initial printing of 12,000 copies, we have printed 50,000 more and our stock now is low.

Reaction to Crisis

By its nature, the Council can be of only limited usefulness during a crisis, and sometimes can only despairingly recognize that it can do nothing until the storm abates. Whether and how we can act depends partly on the situation, partly on the resources we have. During 1960, the Southern Leadership Project

helped substantially to hasten solution of lunch-counter controversies in several places. In 1961, New Orleans and Albany (Ga.) provided examples of what SRC can do, and also cannot do. In both of the illustrations it will be noted that SRC worked with and through a Human Relations Council or other like-principled group.

In New Orleans, for the second year in a row, SRC conducted special programs, aiding and advising the work of local groups concerned with orderly desegregation. Special foundation grants permitted the preparation and distribution of educational materials. SRC's Director of Field Activities spent much of his time during the Summer in New Orleans, helping to plan and coordinate the citizens movement which this year made a decisive contribution to peaceful desegregation. (Similar program was conducted in Atlanta.)

N.O. School Crisis

When the disorders of Albany began in early December we noted the complete absence of communication between the white and Negro sections, and we saw also a hope that some could be started. The Director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, Mrs. William C. Pauley, after consultation with SRC staff, went to Albany. Patient, skilled mediation on her part (only momentarily halted by her arrest, and quick release on the Mayor's instruction) got negotiations started. After two days these collapsed, and the large march

and more arrests took place. SRC's Director of Field Activities then went to Albany, in company with an Anti-Defamation League representative. The two of them, through hours of quiet labor, brought about the resumption of negotiations, and were channels for messaging back and forth until an agreement was reached. Throughout this critical period, SRC staff in Atlanta was in almost continual phone communication with persons active in Albany and with the press which was covering the event. Mrs. Pauley returned to Albany in January, and worked closely with the Negro movement in framing and presenting its case before the City Commission. She has since remained close to the situation.

In the meantime, because we thought the Albany crisis enclosed so many pregnant issues that needed to be understood, we engaged Professor Howard Zinn, Spelman College historian, to write a report. He worked through his Christmas holiday and the report was released in early January. We chose not to give it a press release because, in this case, our aim was not to add a news factor but to deepen the understanding of those actively involved in crisis, or required by their positions to interpret it or react to it. For the same reason, we wanted the report done before the crisis ended.

Within days of release and distribution, the Albany police chief - criticized in the report - ordered a number of extra copies. The Negro movement in Albany sent for 400. And comments from other sources, such as the following, indicated that the report was serving its purpose:

from a wire-service reporter

> I must admit you have out-reported newsmen on the job.---Many of the features of the report were news to me - a reporter who arrived in Albany December 11. Having covered Freedom Rides in Jackson, Mississippi and racial developments in McComb, Mississippi before Albany - the report is something I have longed to do myself.----

from the editor of a national weekly

> That report of yours is a completely first-rate document.

from an official of an American Embassy in the Far East

> We read it aloud one night until after midnight.---The report is the best kind of history - the only meaningful journalism-----

from a Methodist clergyman in Baton Rouge

> I hereby request that a similar type report be made on the Baton Rouge situation.----

(Finally, this discussion should note that the Director of the Southern Leadership Project had been quietly and effectively at work in Birmingham even before year's end; the enveloping dilemma of that city is a matter of constant attention, and of liaison with

the Alabama Council and consultation with responsible authorities.)

New South

Miss Margaret Long joined the staff in July, and under her editor-ship New South has been rejuvenated. It is our hope to make of it a magazine of intellectual vigor, and this can be possible only if it is interesting to read. Margaret Long is a gifted writer herself, adroit at attacking half-truths, an authentic voice of the South whom we are delighted to have with us.

Brief Mention

The number of foreign visitors received by the Council jumped greatly, and somewhat bewilderingly. The Council welcomes these people, despite the inroads on our time. They come to our offices with varying, but almost always alarming, degrees of ignorgance and distorted opinion about the South; we try to give them an accurate interpretation.

Two special research projects are being administered. James McBride Dabbs is pursuing certain studies in southern history. Dr. M. Robert Coles, a psychiatrist, is exploring the effects of school desegregation on the personalities of the involved students.

Organization and Administration

New Council Members elected at the Annual Meeting in November will bring fresh ideas and vigor. They are Mrs. Vivion Brewer, civic leader in Little Rock; A.D. Beittel of Jackson, President of Tougaloo Christian College; the Rev. Theodore R. Gibson, pastor of Christ Episcopal Church of Miami; the Rev. M.D. McCollom, Orangeburg, (S.C.); John P. Nelson, Jr., attorney and Catholic lay leader of New Orleans; Lucius H. Pitts, President of Miles College, Birmingham; David H. Scull, businessman and prominent Quaker, Annandale, (Va.); Andrew M. Secrest, editor of the Cheraw (S.C.) Chronicle; and the Rev. Kelly M. Smith, pastor of the First Baptist Church, Nashville. One other elected in November has requested that his term not begin as yet. The terms of S.E. Duncan, A.G. Gaston, Harry Golden, and Bishop M. L. Harris ended, and their colleagues regretfully saw them leave.

Finances, as always, claimed their share of attention. Stocks received by the Council were sold. The generous, unexpected, and unbudgeted bequest of the William Emerson Estate, paid to the Council in portions between 1958 and final payment in 1961, was converted into a modest reserve fund and invested in the Common Stock Fund of the Trust Company of Georgia. Expenditures are kept in forecast in order to permit placing funds whenever possible in the savings account and in short term governments. The experienced judgment and watchfulness of Finance Committee

Chairman, L.D. Milton, has been of invaluable assistance.

In these as in all other administrative matters, I wish to acknowledge my personal indebtedness to the Council's Secretary-Treasurer, Mrs. Ruth House Alexander; and to Paul Anthony, Executive Assistant.

Contributors to the Council have continued to give generously. Particularly noteworthy in this Annual Report is the assistance, granted for the first time in 1961, of the Rockefeller Foundation.

The Council depends on these friends who largely finance its work. It depends also on the services of a dedicated and skilled staff. My regard for these friends who are my fellow staff-members may be inferred when I say that I believe President Dabbs spoke their spirit and their resolve when he concluded his address at the Annual Meeting with these words:

> We live in a world where the position of the person grows increasingly precarious. Urban, industrial life tends to obliterate him; totalitarian government tends to obliterate him. Beyond these present dangers lies the ominous future, in which, if we do not destroy ourselves, we shall inevitably build units far greater than our national states, at the last perhaps a world state. What becomes of the person in such a comprehensive net?
>
> The South cannot solve these problems. It is possible, however, for the South to see more truly what it is: whites and Negroes who have suffered history together, and who in this enforced relationship have learned more wisdom than they know. The nation needs this wisdom. We need the exhilaration that comes from sharing it.

Leslie W. Dunbar

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
OF THE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

A Review of Program Activities During 1962

February 1963

<u>Not for publication or quotation without permission</u>.

OFFICERS, COMMITTEES, AND STAFF

1962

PRESIDENT

James McBride Dabbs*

VICE PRESIDENTS

Albert W. Dent*
Josephine Wilkins*
Rufus E. Clement*
Marion A. Wright*

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

John H. Wheeler, Chairman

W. Carroll Brooke
Paul Christopher
John A. Griffin
Grace T. Hamilton
Jacob Rothschild
Alexander O. Sigur
H. Franklin Williams
Stephen J. Wright

Legal Counsel:
Joseph F. Haas*

Personnel Committee:
John H. Wheeler, Chairman

Finance Committee:
L. D. Milton, Chairman

Nominating Committee:
Irving I. Carlyle, Chairman

STAFF

Executive Director - Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Women's Work - Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Secretary-Treasurer - Ruth H. Alexander
Executive Assistant - Paul Anthony
Director, Southern Leadership Project - Benjamin Muse
Director of Field Activities - Paul M. Rilling
(Resigned December 7, 1962)
Director of Information - Margaret Long
Director, Voter Education Project - Wiley A. Branton
Director of Research - James A. Moss
(Resigned July 3, 1962)

- Staige D. Blackford
(Beginning, September 1, 1962)

*ex-officio members of Executive Committee

REPORT OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES
1962

An observer could more easily say, during 1962, that the "solid South" had ended than he could discern what had taken its place. Only the policies of Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina still defended the fortress into which the South had retreated after 1954, though the political oratory of rebellion was still heavy elsewhere, most notably in Arkansas and Louisiana.

Even in the three states, there were marks of change. South Carolina evidently took the turn which Georgia had two years earlier, and the farewell address of Governor Hollings and the desegregation of Clemson, both occurring in January 1963, certified the decisions which during 1962 were being made by the state's men of power.

The restiveness which first arose in Alabama during the Birmingham parks-closing of early 1962 grew during the year, although one cannot yet hazard optimism about what the state will choose to do with itself. There is likelihood of court-ordered desegregation of Birmingham schools next September, and almost certainly either the University of Alabama or Auburn or both will be called on to admit Negro students. It would be hard to exaggerate the seriousness and probable effects of the Birmingham ordeal which lies ahead.

Mississippi is perhaps a trifle less monolithic than is usually assumed. There have always been dissenters of strength and intelligence, Negro leadership is vigorous, the Department of Justice has seemingly concentrated here much of its legal fire, white clergymen have displayed courage as fine as in any southern state, and the emotional and intellectual frenzy of the present ruling class is

too intense and shrill to be sustained. The state will likely disgrace the country again and maybe several times more, but to hope that the epic quality of the conflict may yield more than surface solutions is not entirely naive.

Elsewhere, there was no pattern, except a perceptible movement toward a new (for the South) political theory. As regards racial equality, there are three possible positions for an American government to take: opposed, neutral, or in favor. Historically, southern state governments have been opposed, have been frankly the white people's governments, and have had as their fundamental policy touchstone the defense of white supremacy. This is ending. There are signs too large to be overlooked that the governments of North Carolina and Tennessee have broken southern traditions, and have abandoned white supremacy as the cardinal political doctrine. Their posture is neutrality, which means that, although the state will not strongly assist the Negroes, the weight of state power is withdrawing from the defense of local and private segregation and discrimination. Both Georgia and Texas may already be moving to the same neutral position; Kentucky has gone several steps beyond it, and state power has begun to give positive assistance to equality.

This is a development which was, in 1962, greatly hastened by the Supreme Court's ruling that legislative apportionment presented justiciable issues for the federal courts. Before the year ended, Alabama and Georgia had more democratic representation, and the issue was being decided in Florida, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Virginia.

In short, the life and the politics of the South are in flux. In this time of fluidity, the opportunities and the responsibilities of the Southern Regional Council -- the

South's parliament of freed minds -- are larger than they have ever been.

COUNCIL AFFAIRS

Council membership was raised to 90 in 1962, according to the plan which will carry the size to 95 in 1963 and 100 in 1964.

Mr. McNeill Smith, attorney of Greensboro (N.C.), elected in 1961, assumed membership in 1962 in the Class of 1965. Dr. Crawford Brock of Rome (Ga.) was elected to the Class of 1963, replacing Mr. Wiley A. Branton who resigned to become Director of the Voter Education Project. Mrs. Moise Cahn of New Orleans, a nationally prominent Jewish leader, was elected to the Class of 1965 to replace Dr. Arthur Gray, who had moved from the region.

Other new members, elected to the Class of 1966, are Roosevelt D. Crockett, president of Philander Smith College; Edward E. Haddock, physician and state legislator of Richmond; Robert J. Harris, professor of political science at Vanderbilt; Mrs. Martin Harvey, a Methodist lay-leader of Jackson (Miss.); John G. Lewis, civic and Masonic leader of Baton Rouge; J. Rupert Picott, executive secretary of the Virginia Teachers Association; Moreland G. Smith, architect of Montgomery; William H. Townsend, optometrist of Little Rock; and Nat Welch, businessman of Auburn (Ala.).

The terms of Edward A. McDowell, Jacob Reddix, Mrs. E. U. Robinson, and J. Edwin Smith ended, and their colleagues regretfully saw them leave.

At the Annual Meeting in November a decision of importance was taken, when there was created a class of Life Fellows of the Council. This will make possible the continued association of at least some of the strong friends who pass from membership through the inexorable workings

of the Council's rotation system, and the honoring of other distinguished Southerners. The first Life Fellows elected are:

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, Tryon (N.C.); Mr. Leonard Haas, Atlanta; Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, Richmond, (Va.); Bishop M. LaFayette Harris, Atlanta, (Ga.); Dr. Edward A. McDowell, Wake Forest, (N.C.).

New members of the Executive Committee are John P. Nelson, Jr., attorney of New Orleans; Raymond Wheeler, physician of Charlotte; and Thomas W. Young, publisher of the Norfolk Journal and Guide. They succeed the Reverend W. Carroll Brooke, Rabbi Jacob Rothschild, and the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Alexander O. Sigur, all of whom have served the Council long and devotedly.

Of several staff changes, I may be pardoned for singling out for remark the resignation of Paul Rilling, since 1959 Director of Field Activities. Few people have given more constructive service, or have had so many friends throughout the South. We wish him well, in his new post as Executive Director of the Commissioners' Council on Human Relations of the District of Columbia.

CERTAIN PROGRAM ACTIONS

We have been fortunate this past year in the opportunities we have had for cooperative work with other agencies. The widespread concern for civil rights and human relations has caused a number of agencies, in addition to the Negro groups which provide the main thrust of the civil rights movement, to broaden their programs, looking for ways to help. We think there is a value in cooperation and that it is not only defined as economy of funds and energies. Accordingly, we have a good bit of satisfaction in the following:

(a) With the Anti-Defamation League; we are preparing a study of desegregated education; a principal problem of the study will be the development known as "tokenism." Publication is planned for Spring 1963. The author will be Kenneth Morland, Professor of Sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College; several others have contributed research and ideas. This could well be one of our most useful publications.

(b) The International City Managers' Association requested us to prepare a study of the whole nexus of racial relations problems as they confront municipal administrators. We accepted, but proposed -- because we do not claim special competence outside the South -- that the Potomac Institute share with us the work. In the outcome, Potomac did much more than we, and we are happy to acknowledge our gratitude. The report, a lengthy document, is issued by I.C.M.A. as the February 1963 number of its regular Management Information Service.

(c) With the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, we sponsored a conference in Nashville, December 27 - 29, 1962 on the theme "The Ethical Demands of Integration." Martin Luther King, Jr. delivered the keynote address and President Dabbs concluded the meeting attended by 150 invitees, who heard also papers from Thomas Hammond and Paul Gaston, professors of history at the University of Virginia; southern staff of the American Friends Service Committee; and the Reverend Samuel Williams of Atlanta.

(d) We have been giving more and more thought to rural areas and their special fears and feelings. As one effort to reach the minds of rural people, we have joined in a project with the National Council of Churches, providing consultation for rural ministers in the Deep South states. The project was jointly conceived and is jointly planned, but is administered by the National Council; our share of the cost is somewhat over half. The Reverend Elbert Jean is the principal worker.

(e) From the same interest in rural people, we are experimentally collaborating with a non-profit but thoroughly professional communications firm in features designed for rural and small town audiences of one Deep South state. The reception has been most encouraging.

(f) With the Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action and the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations (as with the Houston Council in 1961), we collaborated in employment studies which were published as pamphlets.

(g) The Voter Education Project secured the cooperation of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Action in financing registration work in New Orleans. The program there is to accord with VEP policies and regulations, and to be coordinated by VEP.

(h) After the Oxford riots, we prepared and circulated widely a montage of editorials from college newspapers. We were aided in the distribution and in printing costs by the National Student Association and the Y.W.C.A.

(i) Finally, we continue to serve as the secretariat of the Southern Interagency Conference.

THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

The Voter Education Project is agency cooperation at its widest opportunity and keenest test.

Shortly after the conclusion of its first year of activity, VEP will prepare its own report. I shall, therefore, touch here on only a few basic items.

For its first year of operation, VEP had available $268,327. It has to date disbursed or committed $156,147 to field programs. The field work is being done not only by the national and regional bodies, such as the NAACP, but by a considerable number of local organizations, several of which VEP has helped bring into existence. As a preliminary indication of effectiveness, the hurriedly organized short program during last Summer, for which $64,240 was granted, resulted in at least 27,839 new registrants.

The underlying aim of VEP is to learn, through experimental research, something more than we know now about how disadvantaged people can organize themselves and, through the established political process, overcome discrimination against themselves. Working with these groups is a rich experience, and the quality of data we are accumulating should assure a valuable publication.

Director of the Project is Mr. Wiley A. Branton, from Pine Bluff (Ark.), one of the country's leading civil rights lawyers. Mr. Branton has brought unusual skills and a sure judgment to the job. Assisting him are Jack Minnis, who expects soon to receive his Ph.D. in political science from Tulane; and Randolph Blackwell, lawyer, recently professor of political science at Alabama A. & M.

College, and an experienced registration worker.

The Council has for some years now succeeded in bringing off a difficult role. We are an organization with a full commitment to one side of an intense controversy. At the same time, we claim to be -- and, we think, we are -- accurate and objective in our reporting and analysis of southern developments and in our field consultations. To be both committed and objective is, at any time, an assignment that requires day-to-day soundness of judgment. The Voter Education Project makes the job -- if I may use a southern colloquialism -- real hard, but doubly interesting and worth doing.

RESEARCH

Our research is usually directed at analysis and interpretation of current problems. But we know that we have these last nine years been living through one of the decisive chapters of American history, which scholars will write and re-write for generations. There is no understanding of the South or its race relations apart from their history, and the views men have of that history are conditioning the ways men today are acting. A clear and honest understanding of these years since 1954 is a practical necessity. We have, therefore, undertaken to write what will be a political history of ten years of the Supreme Court's decision. We have contracted with Viking Press for publication, which is planned for May 17, 1964. Mr. Benjamin Muse, Director of the Southern Leadership Project, a gifted and experienced author, is writing the book, with research assistance from our Research Department.

Under the able direction of Dr. James A. Moss, who resigned July 3, 1962 as Director of Research, and Mr. Staige D. Blackford, his successor, the Council published during 1962 the following:

Pamphlets:

Albany: A Study in National Responsibility, by H. Zinn

Chattanooga: The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South (the second of a series)

Atlanta: The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South (the third of a series)

A Hundred Years Later, by J. M. Dabbs, F. P. Graham, P. Green, B. E. Mays, J. Stokely, M. A. Wright (also issued as a number of New South)

Special Reports:

Albany, by Howard Zinn

A Study of Negro Farmers in South Carolina

L-Reports:

L-31 "Slipping Segregation: Negroes Win Lowering of More Barriers in South" (A Wall Street Journal Reprint)

L-32 Reproduction of a letter to the editor of the Southwest Louisiana Register from Dr. William P. Sullivan, Assistant Professor of English, McNeese State College, Lake Charles, Louisiana.

L-33 "A Statement of Recommended Police Policy Resulting from the New York University Graduate School of Public Administration Conference on: 'The Challenge of Desegregation for the American Police Executive'"

L-34 "Desegregation of Southern Parochial Schools"

L-35 "State Commissions on Human Relations"

L-36 "Richmond Quietly Leads the Way in Race Relations" (Reprint from the Washington Post of July 29, 1962)

L-37 "A Statement on the 'Economic Costs of Racial Discrimination in Employment' Presented to the Joint Economic Committee of Congress in September 1962 by the Council of Economic Advisers"

L-Reports (continued)

L-38 "What Price Violence?"

L-39 "Negroes' Pay Rises But Half As Fast"

Miscellaneous:

The Unequal Badge, by Elliott M. Rudwick

Executive Support of Civil Rights

Montage of editorials from southern campuses regarding the University of Mississippi riots.

The two publications which received most attention were Executive Support of Civil Rights and Albany: A Study in National Responsibility. Both had heavy press coverage and widespread editorial comment, and the former was ordered in gratifying quantities by government offices. (The White House requested over 1,000 copies; the U. S. Civil Service Commission, 80; the U. S. Information Agency, 125; the Post Office, 40; the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 30; the Housing and Home Finance Agency, 6 -- all these in addition to our own distribution throughout the federal establishment.) Both were concerned with the performance of the national administration, although Albany had other interests as well.

The Kennedy administration has, as we said in Executive Support of Civil Rights, through its vigorous use of executive action become "a primary center for initiative" in the civil rights struggle. This has meant that the Council needs to be of such service as it can be to executive agencies and that we must also, if our accustomed role as interpreter of southern problems is maintained, include governmental policies and actions in the area on which we report and comment. Opportunities to engage in informal discussions with governmental officials and offices come frequently, as do also requests for information. On a more formal

plane, the Executive Director testified in March before the subcommittee on Integration in Federally Assisted Education of the House Education and Labor Committee, at its request; was one of a small group invited in April to a conference with the Secretary and other officials of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare; and in June spent two days in consultation with the attorneys commissioned by the Commission on Civil Rights to prepare the report later published as Civil Rights U. S. A. The Director of the Southern Leadership Project was appointed to the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in the Armed Forces; as part of his duties, he inspected U. S. military bases in Germany during the Fall.*

The Special Report on Negro farmers in South Carolina represented another effort at calling problems to the attention of an interested national administration. So, too, did a Special Report on Plans for Progress (a device of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity), issued in January 1963.

We felt special pleasure in publishing A Hundred Years Later, not only because it was a symposium of Council members, but because of the superior quality of the writing and reflection.

The research staff does more, however, than prepare publications. It is steadily engaged in responding to inquiries for information, bibliographical help, and interpretation. These come from the media, government, private agencies of various sorts, scholars, students,

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* I should like to note that, to my knowledge and without any systematic check, at least 20 Council members are presently engaged in some appointive role, of an advisory or other nature, with the federal government in areas having to do with race relations.

and many, many others. Often these requests originate in some groups' conception of what it needs to know to stimulate local change: e.g., during the year the Chamber of Commerce of one rigidly segregated small city of the Deep South wrote for information regarding other cities' use of bi-racial committees; and from groups in several places have come requests for all the economic data available on the effects of downtown desegregation.

Of things in progress I shall not further comment, except to say a few words about the unusually interesting work of Dr. M. Robert Coles. Through special grants, he has been carrying on a psychiatric study since the summer of 1961 of children -- white and Negro -- involved in Atlanta and New Orleans school desegregation; and, more generally, of how human beings react to community tensions. We have administered the grants, and have had also the rewards of Dr. Coles' association. His first writings (besides a New South article) include a piece in a forthcoming issue of the Atlantic Monthly; a chapter in a book to be published soon under the title Youth: Change and Challenge, edited by Erik Erikson; and a paper titled "Southern Children Under Desegregation" to be read before the American Psychiatric Association in St. Louis in May, 1963.

NEW SOUTH

New South published during the year original articles by, among others, Lillian Smith, Nedra Tyre, Herman Long, Donald Dewey, M. Robert Coles, Herbert Jenkins, and James McBride Dabbs; also, sections of books by Louis Lomax and Will Campbell prior to publication. The special October issue, on Mississippi, has been ordered in such

heavy quantity that we have had to have a second printing. Editor Margaret Long's own regular column, "Strictly Subjective," marks the pace for what we believe may be the most interesting magazine in this field.

FIELD ACTIVITIES

Membership in the state and local Councils on Human Relations was 6,345 in 1962. Funds raised locally (exclusive of any foundation grants or SRC grants-in-aid) rose to $61,200. The groups are still of varying strength, effectiveness, and vigor, but all are irreplaceable forces for good, and all made distinctive contributions during the year. We think especially of the Virginia Council's developing program in merit employment; North Carolina's quiet liaison work with state officials; the college program of the South Carolina Council; the Georgia Council's unusually skilled and effective work in easing and settling community tensions; the success of the Alabama Council in Birmingham mediation; Tennessee's work in the desegregation of state parks; voter registration by the Arkansas Council; and the educational work done by the strong Houston Council in welfare and health areas.

But perhaps the finest event of 1962 was the re-establishment of the Mississippi Council. Immediately and bitterly attacked, it has held largely intact. No one expects the Mississippi Council to do -- for a while -- vigorous programming. Its achievement and its importance is that it exists, and speaks; simply by being alive, it gives the lie to the state's boast and ideology of undeviating popular approval.

During the year, Virginia, South Carolina, and Alabama received special foundation grants. SRC was able to increase by a small amount its grants-in-aid.

The Fellowship of the Concerned unites, in a loosely constituted but devotedly firm alliance, churchwomen over the South. Mrs. M. E. Tilly, our matchless Director of Women's Work, led the Fellowship in one of its most satisfying meetings during November. But the Fellowship is more than meetings. It is the conscience and energy of many churchwomen, of both races, active year-round in hundreds of ways in hundreds of localities.

The toughest decision made during the year was the one which took Benjamin Muse from active field work to the writing of a book. The slack in the Southern Leadership Project has been partially taken up by the two rural programs mentioned earlier. Mr. J. J. Brewbaker, who continues as Public School Consultant, has been engaged in one Deep South state in some especially interesting work. He and the Director of Field Activities had special opportunities for service in Pensacola prior to its school desegregation. Mr. Brewbaker was also called upon in the Chattanooga school department's program of preparation.

In December, Paul Anthony succeeded Paul Rilling as Director of Field Activities, bringing to this new post the experience acquired during long service with the Council and, equally importantly, genuine leadership talents.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

As in the past, much time was given to work with the press and other media of mass communications. It may be that nothing we do is of greater importance. I mentioned earlier that the Council balances commitment and objectivity. We have no better evidence that we succeed than that reporters and magazine writers keep returning to use our materials and to discuss their stories.

The Council was host to 115 foreign visitors, in addition to a number, sponsored by other Atlanta groups or individuals, who visited our offices. Our people came from nine countries of Latin America, 15 of Europe, 24 of Africa, four of Asia, and Australia.

The Annual Meeting was well attended and lively. In addition to President Dabbs' address, Will Campbell of the National Council of Churches, Lewis Jones of Fisk University, and James Silver of the University of Mississippi spoke as a panel, on prospects before the Deep South. The meeting was historic, in that for the first time we were able to meet in downtown Atlanta, taking advantage of Atlanta's one desegregated hotel and one non-segregated restaurant.

FINANCES

Both income and expenditures in 1962 almost exactly met budgeted amounts. This happy fact, received somewhat incredulously by harried administrators, means that our finances are relatively stable. There are some serious problems, however, foreseeable. Our most pressing need is for at least one additional, substantial grant. We need this for four reasons: to absorb normally increasing costs; to permit moderate program growth; to ease the fund-raisers' burden of gathering in the marginal dollars of the budget from many sources; and to give program people the security needed to plan their work.

Fund-raising is, among its other difficulties, time consuming. Whatever time is given by the staff to fund-raising is time not given to program. During 1962, much fund-raising effort went into the Voter Education Project, and considerable was given in support of several applications from state councils.

The Charleston News and Courier meant no compliment, but it wrote editorially on June 2 some lines which we are satisfied to regard as our encomium for the year:

> The Southern Regional Council and other groups promoting integration never have been satisfied with mere legal victories. All along the aim has been to persuade school boards and state governments not only to accede to integration, but to regard it as a constructive step forward and as morally right.

We believe our friends and supporters throughout the country would agree that this is true of the Council, and that it is good that it is so.

Leslie W. Dunbar

February 1963

Janel Shartt

ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
OF THE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

A REVIEW OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES DURING 1963
FEBRUARY 1964

NOT FOR PUBLICATION
OR QUOTATION
WITHOUT PERMISSION

OFFICERS, COMMITTEES, AND STAFF

1963

PRESIDENT

James McBride Dabbs*

VICE PRESIDENTS

Albert W. Dent*
Miss Josephine Wilkins*
Rufus E. Clement*
Marion A. Wright*

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

John H. Wheeler, Chairman

Paul R. Christopher
John A. Griffin
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
John P. Nelson, Jr.
Raymond Wheeler
H. Franklin Williams
Stephen J. Wright
Thomas W. Young

Legal Counsel:
Joseph F. Haas*

Personnel Committee:
John H. Wheeler, Chairman

Finance Committee:
L. D. Milton, Chairman

Nominating Committee:
Irving E. Carlyle, Chairman

STAFF

Executive Director - Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Women's Work - Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Secretary-Treasurer - Mrs. Ruth House Alexander
Director of Field Activities - Paul Anthony
Director, Southern Leadership Project - Benjamin Muse
Editor, New South - Miss Margaret Long
Director, Voter Education Project - Wiley A. Branton
Director of Research - Staige D. Blackford
Assistant to the Director - Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director of Information - Pat Watters

*ex-officio members of Executive Committee

REPORT OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES
1963

The Southern Regional Council was completing during 1963 its twentieth year of work and, we believe, good service. The "new South," so long heralded, must finally have arrived, and what is "new" about it is not only its almost bewildering complexity but its new-found self-direction. In the past, things happened to the South -- the importation of slaves, the cotton gin, Reconstruction, the boll weevil, the depression of the 30's, Brown v. Topeka --, and the South reacted to them and was thereby changed.

Now the South with new leadership -- principally Negro -- is revising itself, its institutions, and its ideas. Race relations remain its core issue, and though we can be optimistic we cannot be certain what they may become. We can, however, know with sureness this: southern race relations of the next decade and beyond will not repeat the northern experience of de facto segregation and discrimination. For that had grown up like Topsy, unplanned and unchosen though within an antagonistic environment. Whatever race relations there may lie ahead in the South (or, for that matter, in the nation at large), whether they may be good or poor, they will be, primarily, the result of conscious choice and policy. Both human drift and social custom are irrelevant; we are choosing where we shall go, and what we shall be.

Appropriately, therefore, the Council in this time of new decisions has elected a new President. I believe many members of the Council, including its incoming-President, might have wished James McBride Dabbs could serve forever, so perfectly did he represent the thoughts and the hopes of us all. Indeed, this might have been his fate, had not he himself firmly urged otherwise.

A no less representative Southerner is John H. Wheeler, the Council's fifth President since its founding. From the time in 1942 when he took part in the Durham Conference -- the first stepping stone in the formation of the Council -- John Wheeler has been a devoted member and leader. As Chairman of the Executive Committee since 1961, he has given policy guidance during demanding years. I have worked under his supervision in that capacity, and to him and to Mr. Dabbs, president throughout my tenure, I am deeply indebted for support and for instruction.

This time last year, in the 1962 Annual Report, I wrote that "it would be hard to exaggerate the seriousness and probable effects of the Birmingham ordeal which lies ahead." Successful prophecies of this sort are distinctly unwanted; I was, besides, looking ahead to a school desegregation crisis. That came, and with it ugly tremors, and then the horror of September 15 when, in an ultimate frenzy of hate, six Negroes were murdered.

This followed by three months and more the Birmingham street events which had fired the Negro revolt as nothing before had.

Birmingham was of the pattern of Albany. Mass demonstrations were hurled in protest against an iniquitous system, and without the pin-point focus of the earlier sit-ins nor with their incredibly exemplary deportment. Like Albany too, whose Negro community today is defeated and almost hopeless, in Birmingham little local change resulted. Unlike Albany, Birmingham met the demonstrators not with slick, sophisticated police suppression but with ferocity. And this, if anything did, made the difference. A national administration, which had had no prior intention of seriously sponsoring civil rights legislation in 1963, mobilized its thinking and its supporters and put before Congress a far-reaching civil rights bill, and yet one which the key Congressional Committee (House Judiciary) refused to report out until it was further strengthened. A tidal wave of demonstrations swept through the South,* and in its wake much was changed where change had earlier begun, though little change was started where none or but the smallest had earlier occurred. Even more important, the northern cities

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*According to our count, demonstrations occurred in at least 115 southern cities during 1963. More than 20,000 arrests of demonstrators were made. Ten persons died; at least 35 bombings occurred.

came apart, for the first time since the race riots of the forties, ripped by demonstrations against non-legal and even non-acknowledged, but equally impenetrable, segregation. It is reasonable to suppose, and the polls confirm, that many northern whites learned a new determination to establish justice, while many others learned a new or renewed, if usually silently held, antipathy to racial equality.

There was more, even, than this. Upheavals within the ranks of Negro leadership, nationally and in all parts of the country, were marked, as the spirit of revolt ran too fast for some to be able to keep up, or to want to. Many liberals, both Negro and white and South and North, worried sincerely with the problem of demonstrating methods which sometimes obscured the rightness of the underlying cause. But there were also intellectual stirrings within the revolt's vanguard, reappraising the efficacy of demonstrations and examining the need to identify the aims of Negroes with those of other disadvantaged elements of the economy.

Revolutions throughout history have been more frequently justified in cause than beneficial in result. America's good luck is that the Negro drive -- which is genuinely revolutionary -- has been carried on through methods which have had the wondrous quality of relaxing rather than deepening hostilities or breeding new ones. America

has been profoundly lucky too that the goal of the revolt has been and is integration or, to put it in different words, has been to make the community whole by knitting it more firmly together. The true dangers of the future are not those which the segregationists fear, which are what Negroes will do to the community when they have been admitted into it. The true danger, and I think it is a real and threatening one, is to keep large segments of the white population from flying out of the national consensus as Negroes come in. It is not, unfortunately, inconceivable that integration will, for example, greatly accelerate the polarization of political opinions within the electorate, and if that happens widely enough to affect the behavior of the political parties at local, state, or national levels our governmental institutions would be under heavy difficulty.

THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

The Voter Education Project seeks another end. It is approaching its third and final year. As of December 31, 1963 it had received grants totaling $584,733 and had granted out to cooperating agencies $382,003 to sustain voter registration work. The Project began April 1, 1962, and by the end of 1963 -- 21 months later -- 327,588 new voters had been registered through its programs. With these, the number of Negro voters in the eleven southern

states has reached 1,752,000. During the pre-election months of 1964, we expect that the total will finally go well beyond two million.

The Voter Education Project does none of the actual registration work. Its purpose is to study what others do and the problems they encounter in seeking to broaden the southern electorate. It is experimental research, which provides us the unparalleled opportunity of studying registration methods and organizations in close-up detail.

Under the forceful direction of Wiley A. Branton, VEP receives proposals from non-partisan agencies interested in registration work, decides which it can support within already determined geographic criteria, allocates funds, and thereafter observes the work closely.

VEP is our largest present program by far. To administer it has been a tremendous trust and a steady challenge to our ability to work cooperatively with other agencies and people. We intend to do all we possibly can to publish from the Project's records and findings a lastingly valuable study. The Project, has moreover, given us the privilege of planning and guiding the largest effort ever made to make real the Fifteenth Amendment.

THE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS

The Voter Education Project is concerned with the enlargement of our democracy. The Councils on Human

Relations seek to strengthen its quality.

Membership in the state and local Councils was 8,257 in 1963, an increase of nearly two thousand over 1962. Funds raised locally (exclusive of any foundation grants or SRC grants-in-aid) were $65,525, an increase of $9,186 over 1962. Especially noteworthy was the record of the Florida Council, which during the year re-built itself, under first-rate lay and staff direction, to a strength of 1,200 members, with 14 active local Councils.

As I said at Annual Meeting, 1963 seems to me the year in which the Council on Human Relations movement began to shift to high gear. Happily, there is one -- Virginia -- already in high, and we think it can be and will be in 1964 joined by one or two others. Everywhere there is a growing awareness that numbers do count, that the once prevalent notion of a small band of good people quietly doing good is outmoded, and that the Councils on Human Relations -- virtually the only southern instrument of bi-racial programming -- have unique opportunities, and therefore responsibilities, for program accomplishments.

OTHER FIELD ACTIVITIES

Especially in Mobile, but also in Birmingham and Jacksonville, staff and consultants worked during the Summer with local citizen groups concerned with effecting peaceful, orderly school desegregation. As a future help to us, and also to other agencies working in such local

situations, we had prepared, under the supervision of Paul Anthony, Director of Field Activities, a hefty manual of advice and shared experience. Transition Without Tragedy, by Florence Robin, is not a publication for general circulation, but in the quiet use for which it is intended it should be of considerable practical value.

Completion of his writing assignment enabled Benjamin Muse, Director of the Southern Leadership Project, to return to the field in late 1963; he was especially active and helpful in Danville. His associate in the field work of the Southern Leadership Project for three years, Public School Consultant J. J. Brewbaker, retired in mid-1963 for personal and family reasons. In the final months of his work, Mr. Brewbaker was engaged in conferences with school authorities in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, and Virginia. During his three years with SRC, Mr. Brewbaker gave excellent professional service, and we miss him badly.

We continued our cooperative program with the National Council of Churches, planned to aid the clergy of the rural Deep South in their awesomely delicate ministry. And through our own Fellowship of the Concerned, inspiringly led by Mrs. M. E. Tilly, we maintained our long working association with churchwomen all over the South. The

Fellowship's annual meeting in October was, in a word, magnificent; through it and from it came a vital partnership with the White House initiated National Women's Committee for Civil Rights.

As in the past, SRC acted as secretariat for the Southern Interagency Conference. And as always, our office has been the meeting place and the crossroads for nearly every agency and person engaged in human relations work in the South.

RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS

In 1962 we undertook to write the political history of the South's reaction to Brown v. Topeka, and contracted with Viking Press for publication. Benjamin Muse was assigned to the writing, which he completed in the Fall of 1963. The book, titled Ten Years of Prelude, will be published May 17, 1964.

James McBride Dabbs completed a study of southern character, begun and researched as an SRC project. The book will be published by McGraw-Hill in late 1964.

Dr. M. Robert Coles's psychiatric studies under our Research in Student Adjustment Project culminated in several publications during the year, including a paper read before the American Psychiatric Association and subsequently published in its journal. Dr. Coles continues his research, and, though his sponsor is now Harvard University, we enjoy his association still.

Our research publications for the year were:

Pamphlets:

J. Kenneth Morland, Southern Schools: Token Desegregation and Beyond.

Robert Coles, The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study.

Vivian W. Henderson, The Economic Status of Negroes: In the Nation and in the South.

Special Reports:

Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey

Special Issues of NEW SOUTH:

"March on Washington," September 1963

"Direct Action in the South," October-November 1963

Miscellaneous:

The City and Minority Groups (jointly prepared with the Potomac Institute and the International City Managers Association, and published by the latter)

The Civil Rights Crisis: A Synopsis of Recent Developments
in four parts: I. April-June 24, 1963; II. June 24-July 24, 1963; III. July 24-August 28, 1963; IV. August 28-November 30, 1963.

L-Reports:

L-41 "Excerpts from Speeches of Governor Bert Combs of Kentucky and Secretary of Commerce Luther T. Hodges."

L-42 "Speech by Edward J. Meehan, Editor Emeritus of Memphis Press-Scimitar."

L-Reports (continued)

L-43 "Businessmen Point the Way."

L-44 "Charlotte Has Built Its Integration Road: A Different Way."

L-45 "Public Education in Mississippi."

L-46 "Voice of the People: 'At This Very Late Hour'"

Reception of these publications was gratifying. The Morland, Coles, and Henderson pamphlets received widespread press attention, and all three, especially the Henderson economic study, have been heavily ordered in group lots. We assess the response to our publications not only, however, by volume of press clippings and orders, but by the comments which come from discerning sources. Such, for example, as that from the editor of one of the South's largest dailies regarding Margaret Long's beautiful March on Washington: "The New South issue with your Washington report in it will live. It's a great job.... the definitive work on that day"; and a federal judge's statement regarding Direct Action in the South: "It is the best thing I have seen for putting events of the last three years in significant focus."

Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey, a fairly simple and unassuming report, had an unusual history. We gave it no press release, and it received no news attention until we and the press learned that it was being read and reacted to in very high Washington quarters. I think we

can accurately say that nothing SRC has ever published produced more immediate governmental action, nor more quickly affected governmental policies. Washington's response was rather baffling, because while vigorously and most commendably acting upon the report's findings (which were confirmed by the government's own investigators), it simultaneously was questioning that any problem existed and was undermining through news leaks and authoritative gossip acceptance of the report's reliability. The matter roiled over before a Congressional committee, and shortly thereafter subsided. We were nevertheless, gratified that Fortune magazine, after an independent check of its own, confirmed our conclusions in its September issue. All in all, it was an interesting experience.

New South during the year ran articles by such persons as Eric Lincoln, Charles Hartshorne, Fred Powledge, Wyatt Tee Walker, Horace Mann Bond, and James McBride Dabbs, whose final presidential address, printed in the December issue, was a thing of joy.

Pat Watters, former city editor and editorial page columnist for the Atlanta Journal, joined our staff in November as Director of Information. He brings us excellent skills and good judgment, and we are delighted to have him.

SOME OTHER ACTIVITIES

Messrs. Wheeler, Branton, and Dunbar were among the 17 persons invited by the Notre Dame University Law School to a conference on federal civil rights legislation; recommendations of the conference were published in the Notre Dame Lawyer of June 1963. Mr. Branton was a principal speaker at the CORE national convention, as was I at the annual meetings of the Civil Liberties Clearing House and of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials. In August the Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower called me to testify as an "expert" on pending job discrimination legislation.

In early November, Professor James Silver electrified his audience at the Southern Historical Association and news readers everywhere with his description and indictment of "Mississippi, The Closed Society." We had worked closely with Professor Silver in preparing this and the expanded version which is soon to be published as a book. We have also distributed more than 1,200 copies of the address.

During the year, the Council was host to 105 foreign visitors, sent to us by federal offices. Of these, 21 came from Africa, seven from the Caribbean islands, ten from Central America, nine from the Far East, 53 from Europe, and five from South America. For these we were

official sponsor. Another 67 foreign visitors, sponsored by other Atlanta based organizations, came to our offices for discussions and briefings about the South. In addition to both these groups, foreign news reporters visited us from time to time.

ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS AND FINANCES

Two long-time and devoted members of the Council died during the year: Mr. Charles Shaw of Houston and Dr. H. Councill Trenholm of Montgomery. Their passing saddened us all. We lost in the same humbling way the comradeship of Mr. Harry Jones, director of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations.

New members elected at the 1963 Annual Meeting, all for the Class of 1967 unless otherwise noted, were: Mrs. Lawrence Coe, Memphis; Mrs. Mary Sands, New Orleans; Mrs. Jane Schutt, Jackson (Miss.); Ralph M. Dreger, Jacksonville; S. E. Duncan, Salisbury (N.C.); Paul Johnston, Birmingham; the Rev. Powers McLeod, Auburn (Ala. - Class of 1964); Sylvan Meyer, Gainesville (Ga.); Samuel M. Nabrit, Houston (Class of 1966); C. H. Parrish, Louisville; Jack Young, Jackson (Miss.); James Youngdahl, Little Rock. This is a distinguished group of people, and we welcome them most warmly.

The Council terms of Dr. Crawford Brock of Rome (Ga.), Mrs. E. M. Sparling of Hot Springs (Ark.), Mr. Charles Steele of Louisville, and Miss Florence Sytz of New Orleans

ended: their colleagues reluctantly saw them leave our membership, but not our continued association in southern progress.

Dr. C. G. Gomillion of Tuskegee was elected to the Executive Committee, filling the place which Dr. John A. Griffin of Tallahassee has held so long and well. In place of John H. Wheeler, elevated to the Presidency, ex-President Dabbs was voted onto the Committee!

Mrs. M. E. Tilly was, by the admiring membership of the Council, elected a Life Fellow, even though she continues as a full-time staff worker.

The 1963 Annual Meeting, scheduled for November 25 - 26, was postponed to January 29 - 30, 1964 because of the assassination. John Fitzgerald Kennedy's death, coming after all the other cruelties of 1963, must have caused many of us to wonder what kind of a people we are, or have become. The guest speaker at SRC's meeting was Mr. Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the NAACP. He was an ideal choice for this stunned year, because he is a man, like Mr. Kennedy, who has never lost faith in the people or in the human mind.

Expenditures for 1963 were slightly below budgeted amounts, but, alas, income was also, and more so: so we ended the year with a deficit of $5,382.76. It must not happen again.

In all matters of finances, I would like to acknowledge my continuing debt to SRC's exacting Secretary-Treasurer, Mrs. Ruth House Alexander.

Two internal activities of the year deserve special remark.

First, we carried through a reorganization of staff assignments, including the writing of job descriptions and the establishment of revised salary scales for each position.*

Second, we undertook and completed a thorough study of all SRC programs and opportunities for program. So much work went into this, and now there seems little to say except that it is done, and it was worth doing. The process itself, which involved Council members, staff, and outside friends, was an education. The "Program Review and Evaluation," as the final document was called, was approved by both the Executive Committee and the Annual Meeting, and its recommendations are being put into effect during 1964. Principal staff responsibility for the self-examination was discharged by Professor Henry Clark, of Union Theological Seminary (N.Y.), who worked with us during the Summer.

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*I would like to acknowledge the help given here by our friend John Feild, former executive director of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and a man of many other distinctions. Mr. Feild gave freely and generously his highly valued time to advise me at crucial steps of the reorganization.

Finally, the disposition of the Executive Director was remarkably improved after June 1963, when Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., came with us as Assistant to the Director. Mr. Jordan, formerly Georgia field director for the NAACP, brought with him, and put to our use, judgment, versatility, and good spirits.

A POINT OF VIEW

Twice during the year, the Executive Committee took the unusual step, for it, of issuing public statements. In May it said, with reference to the Supreme Court's "sit-in" decision:

> These decisions confront the South again with an historic choice. They set before us a renewed opportunity for the kind of magnanimity -- and intelligence -- which we turned our backs on in 1954. The South nine years ago was called on by the national will for greatness; instead, it responded with a self-blighting display of malice and futility. The recent events in Birmingham are only the latest episode of this impoverishing of the regional spirit.

In a longer and important statement of December 30, the Executive Committee said:

> We believe that the South, difficult as are its present problems and unhappy as its history has been, can, nevertheless, make a new social life that is richly humane, because it will have grown out of the honestly faced and concrete necessities of a common life. As today's immediate challenge is civil rights, so tomorrow's will be full integration. We are optimistic that a new South, born of struggle, will, with courage and intelligence, re-shape its economic and educational practices as needed to integrate all its people into a society that serves the free and full development of each individual.

That "courage and intelligence" to which the Committee referred were the hallmark of the life and the tragedy of John Fitzgerald Kennedy. Over all our remembrance of the nation-shaking events of 1963, his presence and his departure dominates. I was in Cleveland (Ohio) the day of his death, and that night was asked to give a brief testimonial before a large gathering. I was asked to do so as a representative of the Southern Regional Council, and I tried to speak its sense, not only of loss, but of loyalty to the rational and good cause which that day had been assaulted by the senseless evil which always dwells within us:

> It is a hard thing for a people to lose its chief. The President of the United States is President of all Americans, and the man so cruelly taken from us today tried diligently to represent the whole of this nation. The endless variety of America includes even the wicked man who murdered him, who also, we must confess, was a son of this land. America's history has been a boundless quest to give opportunity: for the multitude, an opportunity for happiness; for the person, an opportunity for liberty. Mr. Kennedy knew this, and believed in the magic of the American adventure. May God give comfort to his family, a clear mind and a sturdy faith to President Johnson; and to all of us who go on with the unfinished and never to be finished adventure which is America, and which is the life of humanity freeing itself from burdens to the spirit, may He give us brave souls.

Leslie W. Dunbar

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ANNUAL REPORT
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A REVIEW OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES DURING 1964
APRIL 1965

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OFFICERS, COMMITTEES, AND STAFF

1964

PRESIDENT

John Hervey Wheeler*

VICE PRESIDENTS

Albert W. Dent*
Marion A. Wright*
Josephine Wilkins*
Rufus E. Clement*

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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James M. Dabbs
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Nominating Committee:
Rabbi Charles Mantinband, Chairman

Development Committee:
Josephine Wilkins, Chairman

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Director of Field Activities - Paul Anthony
Director, Southern Leadership Project - Benjamin Muse (resigned, May 1964)
Editor, New South - Margaret Long
Director, Voter Education Project - Wiley A. Branton
Director of Research - Staige D. Blackford (resigned, May 1964)
Assistant to the Director - Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director of Information - Pat Watters
Staff Economist - Lloyd J. Elliott (began appointment September 1)

*ex-officio members of Executive Committee

REPORT OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES
1964

This account of the Southern Regional Council's work in 1964 was written later than is my custom. The early months of 1965 have been crowded ones for all who are engaged in the historic change of direction of this region. Already in 1965, a nation which had thought that it had made final decisions was led to see that yet deeper decisions had to be reached. Whether or not there may be other Selmas, this nation is only still beginning the necessary work of making ours a republic of equal citizenship.

THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

Begun April 1, 1962, the Voter Education Project completed substantially all of its field work by October 1964. Under the projects it sponsored, a total of 698,000 new Negro voters, by official count or conservative estimate, were added to the registration lists of eleven southern states; in Texas and Virginia, VEP programs were responsible for 50 - 60,000 new white registrants. Registration of Negroes in the eleven states was probably not higher than 1,350,000 when VEP began; at its close, the size of the Negro vote had advanced to 2,174,000, with the increase principally due to the VEP-connected programs.

Because of the atypical character of the 1964 Presidential election, the Negro vote in the South,

including the new voters, was almost solidly Democratic; regionally, the majority of the white voters clearly supported Republicanism. How a state cast its electoral votes depended, therefore, on how large was the white Republican majority and on the total size of the Negro vote. In Mississippi, where at least 90% of the white vote went Republican and the Negro vote was insignificant, the result was a Republican landslide of almost totalitarian unanimity. In Alabama,* South Carolina, Louisiana, and Georgia -- in that order -- the Negro vote ascended upward and white bloc voting declined. At the top of the scale, the Georgia vote was 54% Republican; we estimate that 64% of Georgia's white voters cast a Republican ballot. Every state of the South in which fewer than 45% of the eligible Negroes were registered went for the Republican candidate.

Every state in which more than 45% of the Negro eligibles were registered voted to re-elect President Johnson, who nevertheless lost the white majority in four of those states (Arkansas, Florida, Tennessee, and Virginia) and probably also in a fifth (North Carolina). Only in Texas did a clear majority of whites vote for him, though the majority would have been much thinner did not the Census classify Latins as "white." The

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*The Johnson-Humphrey ticket was not on the ballot in Alabama. Those opposed to Mr. Goldwater could do no more than vote for "unpledged electors."

margin of Democratic victory in Florida and Virginia was provided by the new voters registered under the VEP programs.

All of this occurred while the rest of the nation, with rare consensus, was decisively voting Democratic, not only in the Presidential election but also in Congressional races that, in the South, sent seven new Republican Representatives to the House.* The election of 1964 was a further and vivid demonstration that Negro Southerners are part of a national consensus, and a voting majority of white Southerners are not.

The importance of the Negro vote was felt not only in the Presidential election but in many Congressional and state and local races. In the gubernatorial contest in Arkansas, Negro voters showed -- and it was almost the only opportunity they had in the South to make this clear -- that they were not captives of one party; there they voted Republican, though by a normal majority and not as a bloc. These and other developments were described in an SRC release, What Happened in the South, put out shortly after the election.

The increase of Negro voting by nearly 700,000 during 1962-64 was of vast importance, one of those quantitative social changes which can accurately be said

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*The net gain, however, was only five: two Republican incumbents in Texas were defeated.

to produce qualitative change. Of equal importance is the fact that Negro voting is moving again. In the ten years of vexatious southern history preceding VEP, the Negro vote had grown slowly: in 1952 it was an estimated 1,009,000, and by early 1962 had increased only about 350,000. Momentum has been restored.

Not, however, in the resistant areas. At the time when I write this report, the President's new voting bill is before Congress. We at SRC have been among those who had said for years that determined resistance to voting could not be defeated through reliance on judicial remedies. Successive administrations of both parties have thought (or, at least, acted) differently. Now there is the promise of a federal statute which will at last enable the Negroes of Mississippi, of most of Alabama and Louisiana, and of southwest Georgia to register.

There is another quality of VEP which deserves mention, indeed emphasis. VEP provided money, planning, and skills for the organization and coordination of the energies of many agencies, local groups, and thousands of workers. The money ($887,737 was the total VEP income) was perhaps "white". Everything else -- the planning, the decision-making, the skills, the devoted and hard work -- was Negro. Once VEP was established, my own role was largely confined to selecting Wiley A. Branton to be its Director (and thereby I made

an enormous contribution to the civil rights movement and to American democracy) and to keeping informed. We hear lately much talk of the need for Negro leadership of the civil rights and integration surge, and that is precisely what we did have in the south-wide registration drive of 1962-64.

VEP accumulated a huge mass of documentary material. We are now at work on our book, which we intend to be a creative exploration of the new southern politics and the new people entering into political life. We anticipate publication in 1966.

A YEAR OF NEW DIRECTIONS

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed. Reapportionment and re-districting moved along in southern states, the North Carolina Fund ("to break the cycle of poverty in North Carolina") got under way, Congress passed the Economic Opportunity Act, and extraordinary student demonstrations shook the University of California; each of these developments evidenced in its own way how profound and how pervasive is the infecting influence of the civil rights movement. The epic Mississippi Summer Project unfolded. Perplexing and bitter riots rattled northern cities. A classic non-violent demonstration in St. Augustine, America's oldest city, symbolically revealed that what is oldest in our country might well contain also what is ugliest, but had no other obvious

purpose; purposeful and justified demonstrations in Atlanta, on the other hand, took a turn that showed that demonstrators can act as stupidly as anybody else. White backlash allegedly spread through the land, and men who believed that to be a fact led their party to a crushing defeat; all about, though, there is evidence of a big and resourceful segment of citizens who are at war against the shape and direction of contemporary American society.

How can all this be embraced in a view of how things are and how they are becoming? I am not bold enough to venture more than to suggest some of the elements which I believe must go into such a view.

I believe we must begin by seeing the civil rights struggle of the last decade as what it truly has been and is: one of the very great, very bright, periods in American democracy, in which this country moved ahead to achieve what is our destiny, a free society that values every individual. But we must also recall that though victory is an American habit, successful peace-making has never been one of our strengths. Successful peace-making here will require a thorough integration of Negro Americans into the educational, economic, political, and social life of this nation, so that each may stand on his individual merits. By now it should be obvious to all that integration

necessitates change affecting our whole society. Our society has been systematically oppressive, and the change from a discriminating to a non-discriminating social order cannot be a merely superficial alteration. Negroes have been either the sub-flooring of American society or its outcasts, and from neither role can they now come into American society without that society changing itself and its ways of conducting some of its important affairs.

Now it seems to me, and I say this after much reflection, that this has been most clearly understood by the conservative southern segregationists and by the youth of the civil rights movement. The southern segregationists have understood and have opposed. The youth have understood, and have gone realistically to work at the community level to revise and re-build and re-educate. They frequently take to their task an almost literal, philosophically naive, acceptance of the pristine ideals and values of American democracy, and this is virtually their entire ideology. Among a few is an equally strong conviction that the established processes and institutions of this society cannot be counted on to work in behalf of those ideals and values, a conviction unfortunately so deep as to yield a startling alienation from contemporary society, rivalling in its intensity and its recklessness if not its cause the

in Washington regarding policies that determine the appointment of federal judges in the South; we shall (and have already in 1965) continue from time to time to carry as forcefully as we know how the message to Washington that this is a changed region. Similarly, the civil rights groups need to learn that change has occurred, and that it no longer suffices merely to keep doing the same things over and over, however dramatic and apparently effective they may be.

I grow more and more deeply convinced that the real battle ground is the mind of the American white man, and that we have gone nearly as far as we can get with the belief that by requiring people to alter their behavior patterns we cure the social ill of discrimination. We are at a time when old social systems are being discarded and the new ones are not yet in place; this generation of adults will make decisions that will endure for years to come as to what kind of society we shall have here in this land. The really key decisions will not be made by Presidents, Congress, or civil rights leaders. They will be made individually by millions of home-owners, church-goers, parents of school children, trade unionists. They will choose whether they want an open society (and today that can only mean an integrated society) or one built on the principles of social exclusion and isolation. Numerically and perhaps spiritually we have more segregation today than a decade ago. When 88% of the public school

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The other sent emmissaries and views to Washington on the matter of federal judges. It is interesting that both were addressed, in their different ways, to federal action, the key to so much these days.

It was fitting, therefore, that a distinguished Southerner and now a principal federal officer, Governor LeRoy Collins, Director of the U. S. Community Relations Service, be the guest speaker at the dinner. Governor Collins's talk invigorated a large and happy audience of members and guests.

At the January meeting of the Executive Committee, Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler of Charlotte was elected its Chairman. Our two chief executive officers are now both named "Wheeler," and both are men with whom a staff takes pride and delight in working. John H. Wheeler was, as all knew he would and ought to be, re-elected President at the Annual Meeting.

We also now have, out of four vice-presidents, two who are named "Wright." Stephen J. Wright of Nashville, President of Fisk University, was elected a vice-president, succeeding Albert W. Dent of New Orleans. Newly elected to the Executive Committee were Mrs. J. N. Rayzor of Houston, Dr. Dent, and McNeill Smith of Greensboro; they succeed Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, John P. Nelson, Jr., and Dr. Wright.

New members elected to the Council (for the Class of 1968 unless otherwise noted) were: H. A. Hank Brown,

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Austin; Rev. Duncan M. Gray, Oxford (Miss.); George Lewis, II, Tallahassee; Herman H. Long, Talladega (Ala.); Mrs. Leo M. Mervis, New Orleans; Benjamin Muse - Class of 1965 - Manassas (Va.); Patrick J. Owens, Little Rock; Matthew J. Perry, Columbia; James W. Silver - Class of 1966 - Oxford (Miss.); Frank Smith, Knoxville; C. H. Thomas, Jr., Orangeburg; and T. Franklin Williams - Class of 1966 - Chapel Hill.

These are all outstanding people, and will strengthen our programs and outreach. The Council's rotation requirement caused four good and valued members of the Class of 1964 not to be re-elected. These were Mrs. James S. Crate, Bishop Joseph B. Brunini, Hodding Carter, Jr., and Jerome Crossman.

Mr. Carter, of Greenville (Miss.), was immediately elected a Life Fellow of the Council. Soo too were Mrs. David D. Terry of Little Rock; Ralph E. McGill of Atlanta; J. Waties Waring of New York, but formerly of Charleston; W. D. Weatherford of Black Mountain (N.C.); and Carter Wesley of Houston.

Mrs. Moise Cahn of New Orleans, a member of the Class of 1965, died during the year. Hers had been a good and even great life, and her passing was sudden, and hard for her friends to grasp. Dr. Roosevelt Crockett of Little Rock and Dr. Samuel Proctor of Greensboro (both of the Class of 1966) left the region.

An especially noteworthy development of the year was the establishment by the Executive Committee of a Development Committee to assist the staff. The Development Committee will look to long-range rather than immediate needs, will be primarily interested in southern sources of financial support, and will be concerned not only with the needs of SRC but equally as much with those of the Councils on Human Relations. The eleven member committee is chaired by Vice-President Josephine Wilkins.

THE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Membership in the state and local Councils was 9,545 in 1964, an increase of approximately 1,300 over 1963. Funds raised locally (exclusive of any foundation grants or SRC grants-in-aid) were $119,435, an increase of $53,910 over 1963. Total income of the state and local Councils was approximately $300,000, of which 17% came from SRC grants-in-aid, 45% from foundation grants, and 38% from local sources.

It was a year of changing the guard. New staff directors were appointed in Alabama, Florida, North Carolina, and Tennessee.* (Heslip Lee, a man we had all grown to admire and follow, resigned in December as

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*Edwin Stanfield, Alabama; Edwyn E. Lewis, Jr., Florida; Helen Adams Furman, North Carolina; Baxton Bryant, Tennessee. The new Virginia director is Robert Combs.

Virginia's director; his successor was chosen in early 1965.) We have tremendous confidence in the new people. Our keenest pleasure was, however, the growth of the Mississippi Council to a point where it could employ a full-time director; chosen in late 1964, Kenneth L. Dean, a Tennessean, was on the job in February 1965.*

Twenty-one professional staff persons, dedicated and resourceful men and women, are now employed by nine state and one (Houston) local Councils. Excellent lay leadership assembled in Louisiana, and as 1965 moves along we have every hope and expectation that a Louisiana Council will at last re-emerge and be able to engage staff.

From 1954-57, the state Councils were organic parts of the Southern Regional Council. Since 1957, they have been autonomous bodies, although their relationships with SRC have been very close. There has arisen in the last year or so throughout the state Councils a strong current of belief that there should be an even closer drawing together, not only of the state bodies and SRC but of the state bodies with each other. Where this may end is far from clear, but it does seem certain that during 1965 some

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*Our keenest sadness was the misfortunes of health which plagued Oliver W. Holmes, the remarkably able Associate Director of the Georgia Council.

decisions will be reached, and it does seem safe to predict that some closer program relationships will be formed.

I have already mentioned the growth of the Councils' influence on campuses (and vice versa); this has been especially marked in the Carolinas, Virginia, and Georgia. If space permitted, I would describe the new work being done in support of the national poverty program. Happily, the Councils are telling this themselves, through greatly improved publications.

OTHER FIELD ACTIVITIES

An ominous question during the early months of 1964 was whether the South would comply with the prospective public accommodations law. Following a series of meetings in the Spring, we undertook a special project of coordinating a southwide effort by many private human relations agencies to mobilize positive support for compliance. The work quickly became more than coordination, however, as in some localities we worked directly and in some others with specially formed ad hoc groups (such as "Partners for Progress" in Atlanta and the "Tallahassee Womens Intergroup Committee"). The project, stylishly called "Operation Opportunity," was directed by Louis L. Mitchell, on leave from his position as staff

head of the Florida Council on Human Relations, and to him and all the many groups and individuals who cooperated in a strenuous campaign is owed a considerable share of the credit for the good behavior which generally prevailed in the South after the public accommodations law passed.

The project was under the supervision of Paul Anthony, Director of Field Activities, who was directly engaged in another notable special effort, working closely with Mississippians for Public Education to bring off peacefully and with good will school desegregation in Jackson and Biloxi. In place after place over the South a seemingly invariable sociological datum has emerged: no progress until the right of public discussion and dissent has been established. Almost equally invariable has been a supplementary datum, which discloses that seldom has the "power structure" led in gaining this right; its weighty role comes later, after the windows have been opened. In some southern places this has been the task and great achievement of save-our-schools groups. In Mississippi, MPE not only contributed greatly to this end but has since continued an active campaign for strengthened education, with chapters operating in seven localities.

The Fellowship of the Concerned, under the guidance of Mrs. M. E. Tilly, continued to add cubits to the

devoted work of many southern church and synagogue women. Some of the country's most influential churchwomen, including the president of the United Church Women, joined southern delegates in attendance at the annual meeting in October. Throughout the year, the Fellowship was quietly serving in crisis areas such as Mississippi.

We maintained our close association with the National Student Association, and formed a working relationship with the new Southern Student Organizing Committee. Although of unique value, these reflect the pattern of SRC's constant association with other agencies. We continue as secretariat of the Southern Interagency Conference and in a multitude of informal ways, difficult to convey or record, we are involved intimately in the work of other human relations and civil rights bodies.

After one final field trip to Mississippi, Benjamin Muse resigned from the staff, which he had enriched so greatly as Director of the Southern Leadership Project since early 1959.

RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS

Muse's Ten Years of Prelude was published by Viking Press on May 17. "It is unlikely that a more comprehensive and authoritative report of the ten-year struggle will appear," said the Christian Science Monitor's

reviewer. "The best history of the decade that has been written," said the Washington Post. "A thoughtful, compact history," according to the New Yorker. Sales of the book, in the publisher's words, "go along steadily; we think it will last for a long time." Mr. Muse wrote the book, for which we hold the copyright, as an SRC project, and was supported in his preparation by SRC research and editing. An English edition has appeared.

Although SRC had not such a formal connection with James McBride Dabbs's, Who Speaks for the South? (Funk and Wagnalls), Mr. Dabbs, our illustrious former president, researched the book under an SRC project. The New York Times reviewer said of the book: "No other writer has so related the currents in southern thought to the mainstream of human thought throughout the ages. It is a book that will help the South understand itself and the North understand the South.

Jointly with the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, we produced a beautiful film, Right Now!, by Robert Newman. The Voter Education Project distributed the film, which portrays a registration campaign in Savannah, to registration projects all over the region. Our latest word is that the film has been nominated for a prize competition at the American Film Festival.

Publications of the year were as follows:

Pamphlets:

The Price We Pay (jointly with the Anti-Defamation League)

Special Reports:

Louisville, by Benjamin Muse

Charlotte, by Pat Watters

Memphis, by Benjamin Muse

Brunswick, by Pat Watters

Law Enforcement in Mississippi

Special Issues of NEW SOUTH:

"The Southern Regional Council, 1944-64," January 1964

"The American Middle Ground in St. Augustine," September 1964

L-Reports:

L-47 "The Question from Jacksonville"

L-24D "Desegregation in Higher Education" (revised)

Miscellaneous:

What Happened in the South?

SRC's publishing interests are to reach as many opinion-leaders as possible and to affect public policy-making. Whether this is done under SRC imprint matters little; indeed, if others publish we save considerable cost. In addition to the fine work they have done for us, Margaret Long, editor of New South, and Pat Watters, Director of Information, have been encouraged to write in our field of interest for the magazines. During 1964, Miss Long published one article in the New York Times

Magazine and three in the Progressive. Mr. Watters had two articles in the Reporter, five in the New Republic, two in the Nation, two in the Progressive, and one in the New York Times Magazine.

During most of the year we were handicapped by not having a Research Director. Fortunately, we have assembled what I believe is the most capable research staff in SRC's history. A Research Director is necessary to a strong publications program, but it is the staff which must perform the research services which seem constantly to increase. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 directs the Commission on Civil Rights to become a national clearinghouse of information; the Commission, we predict, will find it an exhausting job. We have been such a clearinghouse, on a more modest scale, for years, and the pace is fast and the load heavy. We read, classify, and put away about 1,500 items every week, and the research staff is enabled by these to service the mounting demands of government agencies, press, community groups, and students.

OTHER MATTERS

Dr. Lloyd J. Elliott, formerly associate professor of economics at William and Mary, joined us in September as Staff Economist. Dr. Elliott will lead a new venture of studies related specifically to program work of the state Councils and other community groups. It is to be

known as the Economic Counselling and Study Project.

The number of foreign visitors for whom we were Atlanta sponsors declined, due to the vigor of the Atlanta Committee for International Visitors, which we helped bring into existence a couple years back. Still, 65 visitors, accompanied by 13 escorts or interpreters, were with us for periods up to a week. Twenty-nine of the 65 came from Africa, seven from Asia, two from Australia-New Zealand, 22 from Europe, four from Latin-America, and one from Israel. Another 74 foreign visitors, sponsored by other Atlanta agencies, came to our offices for briefings.

We are participants and beneficiaries in the Eleanor Roosevelt internships in human relations. Our first intern came in February, worked for his year with VEP, and then was appointed to head a CORE regional office. A second intern came in September, and works with the Field staff. We are pleased that both the North Carolina and the Virginia Councils have been chosen to receive and train interns. These four who have come within our orbit are first-rate.

Paul Anthony voyaged to England in October as a Wilton Park Fellow, to participate in a conference sponsored by the British Foreign Office. Wiley Branton took time off briefly from his VEP duties to win the first jury acquittal in Arkansas's history for a Negro

accused of murdering a white woman. All of the staff faced almost too many speaking engagements; among my own number were the closing address of the Arkansas public meeting of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights and a paper on "civil disobedience" before the Southern Political Science Association. I also contributed the opening essay to that body's symposium on the South, published subsequently by Praeger as The American South in the 1960's. The Atlanta NAACP for many years has brought the nation's outstanding Negro leaders to deliver its Emancipation Day address; this is a high honor, and on January 1, 1965 a local man, Vernon E. Jordan, my assistant, excellently lived up to it.

We assisted in getting started the Southern Teaching Project, which brought 53 graduate students from our best universities to teach summer sessions in 1964 at 13 predominantly Negro colleges, and subsequently we did an evaluation of the Project, now a seemingly established enterprise. Two other ventures for which we feel particular pride are the Southern Consumers' Cooperative in southwest Louisiana, recipient in 1964 of the nation's first small business loan under the Economic Opportunity Act, with which we have worked almost since its start; and the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education, which we have assisted in a notable program of remedial education.

For the year, income slightly exceeded outgo. Mrs. Ruth House Alexander, our Secretary-Treasurer, was as always our ever-present help in all things financial. The complex financial affairs of the Voter Education Project were kept orderly by Mrs. Jean Levine, Fiscal Assistant. This is a fitting place to record my appreciation of the excellent job done by the entire SRC staff.

Conclusion

A portion of this report that was being written at home on a Sunday night was interrupted by a long distance call from a civic leader in a small city, working to avert a demonstration the next day over employment by the city's retail stores and trying to set up a job-training program. Calls were made, a Council on Human Relations staff member got on the road, there was no demonstration, the local Mayor's bi-racial committee agreed to broaden its Negro membership by taking in two leaders (one a student) of the militant group, the training program got underway, financed by the local merchants. This kind of experience, repeated many times, is perhaps as much a part of the truth of the contemporary South as are Jim Clark and Governor Wallace.

We have tried to be a useful part of this South. To be so requires, however, that one never lose sight

of the reality of that other South of violence and hate. For though the South has many facets, they are all reflected by the same stone. There are many "Souths" -- but fundamentally there is but one, a region seeking escape from its common history of racism, poverty, and political absurdity.

The Southern Regional Council in 1964 as in past years was a part of this struggle. Our office is a meeting-place of men, organizations, ideas, and programs. The new federal civil rights and poverty agencies have worked us ceaselessly, as they have set up and carried on their programs. Nothing has more occupied our time these past months.

We are in 1965 continuing to give priority to support of these new programs, though we shall not overlook our traditional role of reporter and critic. American democracy has invested its needs and hopes in governmental policies. We believe that experience shows that they cannot work well without the care and sometimes guidance of private agencies. In a short time, I believe, the state and local governments of the region will be as active as today is the federal government, and the Council will be as diligent in trying to strengthen them.

Leslie W. Dunbar

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

OF THE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

A REVIEW OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES DURING 1965

JANUARY 1966

NOT FOR PUBLICATION
OR QUOTATION
WITHOUT PERMISSION

OFFICERS, COMMITTEES, AND STAFF

1965

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John Hervey Wheeler*

VICE PRESIDENTS

Marion A. Wright*

Rufus E. Clement*

Josephine Wilkins*

Stephen J. Wright*

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Paul R. Christopher

Mrs. J. N. Rayzor

James McBride Dabbs

McNeill Smith

Albert W. Dent

H. Franklin Williams

C. G. Gomillion

Thomas W. Young

LEGAL COUNSEL

Joseph F. Haas*

PERSONNEL COMMITTEE

Raymond M. Wheeler, Chairman

FINANCE COMMITTEE

L. D. Milton, Chairman

DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE

Josephine Wilkins, Chairman

NOMINATING COMMITTEE

Rabbi Charles Mantinband, Chairman

SPECIAL PROJECTS COMMITTEE

Charles G. Gomillion, Chairman

*ex-officio members of the Executive Committee

REPORT OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

1965

It can be said -- with only slight exaggeration -- that 1965 was a year of maturing for the South.

With the possible exception of Alabama, those in the region who made the important traditional decisions generally showed awareness of the desirability of at least a semblance of stability and progress in race relations.

The tragedy of Watts was treated with smugness in some quarters. After all, it occurred in the "North." Generally, though, it was treated with concern. Frequently there arose the question, "Can it happen here?" Here in Atlanta, in Charlotte, in Richmond, in Memphis? More often than not there was the enlightened answer, "It can."

During the past year, the people of the region attempted to digest the results of two important new developments: the implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the execution of the War on Poverty. Neither was a very satisfying experience. Both have created new promise and new disillusionment, new participants and new critics. They were, however, uniquely important for they have dominated the human relations movement as well as a number of other fields of interest and will continue to do so during 1966.

A year earlier, during the summer of 1964, the Civil Rights Act was ushered in optimistically with

widespread, though far from complete, voluntary compliance with Title VI on public accommodations. Nothing else was to go as well.

The region has been little touched with the employment provisions of the Act and the new role of the federal government in the non-discriminatory expenditure of federal funds has been disappointing at best. This is especially true in the field of education.

To an unprecedented degree, Negro parents in rural and small town areas attempted to enroll their children in formerly white schools. The results were dismal. There were, and continue to be, considerable violence and reprisal. The statistics reflect the lack of progress. The least state, Alabama, now has approximately 800 or 0.25% of the Negro pupils attending formerly white schools. The highest, Texas, has an estimated 75,340 or 20% of Negro pupils in desegregated situations. The region-wide total is 5.23% of Negro pupils in desegregated schools. This is the result after eleven years of implementation of the Supreme Court's decision of May 17, 1954.

Given these facts it is understandable that Negro parents are bitterly disillusioned with the contrast between the unprecedented national promise and the execution of the law by the U. S. Office of Education and other federal agencies. In varying degrees this

disappointment and a growing cynicism are a reaction to all of the role of the federal government in race related matters in the region. This includes, among others, economics and jobs, urban renewal, law enforcement and voter registration. The lack of faith in the established institutions of the society and the growing lack of respect for the federal establishment have serious consequences and the trend must be reversed by legitimate changes in policy and program.

Somewhat the same conclusions can be reached about the War on Poverty. There were many inexcusable mistakes which need no further documentation here. There is one, the most significant, which deserves mention. It is the mistake of overpromising. Even given the wisest leadership and the soundest of plans, there was an obvious limit to what could be accomplished quickly. Yet from the highest offices in the land have come ringing promises about jobs, training, housing, health care and all the rest. Through the media, especially television, these promises have been heard by the most disadvantaged people in the region. To a surprising degree these promises were believed and embraced. It has been a cruel process. Some, relatively few, have not had this experience. They have been helped. Many of those untouched by the programs have surrendered further to apathy and hopelessness. Others have

transferred their disillusionment to an anger destructive to the individual and dangerous for the society.

Yet, while the grounds for legitimate criticism are staggering, no one expects pure progress on an ideal schedule. It must, therefore, be noted positively that these programs and involvements of the federal government, and innumerable other events and forces, have contributed substantially to the region and are largely responsible for the region's somewhat changed self. We have benefitted considerably and at the close of the year the South was a healthier place than it had been twelve months before.

Were it not for the ever present tragedy of the remaining injustice, it could be argued that the criticisms were so valid and the indignation was so strong only because the times hold such promise and the region's new awareness was so improved. In 1965 the region's standards for itself were higher.

The year ended with an important question still unanswered. Given the commendable new awareness and the higher standards, were these conditions yet of sufficient quality and depth to meet the old need and the new promise? We will know much of the answer in 1966.

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Council Affairs

This report cannot be given without first noting the most significant event to affect the Council during 1965. That was, of course, the resignation of Leslie W. Dunbar, who left the agency on September 30 to become the Executive Director of the Field Foundation. To say the least, this man's contributions to the Council were great. He directed, and in some instances produced, the most important research of the organization. Perhaps even more importantly, he set the tone and the direction of the Council during the difficult period of what has been at least the gradual, and revolutionary, shift from the old South to the new.

At the Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council, held in Atlanta on November 15 and 16, 1965, the Members of the Council passed the following resolution which we think appropriate to include here:

> "The Southern Regional Council at its 22nd Annual Meeting expresses its respect and appreciation for the work and character of Leslie W. Dunbar as its executive director from 1961 to 1965, and as a member of its staff from 1959.
>
> "By his qualities of intellect, of eloquence, of practical skills in the guidance of human

affairs, and of humane appreciation for people, Dr. Dunbar has made a lasting impression for the good on the present reality of the South, and has strengthened our hope for the attainment of the goals of equality and excellence.

"We remember (and will keep trying to justify) the strength of his belief in all the people of the South, and his confidence in the ability of all of us to achieve a people's highest potential.

"Leslie Dunbar is a man in a time of 'image making' who creates immediately the impression that here is an honest and honorable man, with a great depth of integrity, an integrity tempered by a gentleness of manner and spirit. Much of the success of his work with us is attributable to the mark of his personality, the impact of this 'image' of his on the South and the nation.

"But more important is the fact known to us who know him that the impression he makes is not merely 'an image,' but is the very substance of this most remarkable man with whom we worked and with whom we are still associated in mutual concerns and beliefs, and whom we

hold in affection and respect.

"We have been honored by our association with him."

* * *

At the Annual Meeting the Members of the Council heard the recommendation of the Nominating Committee that Mr. John H. Wheeler be re-elected President. This recommendation was unanimously -- and enthusiastically -- adopted. At the first meeting in January, Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler was re-elected Chairman of the Executive Committee. Thus, the two senior policy posts continue to be occupied by men both named Wheeler and both from the state of North Carolina. We are extremely fortunate to have Mr. John H. Wheeler, President of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, and Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler, physician of Charlotte, in these positions.

Elected as Vice-Presidents for the coming year were Miss Josephine Wilkins and Dr. Rufus Clement of Atlanta, Dr. Stephen J. Wright of Nashville and Mr. Paul Christopher of Knoxville. Mr. Joseph F. Haas of Atlanta was re-elected Counsel. We are fortunate, too, to have the guidance of these people who have served the Council long and well.

There were two changes in the membership of the Executive Committee. Mr. Marion A. Wright of Linville Falls, North Carolina, a former President of SRC and for

some years a Vice-President, was elected to the Committee. Mrs. J. N. Rayzor of Houston, Texas, informed us she could no longer serve on the Executive Committee. Mrs. Martin Harvey of Jackson, Mississippi, was elected to fill that vacancy. Re-elected to the Executive Committee were: James McBride Dabbs, Mayesville, South Carolina; Albert W. Dent, New Orleans, Louisiana; C. G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama; McNeill Smith, Greensboro, North Carolina; H. Franklin Williams, Coral Gables, Florida; and, Thomas W. Young, Norfolk, Virginia.

The officers of the Council also serve on the Executive Committee.

During the year the Council lost the leadership of three members because they moved from the region. They were: Mr. Patrick J. Owens, formerly of Little Rock, who moved to Detroit to become Editor of the Detroit Free Press; Professor James Silver, formerly of Oxford, Mississippi, who has become Professor of History at Notre Dame University; and The Rt. Rev. John E. Hines, formerly of Houston, who became Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church with headquarters in New York City.

To fill these vacancies Mr. Henry Lehmann, a businessman of Ormond Beach, Florida, was elected to the Class of 1966 and Dr. A. D. Beittel, whose term expired in 1965, was re-elected to the Class of 1968.

New members elected to the Class of 1969 were: J. William Becker, Little Rock, Arkansas; Donald Hollowell, Atlanta, Georgia; Mrs. Barbara Jordan, Houston, Texas; William H. Maness, Jacksonville, Florida; Hollis F. Price, Memphis, Tennessee; Claude Ramsey, Jackson, Mississippi; and Mrs. Martha Ragland, Nashville, Tennessee.

On the recommendation of the Executive Committee the Council elected two Life Fellows: Miss Lillian Smith of Clayton, Georgia, and Mr. Paul E. Green of Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Perhaps no two persons have contributed more to the Council's areas of concern and we welcome these two distinguished people and warmly anticipate their fellowship and guidance.

Council Members are being involved in the affairs of the organization to an unprecedented degree. The Executive Committee continues the primary responsibility for all Council affairs and is dependent on the work of the Personnel and Finance Committees. In 1964 the Development Committee was organized primarily for the purpose of seeking financial support from within the region. This is a new area for the Council and it will be extremely difficult for this Committee to meet its goals. However, under the chairmanship of Miss Josephine Wilkins, a commendable job has been done during 1965. With our substantial growth in that area, a Special Projects

Advisory Committee has been formed under the Chairmanship of Dr. Charles G. Gomillion of Tuskegee Institute. This Committee has had two meetings and is making a considerable contribution to the development of these programs. The new Voter Education Project has a special advisory committee and a special committee has been formed to consider the future relationships among the state councils on human relations and between them and the Council. We hope during 1966 to involve a number of other Members in specific subject areas. The membership of the Council represents one of the strongest collections of talent, as well as concern, in the region and we would like to take maximum advantage of that talent.

The Department of Field Activities

The programs and growth of the state councils on human relations were again during 1965 the major concern of this department. This effort to establish a genuine community-by-community interracial movement throughout the region has gone through lean, hard years and -- for all the progress and growth -- is still in its infancy in most states.

We have not been fully aware, I think, of the significance of the tremendous difficulties in developing this program. It is so much easier to identify a single issue, study it, take action on it, and clarify

it in the mind of the public than it is to establish in a community a council of local people to be concerned day-by-day with the problems which affect them and the programs which will join them.

Part of the problem of these councils has been that the idea was too right too soon. These groups advocated the simple but vital idea that people must join together to understand each other and to seek a resolution to their problems. In time it became responsible and respectable for many people to say this. But, in some instances, by that time those who had said these things first had "lost their effectiveness."

Another serious problem has been that membership and staff were interested in "doing something," not in building organizations. To a point this is commendable as well as understandable. You don't find and enlist dedicated people and then expect their primary interest to be the seemingly bureaucratic one of raising funds and recruiting members. Yet, the council movement will not succeed unless it has a base of strength in local funds and membership. During the past several years SRC has emphasized this point and it is generally being accepted by the state councils.

Perhaps the most serious problem of all, and related to the above, is the one of southern philanthrophy. We do not have in the region a tradition of adequately

supporting financially the causes we endorse or even of understanding that we must support them first if we expect anyone else to do so. This, too, is changing, but it is a painful and slow process.

For all the serious problems, it was a good year for the state councils. Eight of these groups have been staffed regularly since 1954-1955; they are Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Tennessee and Arkansas. One, Mississippi, began a staffed operation last January after having been driven out of existence in 1957. Louisiana remains unstaffed, though we hope to see this corrected in 1966. Texas has no state-wide organization, but has a vigorous and highly effective Houston Council. At the height of their strength during 1965, these groups employed 22 professional workers, achieved by the end of the year a membership of approximately 12,000 and raised within their states more than $100,000. A total of approximately $300,000 was spent by them during the year.

Among the significant program highlights were the nine Head Start programs with 26 centers sponsored by four state councils and one local council in communities that otherwise would not have had this resource for pre-school children; these were in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina and Houston, Texas.

In many areas Head Starts, as well as a number of other federally funded programs, were supported and assisted by councils though not sponsored by them.

All of the councils were active early in the year and through the summer in the area of school integration. This activity concerned itself especially with reaching Negro parents and informing them of pertinent rules and regulations and thereafter, where they wished, in assisting children who sought transfer to formerly white schools. Several of the councils held statewide or area conferences for this purpose. In late summer and thereafter this interest all too often had to shift to helping victims of intimidation and violence who had taken advantage of the opportunities theoretically available to them. This was especially true of the Georgia and Alabama Councils.

As indicated by the introduction to this report, major programs for all the councils related to the new national legislation and the organization of the war on poverty. We saw clear indications during the year past that none of these laws or programs can be effective unless private agencies form at least an informal partnership with public agencies and publicly funded programs. Assisting, supporting, interpreting, recruiting for, and monitoring the federal programs and agencies were a major contribution of the councils during 1965.

For some years SRC has contributed, through its grants-in-aid program, slightly more than $50,000 per year in support of the state council programs. While valuable, this assistance has been inadequate and was being annually reduced for each council as other needs had to be considered. For instance, in 1965 the Mississippi Council was reorganized and had to be supported along with the rest. In December we received word from the Ford Foundation of a grant of $100,000 per year for three years in support of the SRC grants-in-aid program for the state councils. These funds are for the purpose of upgrading and increasing the number of staff persons in the state councils and will be a tremendous help.

In cooperation with the National Sharecroppers Fund we began in 1965 the Rural Advancement Program. This was an effort to place with several of the state councils an additional staff person to concentrate on programs with persons in rural and small town areas. We were, by the end of the year, able to provide the complete costs of such programs in four states: South Carolina, Georgia, Florida and Alabama.

In memory of that outstanding man, the Council in 1964 initiated the George S. Mitchell Award. This was designated to be given annually to the state council which had the highest percentage increase in membership. In 1965 the Alabama Council won this award and the

accompanying gift of $1,000. To win the award this council had grown from a membership of 400 at the beginning of 1965 to more than 1,200 by November of the year. (They also raised more than $20,000 from within the state of Alabama during the year.) It was a remarkable record, but no more than indicative of the soundness of the program of that group.

On November 15 Mrs. Alice Mitchell came to Atlanta to present the award named for her husband. Mrs. Mitchell's presentation was perhaps the finest moment of the 1965 Annual Meeting.

Partially because of the record cited above, J. Edwin Stanfield, director of the Alabama Council, has been appointed the new director of field activities for SRC and came to that post in January 1966.

In 1965 the Council was again asked to serve as secretariat of the Southern Interagency Conference, the informal gathering quarterly of more than forty agencies and groups concerned with race relations in the region. We are anxious to continue this service for we feel that an exchange of information and cooperation among the various agencies is now more important than ever.

The Council's director of women's work, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, continued in her own inimitable way. The SRC-sponsored region-wide meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned was held in Atlanta on November 3 and 4. From that meeting came special concern with southern justice

and the operation of the courts. Recalling a highly successful effort of almost twenty years ago, the ladies of this meeting again requested that teams of women regularly visit every courthouse in the region as quiet observers to remind the court officials of citizens' interest in justice. Shortly we shall attempt to call a meeting of the leadership of a number of national women's organizations to seek their cooperation in this program.

For the second year we have cooperated with the program of Books for Equal Education. This is co-sponsored by the National Student Association and the U. S. Youth Council. During the summer we offered office space and secretarial help to this sound project which collected and distributed approximately 300,000 books mostly for Negro college libraries, community centers, freedom schools, and the like.

During the spring and summer, in cooperation with the American Friends Service Committee we developed a program to reach a maximum number of parents, especially in rural and small town areas, to inform them of the situation related to school desegregation in September. The core of this program was a packet of factual materials and guides to community organization, pupil recruitment, transfer procedures and proper complaint channels. Approximately 1,400 of these packets were mailed to persons in more than 280 communities. These

mailings were followed by other materials and staff assistance was provided where requested and when possible. The response to this effort was far greater than we had anticipated and proved what we had long suspected: Negro parents in rural and small town areas, including those who are poorly educated and in vulnerable economic situations, are anxious that their children have the best possible education and will go to great lengths to get their children into the best schools available if allowed to do so.

We have cooperated with, offered some office services to, and co-sponsored two publications with the new southern office of the American Civil Liberties Union. Late in the year we agreed to work closely with a new program being developed by the Women's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church. By the end of the year we had under serious consideration joint programs with the Anti-Defamation League and the American Jewish Committee. We continue our cooperation and interest in the southern program of the National Student Association, the student councils on human relations and other student groups. Reluctantly, because of the demands of other program commitments which we have made, we declined an invitation of the Peace Corps to conduct one or more training programs for overseas volunteers.

Research and Information

These two "departments" are reported on under one title because we hope to make a single unit of them. The Council began with an information section. When resources permitted, a research division was added. Both have grown considerably. Since these two interests overlap, and in large measure complement each other, we hope to bring them under one heading operationally as well as in title. In fact, there is need for an identifiable Center for Research and Information of the Council. We will pursue this during 1966 but it will require thoughtful planning as well as additional resources.

The Southern Regional Council is many things. It is, above all else, a recorder of facts and an interpreter of events. Repeatedly we have seen the importance and the influence of these functions. We must do whatever is necessary to continue these functions, and to preserve the integrity of this part of our operation.

In terms of staff, research and information are now our largest operation. Including the immediately related project service personnel there are now ten persons working in this section. This is almost one-third of our total staff. The senior person in this group with responsibility for the overall operation is Pat Watters, director of information.

Another senior person in the division, editor Margaret Long, is about to embark on one of the more exciting efforts yet envisioned by the Council. She will be, in effect, a "writer in residence" with time and an opportunity to make maximum use of her unique skills. Equally important, she will have the responsibility of working with and encouraging new talent in the fields of fiction and non-fiction, poetry and music.

In mid-year, Samuel L. Adams came with us as director of research. Mr. Adams, formerly a reporter on the St. Petersburg Times, was a 1965 nominee for the Pulitzer Prize and a runner-up for the Lane Bryant Award for excellence in journalism.

In January the Council published Federal Anti-Poverty Programs, a brief description of the specifics of the new programs, designed for wide distribution. This was followed in March by a second publication on this subject, New Federal Programs in the South.

In April the Council published, in cooperation with the southern office of the American Civil Liberties Union, Racial Desegregation in the Southern Federal Courts. This special report documented the overwhelming whiteness of the personnel of these courts.

In May the Council issued one of its most significant publications. This was Encounter with the Future, by Pat Watters. This study, based on some months

of preparation, attempted to delve into one of the most complex areas of concern: the role of the young civil rights workers, their motives, their accomplishments and the effects on them of their experiences. Pat Watters wrote, we believe, objectively and compassionately. The reactions were astounding. SNCC concurred in the accuracy of the report's conclusions; Lillian Smith called it "beautiful." Charles Silberman referred to it as "a tremendous contribution." Seldom have we grappled with such a difficult subject -- or a more essential one -- and seldom have we made such an impact.

At the fall meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference the Council was asked to do research in and publish a report on what had happened in school desegregation in September. The result was the special report, September, 1965 School Desegregation: Old Problems Under a New Law, released in October. Although the U. S. Office of Education and the Southern Education Reporting Service shared information with us, we found it extremely difficult to determine statistically what had taken place. The report, when released, did, however, contain the most reliable information available. This information was substantially more correct than that issued earlier by the Office of Education and helped to dispel the then widespread opinion that school desegregation was proceeding with marked new success.

By October there was concern over the acquittal of several persons accused of murdering civil rights workers and a growing demand that something be done to correct this. Much of this demand was being voiced in terms of a special law to protect these workers. We felt that whatever corrective measures were called for, there was a need to understand that all Negroes and most of the South's poor were frequently discriminated against in the courts. The issue was, we felt, not protection for a special group, but for all persons discriminated against. In cooperation with the southern office of ACLU, the Council issued the report, Southern Justice: An Indictment, a documentation of the problem with a special emphasis on jury reform. We believe the report was effective. This report and the earlier one on discrimination in federal courts were perhaps the most complete and definitive reporting on one of the year's most crucial problems. It was only after the second SRC publication and a good six months after the first that the national press became aware that justice was a new and pressing concern of the civil rights movement.

October was a productive month. The third publication issued during that month was The Migrant Farmer: A Psychiatric Study, by M. Robert Coles, M.D. For two years this brilliant psychiatrist worked with us, largely

conducting research on the effects of school desegregation on the children involved. We are pleased that Dr. Coles has continued to serve as a consultant since going to Harvard and feel that in this publication he added a new dimension to the concerns with migrant workers.

In December, a study two years in preparation was issued. This was Black Belt Schools: Beyond Desegregation. This study, prepared by Dr. Ross Green and three of his colleagues at the Emory University School of Education, was our first major effort to probe the problems involved in providing quality education for the region's children. A major foundation has invited us to explore with them how the recommendations of this report can be implemented.

We are pleased with our continuing opportunities for close cooperation and consultation with the representatives of the press and other media and with the growing opportunities to deal with persons in these professions within the region. For example, the St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times reprinted in full our report on Southern Justice..., as did several newspapers outside the region. We are complimented when some of the southern press report objectively our fact-finding in news columns and then take occasion on the editorial page to differ with our conclusions. (The Columbia /S.C./ Record referred to us editorially as "sedate

and witless," but devoted considerable space to our report on school desegregation -- and did not dispute the facts in that report.) We think these relationships are of the utmost importance and that any disagreements lead to honest and healthy dialogue.

Throughout this report there are many references to our interest in the appropriate programs of the federal government. Much of this interest falls, of course, on our information and research departments. One unique problem arising from this interest bears mention here. To an unfortunate degree commentary on a particular federal program, or the intricacies of that program, is all too often seen as a partisan endorsement of or criticism of an individual or an administration. We would like to believe that the objective of achieving a just and abundant society is not a partisan matter. Certainly our continuing cooperation with these efforts and our comments on them will be conducted in that belief.

At its October meeting, the Executive Committee approved a major policy change in our publications programs. Since its beginning, SRC has published the monthly magazine New South. This publication will now be on a quarterly basis with the winter issue to appear in mid-February. We feel this magazine, of approximately 100 pages per issue, will give us an opportunity for greater diversity and cover more fully some of the subject

areas undertaken. During the first issue we will publish articles by Robert Coles, Vincent Harding, Margaret Long, Robert Sherrill. We will have included excerpts from the new edition of James Silver's Mississippi, The Closed Society, and a reprint of one of the lectures in the William Cook Lecture Series of Leslie W. Dunbar at the University of Michigan. Articles will be included that will be reprinted for considerably wider distribution than that of the magazine's distribution. With the new format there will be experimentation in theme issues dealing with urban planning, regional economics, school desegregation, voting, and other pertinent subject areas. We are excited about the potentials of the New South.

As the year ended, certain conclusions were reached about our research and information functions. In general, policy emphasis will continue on serving efficiently and fully the information needs of individuals, from college professors to newspaper reporters to students doing term papers. Sizeable increases in number and varieties of publications published by the Council are anticipated. This reflects in part expansion of program, in part the growing demand for materials that people can work with -- how-to-do-it pamphlets, descriptions of governmental processes, and the like. At the same time, there will be no let-up in the effort to provide information and

opinion about events and issues as the need arises.

The need is clear for continued emphasis in research and publications on the areas of past concern: education, justice, housing, government, poverty, jobs, voting. New resources will allow us to address ourselves to these needs. What will likely be more innovative this year will be an intensification of treatment, a seeing of the problems in new dimensions. Community action, for example, seems to be an approach that will be applicable to nearly all of these areas of concern. The role of planning is another new part of the program. Beyond these things which can be anticipated, a first principle will continue to be alertness for the unexpected, and flexibility to be able to handle it adequately, including awareness of opportunity to treat problems before they become critical.

In an exploratory vein, there will be attention to the possibility of developing material in media not previously used by SRC, including movies and recordings. This may be a necessity as more and more local groups come into being with a need for these resources. There will be attention also to the possibilities of constructive service to the South in encouraging and collecting creative work in the area and folklore of the area.

Efforts will be made to compile information and recollections of the founders and movers of SRC and others for SRC archives and otherwise to improve condition, cataloguing and availability of the archives. The Atlanta University Library staff will cooperate in this undertaking.

New and Expanded Programs

In October, the Ford Foundation made a substantial grant to the Council. This support and that of other foundations will enable us to considerably expand several of our programs and to institute others.

These programs fall under three general headings: Governmental Programs, Special Studies, and Technical Assistance. The interests of the several projects overlap considerably and we hope to achieve a high degree of cooperation among them. In brief description they are:

(1) Governmental Programs:

A. Urban Planning Project. This project will attempt, with both short term and long term programs and goals, to slow the trend toward establishing ghettos and to develop positive programs to reverse that trend. Major emphasis will be on offering technical assistance to urban planners and other public officials. (This is already being done in one city in Florida.) We shall attempt also to offer assistance to the appropriate departments of the federal government and to study, analyze, and interpret the role of these departments. Special attention will be given to the regional and state offices of these departments. Consultative services will be available to local groups who wish to develop an interest in this area and to those who

wish to stabilize a changing neighborhood or those who want to begin the process of neighborhood integration. Programs concerned with neighborhood improvement will also be assisted. An incidental but important part of this project will be to work with schools of architecture and urban planning in curriculum development to see that planners now being trained will have a better understanding of the necessary technical and social aspects of adequate urban planning.

To direct this project we have been fortunate to secure Mr. Moreland Smith, the distinguished architect formerly of Montgomery, Alabama. Mr. Smith has been at work since November and the progress to date is most encouraging.

B. Fair Employment and Anti-Poverty Programs. Emphasis here will be on offering assistance to and analyzing the effectiveness of all appropriate federal programs, especially those concerned with employment and poverty. An effort will be made to develop greater community interest in these programs. In cooperation with

several of the other projects considerable materials will be prepared to reach those for whom the federal programs are intended. We hope to encourage the federal agencies to prepare much more of this material themselves and to allow SRC and other private agencies to concentrate on the distribution of it. Consultants will be available to assist local groups in organizing and seeking federal assistance. Some attention too will be given to the role of state and local governments. A project director has not been secured for this program.

C. School Integration. We shall continue our interest in public school integration with emphasis on research in developing more adequate programs to bring about this essential change. Consultants will be available to assist parents and local groups who wish to contribute to this process. At this point it is generally premature for an agency like the Council, but we do anticipate a gradual shift in interest from the mechanics of school

desegregation to the broad area of achieving quality education for the region's children. Responsibility for this program rests with several departments, primarily field and research. There is no program director.

2. Special Studies:

A. Welfare Programs. It is generally agreed by everyone, including those who administer them, that our welfare programs do not work. We shall attempt to conduct research for the purpose of developing sound ideas for more effective welfare programs. Consultants will be available to work with public officials and to work with local groups who wish to assist in this program in their communities.

B. Rehabilitation of Criminals and Penal Administration. In the fall we had a tentative agreement with Mr. George Randall, then Director of Prisons for North Carolina, to direct this project. Mr. Randall, whose accomplishments in this area are outstanding, was to serve as a full-time consultant to officials in other states. Subsequently, the state of Oregon lured

Mr. Randall and it was a real loss to SRC and to the region. (As we told Mr. Randall, any state enlightened enough to employ him did not need his services.) We continue to look for a director of this project, but the results to date are not encouraging. It may, therefore, be necessary to redesign the project. Whether or not this is done, the project will provide consultants to persons in public and private life concerned with these subjects and research will be conducted.

C. Technological Unemployment. This is a research program designed to go beyond further documentation of the fact that automation is creating unemployment. As a first step we hope to determine more accurately than heretofore has been done the true number of unemployed and the location and characteristics of these persons. If we are able to do this we believe it will provide us and others with information essential for sound programs.

3. Technical Assistance:

A. Project in Community Organization.

There are now springing up in the region innumerable self-help programs. These range from city slum improvement efforts to agricultural co-operatives. We hope to learn as much as we can of these programs and to make this information available to others. Technical consultants will be available. (We have just been asked to provide a specialist in vegetable marketing, and could use immediately a candle maker, a home construction specialist and innumerable others.)
We hope, too, to experiment with the idea of using persons from slums or tenant farms who have participated in sound programs as consultants to others in like circumstances. How-to-do-it materials will be prepared, efforts will be made to put private groups in touch with appropriate federal programs, and in some instances we shall attempt to assist groups in developing their programs to the point where they qualify for federal assistance.

In this project, as with the Voter Education Project, considerable experimentation will

be done in the use of college students during the school year as well as in the summer.

Thus far we have learned enough to become concerned about the development of many of these programs without sufficient knowledge or resources. The idea of the all-embracing magic of co-operatives has spread to an alarming degree and raises the possibility of serious disillusionment. As a result of this, one of our first publications will suggest some of the limitations of co-operatives, point out some of the essential requirements for successful efforts and identify situations to be avoided.

Many of these interests will be developed in cooperation with the Rural Advancement Project staff of the four state councils, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida and Alabama.

Al Ulmer, formerly of the field department, is director of this project. We find that his Peace Corps experience in Nigeria, his work on a Kibbutz in Israel,

and his year-long private work in one of Atlanta's slums have provided him with a uniquely valuable background for this assignment.

B. Labor Education Program. This program is conducted in cooperation with the National Institute of Labor Education of American University. The primary focus of the labor program is on work with intermediate union leadership in the South on problems of racial relations and the contemporary South. "Intermediate leadership" will be broadly defined to embrace at least top local union leadership up to and including full-time union staff.

The methods of the labor program will be largely educational. In the first instance this will mean developing two-to-five-day programs devoted to regional problems with a primary emphasis on matters pertaining to civil rights and race relations. In other instances, SRC staff will be involved in programs concerned with other issues sponsored by unions or other groups in which it was thought wise to include some human relations material.

On occasion, the labor program will experiment with other ways for reaching unionists. For example, it is frequently more effective to deal with race relations problems within the normal framework of the union's operation. So, if the consideration of such matters can be included in stewards' training or union administration classes, so much the better.

The program will continue to perform a liaison function between human relations agencies and unions. It will serve in a consultant capacity to individuals and organizations where this is seen to be mutually desirable. The program will seek to develop and distribute materials pertaining to the Council's areas of interest which will be useable within the labor movement.

The program works cooperatively with the state AFL-CIO bodies in the South and with the national AFL-CIO departments of Civil Rights and Education. Similarly, the program will cooperate with the national unions represented in the region which have education or civil rights programs.

To direct this program we have been fortunate to secure Dr. Emory F. Via, on leave from the University of Wisconsin. It is very good to have back this valuable man who worked with us in the late '50's.

C. The Voter Education Project. This project is essentially a continuation of the Council's earlier program of voter education. However, a number of changes have been made, reflecting the new situations and the new needs of the voters and potential voters of the region. For instance, a much greater emphasis will be placed on citizenship education. We have no illusions of the difficulty of providing programs of sound non-partisan, civic education. But we believe such programs are necessary and we shall attempt to develop them. Many of these programs will be conducted in the larger cities where voter registration is relatively high. Frequently they will be conducted along with programs of voter registration and community organization.

In the rural and small town areas emphasis will probably continue to be on voter registration, though here too we find a

substantial need for organization and citizenship training. To the extent that violence and reprisals continue to be used as means to prevent the participation of Negroes in the political process this is especially true.

We plan to offer a number of "work scholarships" to students during the summer and during the school year for work with local groups. We hope in this way to tap the energy and resources of these young people and to offer encouragement and training for their continued participation in these vital areas of citizenship.

There are plans to utilize southern campuses for workshops and to prepare voter education materials on private and federal betterment efforts where feasible. Our research effort will document techniques, develop needed materials, encourage effective reporting by participants, and interpret events through frequent publications.

We have assurances of cooperation in implementing these programs, from the five major civil rights agencies and

expressions of serious interest from many local organizations. Since grants of funds and personnel assignments will be arranged directly with these groups, we require only a core of staff -- project director, secretary, fiscal officer, research aide, and for the foreseeable future, a field director. Resources which cut across special interest boundaries are provided the project by an Advisory Committee, which held its first meeting December 30, 1965.

Only a portion of the funds needed for this project are currently available. However, we hope to secure and invest more than $300,000 in this program during the year.

Vernon E. Jordan, formerly assistant to the director, is director of this project. In July Mr. Jordan took a leave of absence to serve as a special consultant in the regional Office of Economic Opportunity. It is good to have him back and to have his considerable talents available for this important work.

This opportunity to expand the Council's programs and to develop new ones is, to us, both exciting and

significant. It has long been a dream of our founders and Members that the Council be a repository of skills needed for the region's development. We are now approaching the realization of that dream and the timing is appropriate.

For a number of years this was not possible because the resources were not available. Such resources as there were had to be used to meet the most immediate situations. This has not been unfortunate. The Council has made a considerable contribution. It has grown painfully and slowly but in the process we have grown in influence and gained invaluable experience.

During the past months I have given considerable thought to these matters, what the Council is and what this position of director is.

In the case of the Council, I recently attempted to describe the organization to one of our supporters. In that description was the following:

"We must hasten to add, as we always must in accounts of this nature, that the Southern Regional Council has no illusions of its power or ability to change the region. At best we can look for opportunities that are promising, needs that are pressing, new developments that require interpretation, or situations which hang in delicate balance. We can only hope that such resources

as we can bring to bear will make a difference. These skills and this realistic appraisal of limitations may be the reason the Council is unique, as we think it is. The Council is a strange agency, neither completely academic research-oriented in nature, nor action-oriented in the usual sense of that term. It is an agency, born out of the particular southern mind, which is designed in the best judgment of those who direct it to meet the particular southern need. This, in the sense of building a society as well as in the sense of correcting old evils, leads to the merging of specialized skills, interests, and resources..."

So I see the Southern Regional Council.

My understanding of the position of the executive director is considerably less clear. Certainly it is, more than ever before, an administrative one. During the past months, in staff, programs and budget, we have literally exploded. It is not easy, in this field, to spend a great deal of money with wisdom and maximum efficiency. It is extremely difficult to find a large number of new staff persons, to incorporate them into the organization and to make the best use of their talents. We have had a great deal of this to accomplish in a very short time. I can report to you in all honesty that the beginnings of this undertaking have not been disappointing. But, I have no illusions that it is only a beginning.

There is yet much to be done before we can be comfortable with these magnificent new resources and opportunities.

We must be careful too, no matter what resources we find, to keep our lean look and to depend on the Council's traditional ingenuity. It may be heresy to make this observation, but I firmly believe we are blessed by having no endowment. It is good that the Council and staff are regularly submitted to scrutiny and evaluation not only by the Members of the Council but by outside observers as well. We are an institution, but we became a valuable one because of this leanness and this ingenuity and a good measure of brilliance on the part of those who have led the organization. It would be fatal to get to the point where these characteristics were not essential to survival.

In the concluding paragraph of my report to you at the Annual Meeting I attempted to say this to you in the following way: "We have come too far now -- late as it is -- and too many have done too much -- to fail at this point. We have many opportunities -- some of them as a direct result of having succeeded in doing what we tried to do. We have gone through lean, hard years. Now, neither we the Council nor we the South can let progress and opportunity defeat us when adversity could not."

Finally, this position of Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council -- whatever else -- is a

magnificent one for any person who loves this region and has a concern for its development. This is true for many of our positions at SRC and I, and we all, pledge to you the most productive year we are capable of providing.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Incorporators

The meeting of the incorporators of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., after due and legal notice thereof to all the incorporators, was held at the headquarters of the Council, 710 Standard Building, Atlanta, Georgia, on the 11th day of February, 1944, at 12 o'clock noon.

There were present in person and by proxy at the meeting the following incorporators: Rufus E. Clement, Charles S. Johnson, Arthur J. Moore, and Howard W. Odum.

Dr. Clement was chosen as Chairman and Miss Emily H. Clay as Secretary of the meeting.

The proxies were examined and reported to be in due and legal form. Upon motion duly seconded and unanimously carried:

IT WAS VOTED that the proxies be accepted.

The charter of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., as granted by order of the Superior Court of Fulton County, Georgia, on the 6th day of January, 1944, was read. On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried:

IT WAS VOTED that the charter be accepted.

A certified copy of the charter was ordered filed, and it was further ordered that a copy be spread upon the minutes of this meeting, as follows:

"STATE OF GEORGIA,
"FULTON COUNTY.

"TO THE SUPERIOR COURT OF SAID COUNTY:

"The Petition of DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT, RALPH McGILL, BISHOP ARTHUR J. MOORE, DR. CHARLES S. JOHNSON, AND DR. HOWARD W. ODUM respectfully shows:

1.

"That they desire for themselves, their associates and successors, to be incorporated under the name and style of

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

for a period of thirty-five (35) years, with the privilege of renewal at the expiration thereof, and from time to time, as is now or may hereafter be provided by law.

2.

"The principal office and place of business of said Corporation shall be located in the City of Atlanta, County of Fulton, State of Georgia. The Corporation desires the privilege of establishing branch offices elsewhere, either within or without the State of Georgia, as may be desired.

3.

"Said Corporation shall not be organized or operated for pecuniary gain or profits to its members, and shall have no capital stock.

4.

"The objects and purposes of said Corporation are to exist and function as an eleemosynary organization, and more particularly to organize and maintain a Regional Council for the improvement of economic, civic and racial conditions in the South, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts towards regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tension, the basis of racial tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust; to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship; and to cooperate with local, State, and regional agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives.

5.

"The Corporation shall have the right to receive donations, endowments, devises and bequests, and shall enjoy all rights and powers, and be subject to all limitations, of the Corporation Act of the State of Georgia, approved January 28, 1938, and all Amendments thereto, which may hereafter be adopted, excepting those rights, powers and limitations relating to capital stock, and other matters not pertinent to its organization.

6.

"The membership of said Corporation shall be self-perpetuating, and shall be composed of the Incorporators, and such others as said Incorporators shall, at any time after the organization of said Corporation, designate, according to such Rules and By-Laws as may be adopted by said Corporation. The Incorporators, and such other members as may be elected at the first Incorporators Meeting, shall be designated as 'Charter Members' of the Corporation.

7.

"The rights of any member in the Corporation shall not be assignable or transferable, and his rights shall cease with his death, resignation, or termination of membership for any cause.

8.

"All corporate meetings, whether of the members or of the Board of Directors or of any other bodies established by the Corporation, may be held either within or without the State of Georgia.

9.

"The Corporation may at any time, by the affirmative vote of a majority of the members of the Corporation, amend, either in form or in substance, its By-Laws and Charter, or either of them, and for any reason, approved by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the Corporation, sell and dispose of any or all of its assets, and dissolve and liquidate its affairs.

10.

"The name and post office address of each of the Incorporators are as follows:

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia
Mr. Ralph McGill, 3399 Piedmont Road, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia
Bishop Arthur J. Moore, 1976 North Decatur Road, Atlanta, Georgia
Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee
Dr. Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

11.

"If and when said Corporation, for any reason whatever, shall liquidate or cease to exist as a body corporate, or to function as an eleemosynary organization, the title to all property, money and effects, of whatever kind or character, of such Corporation, after discharging its own obligations and liabilities, shall vest in some organization having ideals and a program similar to those of said Corporation, such organization to be designated by said Corporation before its dissolution.

"WHEREFORE, Petitioners pray to be incorporated under the name and style aforesaid, with all the powers, privileges and immunities herein set forth, and as are now, or may hereafter be allowed a Corporation of similar character under the laws of Georgia.

"HAAS, LYONS & HURT
"Attorneys for Petitioners,
"601 Haas-Howell Bldg., Atlanta, Ga.

"Filed in office, this the 6th day of January 1944.

"D. W. Brown
"Deputy Clerk"

"O R D E R

"The foregoing Petition of Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Ralph McGill, Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, and Dr. Howard W. Odum, praying that they be incorporated under the name and style of

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.,

having been presented to the Court, and it appearing that the Application is legitimately within the purview and intention of the laws of this State, and that the name of the proposed Corporation is not the name of any other existing corporation registered on the records of the Secretary of State,

"IT IS ORDERED AND ADJUDGED that the Application of said Petitioners be granted, and that the said Petitioners, and their successors and assigns, be, and they hereby are, made and constituted a body corporate under the name and style of

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.,

for a period of thirty-five (35) years, with the privilege of renewals, and with all the rights, powers, privileges, and immunities allowed corporations by the laws of this State.

"This 6th day of January, 1944.

"Frank A. Hooper, Jr.
"Judge Superior Courts Atlanta Circuit."

The following resolution was offered:

RESOLVED, That, subject to residence in the area of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., all members of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., all persons who participated actively in one or more of the Durham, Atlanta, or Richmond conferences which led to the formation of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., and all members of the temporary Board of Directors of the Council, shall, upon acceptance of their election, be designated as Charter Members of the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried:

IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

The Secretary was directed to deliver the certified copy of the charter of the corporation, and the minutes of this meeting, to the members at the first meeting of the charter members of the corporation to be held on February 16-17, 1944.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

_____
Chairman

Emily S. Clay
_____
Secretary

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Charter Meeting

The charter meeting of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., convened at 2:30 o'clock Wednesday afternoon February 16, 1944, in the Exhibition Room of the Atlanta University Library Building. The following were present in person or by proxy:

Theodore F. Adams
Will W. Alexander P
Mrs. L. W. Alford
Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames P
R. B. Atwood
W. R. Banks
Mrs. Janie Porter Barrett P
Noble Y. Beall
W. A. Bell
Wm. H. Bell
Wm. Y. Bell, Jr.
George C. Bellingrath P
Moses S. Belton
Albert D. Betts
J. E. Blanton P
H. M. Bond P
J. Max Bond P
J. R. Booker
Mrs. Z. L. Boothe
Dr. Mary E. Branch
Theodore D. Bratton
Stanley R. Brav
James P. Brawley P
Francis R. Bridges, Jr. P
Mrs. J. L. Brock
Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown
Wilson M. Brown
A. R. Buhrman
Louis E. Burnham P
A. C. Burttram
H. H. Butler
J. S. Clark
Mrs. R. E. Clay P
Mrs. George C. Clement P
Rufus E. Clement P
Charles Clingman
William E. Cole P
Wm. M. Cooper
Robert L. Cousins P
W. H. Crawford
John E. Culmer
J. L. Cuninggim
Virginius Dabney P
Mrs. Andrew Dale P
Robert P. Daniel
V. E. Daniel P
M. S. Davage
Don A. Davis
Mrs. George E. Davis
Miss Mary C. DeBardeleben P
Ernest Delpit P
A. W. Dent
F. M. Dickenson
J. C. Dixon
Henry M. Edmonds
R. B. Eleazer P
J. M. Ellison
Mark Ethridge
Grady Farley P
Clark Foreman P
R. L. Foreman, Jr. P
L. H. Foster
W. A. Fountain, Jr.
G. Hamilton Francis
D. S. Freeman
Fred C. Frey
John M. Gandy P
S. Hughes Garvin
Mrs. Nathaniel Gist Gee
William G. Gehri
Mrs. Harry M. Gershon P
C. H. Gillman P
Benjamin A. Green
K. W. Green
Robert E. Gribbin
Leonard Haas P
Carey E. Haigler P
Wiley A. Hall
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton P
Gordon B. Hancock P
Mrs. John M. Hanna
Julian LaR. Harris P
Mrs. E. B. Harrold
Mrs. Henry Havens P
F. Clyde Helms
W. G. Henry

W. G. Henry, Jr.
W. C. Henson P
R. Beverly Herbert
Mrs. R. T. Hollis
Asbury Howard P
Giles A. Hubert P
Walter J. Hughes
Mrs. H. A. Hunt, Sr.
R. L. Hunt
John W. Inzer
Luther P. Jackson P
W. C. Jackson P
Howard E. Jensen
Charles S. Johnson P
Guy B. Johnson P
Smith L. Johnston P
David D. Jones
M. Ashby Jones P
Thomas E. Jones
Bernard J. Kane
Lloyd N. Killam
Willis J. King P
Ryland Knight P
R. O'Hara Lanier
J. R. E. Lee P
J. Leonard Lewis
Mrs. G. W. Long P
Nat G. Long
Z. Alexander Looby P
J. R. McCain P
Frank McCallister
Mrs. Mary M. McCoy
H. L. McCrorey P
Ralph McGill P
Mrs. Clelia P. McGowan
T. James McNamara P
Edward G. Mackay P
William H. Marmion
Mrs. Attwood Martin
David Marx
Miss Lucy R. Mason P
Armand May
Benjamin E. Mays P
Haskell M. Miller
Mrs. J. W. Mills
William Mitch
Roscoe C. Mitchell P
Samuel C. Mitchell
Arthur J. Moore
Josiah Morse
Mrs. Audley Morton P
Edward F. Murphy, S. S. J.
N. C. Newbold P
Mrs. Bertha P. Newell
Howard W. Odum P
Gerald P. O'Hara P

L. F. Palmer P
F. D. Patterson P
Raymond R. Paty
J. M. Payne P
A. M. Pennybacker
J. W. Perry
E. C. Peters P
E. M. Preston
Hubert Quillian
Arthur Raper
Homer P. Rainey
Mrs. W. H. Ratliff
Miss Florence M. Read
Ira DeA. Reid P
J. Calvin Reid P
J. McD. Richards
James L. Robb P
G. D. Rogers P
J. Alvin Russell
R. L. Russell P
C. A. Scott P
James E. Shepard
Philip E. Shulhafer P
Mrs. A. W. Simkins P
W. A. Smart
C. C. Spaulding
Mrs. Alex W. Spence
Robert A. Spicely P
Ludd M. Spivey
Edgar B. Stern
Mrs. A. H. Sterne P
Mrs. J. Morgan Stevens
J. G. Stuart
Willis A. Sutton
Henry H. Sweets
James T. Taylor
Mrs. M. E. Tilly P
H. Councill Trenholm P
Harold L. Trigg P
H. St. George Tucker
Mrs. R. L. Turman P
Mrs. W. A. Turner P
J. A. Valentine
King Vivion
A. T. Walden P
John Moore Walker
Forrester B. Washington P
W. D. Weatherford P
Kendall Weisiger
Carter Wesley P
Goodrich C. White
W. M. Whitehead
M. F. Whittaker
Miss Josephine Wilkins
Mrs. M. R. Wilkinson
F. C. Willcoxon

Miss Fannie C. Williams
John Page Williams
C. B. Wilmer
John D. Wing
W. H. Wiseman
P. B. Young

The meeting was called to order by Dr. Howard W. Odum, who reported that the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, at a meeting held during the morning, had voted to merge with the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

At the request of the Chairman, Dr. M. Ashby Jones offered the opening prayer.

The Secretary was asked to read the resolution voted at the Commission meeting, as follows:

> It being made to appear to the meeting that all of the Commission's obligations and liabilities have been fully discharged, and further that the Southern Regional Council, having been duly incorporated to carry on the work with ideals and program similar to those of this corporation:
>
> It was, upon motion duly made and seconded-
>
> RESOLVED that the corporation transfer and convey to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., a corporation of Fulton County, Georgia, all of its property of every nature whatsoever and wherever situated, absolutely and in fee simple.

Dr. Odum addressed the members briefly, saying that in his opinion the Council represents the most united group that has approached the greatest problem America has outside of winning the war - "A problem that has no limit outside ourselves."

At the suggestion of Dr. Odum and on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

1. IT WAS VOTED that Dr. F. D. Patterson be elected temporary chairman.

After taking the chair, Dr. Patterson said that it seemed appropriate to have a statement from one who had much to do with the development of the Durham Conference. He then introduced Dr. Gordon B. Hancock and invited him to make any statement which he wished to make at this organization meeting.

Dr. Hancock responded, saying that he felt that the time had come "to redeem interracialism, to destroy race prejudice, and to save the soul of this Nation." To do

the job right, he said, we must have moral courage.

Dr. Patterson invited Mrs. Ames, General Field Secretary of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, to speak on the transition period between the Commission and the Southern Regional Council.

Mrs. Ames urged the Council to establish democratic processes within its own body and to make a study of Negro-White woman relationships.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson and Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, Executive Director and Associate Executive Director, respectively, spoke with reference to the suggested structure and program of the Council, which eventually will be conducted through five Commissions: Race (Human) Relations, Economic Affairs, Community Life and Welfare, Public Affairs, and Cultural Development. It was agreed that attention should be centered on the Commission on Race (Human) Relations during this first year.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

2. IT WAS VOTED that Miss Emily H. Clay be elected temporary secretary.

At the request of the Chairman, the Secretary read the minutes of the incorporators' meeting, after which the charter of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., was presented to the members.

A consideration of the suggested by-laws followed.

ARTICLE I. NAME AND AREA.

Section 1. Name.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

3. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted as read.

Section 2. Area.

After discussion, on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

4. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted as read.

ARTICLE II. MEMBERS.

Section 1. Members.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

5. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted as read.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

6. IT WAS VOTED that the classification of associate membership be provided for those who may not qualify as active members of this organization.

It was suggested by Dr. Robb, who offered the motion, that the details of working out this vote be left to the Board of Directors.

Mr. Rogers, who seconded the motion, explained that he had in mind providing for those outside the region to participate. There are people out of the region, he said, who have interests, financially and otherwise, in the region and who would be glad to contribute toward the program.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

7. IT WAS VOTED that persons living outside the region may be elected by the Board of Directors to associate membership in the Southern Regional Council.

ARTICLE II (Continued)

Section 2. Annual Meetings.

Section 3. Special Meetings.

Section 4. Notice of Meetings.

Section 5. Quorum.

Section 6. Voting.

On motions duly seconded and unanimously carried-

8. IT WAS VOTED that the sections above be adopted as read.

ARTICLE II (Continued)

Section 7. Proxies.

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After discussion, on motion duly seconded-

9. IT WAS VOTED that the section be amended to read as follows:

Any member entitled to vote at any meeting of members may vote either in person or by proxy. All proxies shall be given to members of this body, only, and shall designate the name of the member or members who shall act as proxy. Every proxy shall be in writing, subscribed by the member, or his duly authorized attorney, and dated, but need not be sealed, witnessed, or acknowledged. Proxies shall be delivered to the Secretary of the corporation before such meeting or to the inspectors at the meeting.

ARTICLE III. FELLOWS AND AFFILIATES.

Section 1. Fellows.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

10. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted, with the following amendment:

Fellows may receive such honoraria or reimbursement of expenses incurred at the request of the Executive Committee as the Board may direct.

Section 2. Affiliates.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

11. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted as read.

The meeting recessed, to reconvene at 7:30 P.M.

EVENING SESSION

The meeting was called to order at 7:30 P. M., February 16, by the temporary chairman, Dr. F. D. Patterson.

A resolution was offered by Dr. Clement, expressing thanks to Dr. Alexander, Dr. Ashby Jones, and Mrs. Ames, in the name of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and of the Southern Regional Council, for the services which they have rendered over the years in the interest of better race relations in the South.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

12. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

The Chairman appointed the following to serve on the Committee on Nominations: Rufus E. Clement, Chairman, Virginius Dabney, P. B. Young, Forrester B. Washington, and William E. Cole.

The discussion of the by-laws was continued.

ARTICLE IV. BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

Section 1. Election and Powers. (Later amended - following consideration of Section 6, Article VI.)
Section 2. Regular Meetings.
Section 3. Additional Regular Meetings.
Section 4. Special Meetings.
Section 5. Place of Meetings.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

13. IT WAS VOTED that the sections above be adopted as read.

Section 6. Notice of Meetings.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

14. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted, amended to read "not less than ten (10) days," instead of "at least two days" before the meeting.

Section 7. Quorum.
Section 8. Vacancies.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

15. IT WAS VOTED that the sections above be adopted as read.

Section 9. Removal.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

16. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted, amended to read "any director may, by a majority of votes cast, be removed from office for cause," instead of "with or without cause."

ARTICLE V. COMMITTEES.

Section 1. Executive Committee.

Dr. Robb raised the question of whether the Executive Director and the Associate Executive Director should be members of the Executive Committee and, after discussion, on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

17. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted, amended to read as follows:

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The Board of Directors shall provide for an Executive Committee of not more than seven (7) members, with the President, Vice President, and Secretary-Treasurer as ex officio members.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson called attention to the fact that since the Secretary of the Council is also a paid employee it is illogical to say that the Secretary shall be a member of the Executive Committee when the two Executive Directors are excluded from membership. After discussion, therefore-

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

18. IT WAS VOTED that Section 1, Article V, be reconsidered.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

19. IT WAS VOTED that this section be amended to read as follows:

The Board of Directors shall provide for an Executive Committee of not more than seven (7) members, with the President and one or more Vice Presidents as ex officio members.

Section 2. Meetings of the Executive Committee.

After discussion, on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

20. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted, amended to read "but not fewer than four (4) members," instead of "five (5) members."

Section 3. National Advisory Committee.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

21. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted, amended to read "establish" as a substitute for the words "authorize the selection of."

Section 4. Other Committees.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

22. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted as read.

ARTICLE VI. OFFICERS.

Section 1. Executive Officers.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

23. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted, amended to read as follows:

The executive officers of the corporation shall be a President, one or more Vice Presidents, an Executive Director, an Associate Executive Director, a

Secretary, and a Treasurer. The President and the Vice Presidents shall be chosen from among the members of the corporation. The Executive Director and the Associate Executive Director need not be members at the time of their election, but, by virtue of their office, shall become members of the corporation and of the Board with all the privileges of Board members, except that they may not be members of the Executive Committee of the Board. The Secretary and the Treasurer need not be members, and the offices of Secretary and Treasurer may be held by the same person. The executive officers shall be elected annually by the Board of Directors at its first meeting following the annual meeting of members, and each such officer shall hold office until the corresponding meeting in the next year and until his successor shall have been fully chosen and qualified, or until he shall have resigned or shall have been removed, in the manner provided in Section 13 of this Article VI. Any vacancy in any of the above offices shall be filled for the unexpired portion of the term by the Board of Directors, at any regular or special meeting.

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ARTICLE VI (Continued)

Section 2. President.
Section 3. First Vice President.
Section 4. Additional Vice Presidents.

On motions duly seconded and unanimously carried-

24. IT WAS VOTED that the above sections be adopted as read.

Section 5. Executive Director.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

25. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted, amended to read "and shall be responsible directly to the Board of Directors."

Section 6. Associate Executive Director.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

26. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted as read.

Dr. Clement asked for a reconsideration of Section 1, Article IV, calling attention to an inconsistency in the section as adopted. After discussion, on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

27. IT WAS VOTED that Section 1, Article IV, be reconsidered and that the sentence which reads, "No director shall serve more than two consecutive full terms of four years each," be amended to read:

No director shall serve more than two consecutive full terms of four years each, with the exception of the Executive Director and the Associate Executive Director, whose membership on the Board of Directors shall be co-terminus with their tenure of office.

Section 7. Secretary.
Section 8. Treasurer.
Section 9. Controller.
Section 10. Counsel.
Section 11. Assistant Officers.
Section 12. Subordinate Officers.

On motions duly seconded and unanimously carried-

28. IT WAS VOTED that the above sections be adopted as read.

Section 13. Removal.

After discussion, on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

29. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted as read.

ARTICLE VII. FINANCES.

Section 1. Checks, Drafts, etc.
Section 2. Fiscal Year.
Section 3. Board of Trust.

On motions duly seconded and unanimously carried-

30. IT WAS VOTED that the sections be adopted as read.

ARTICLE VIII. SUNDRY PROVISIONS.

Section 1. Seal.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

31. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted as read.

Section 2. Bonds.

After discussion, on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

32. IT WAS VOTED that the section be adopted, amended to read:

The Board of Directors may bond any officer, agent, or employee of the corporation, conditioned upon the faithful discharge of his duties, with one or more sureties and in such amount as may be satisfactory to the Board of Directors.

Section 3. Audit of Books.
Section 4. Amendments.

On motions duly seconded and unanimously carried-

33. IT WAS VOTED that the sections be adopted as read.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

34. IT WAS VOTED that the Committee on Nominations be instructed to bring in nominations for three vice presidents.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

35. IT WAS VOTED that the by-laws as amended be adopted as a whole.

The meeting adjourned, to reconvene at 10 o'clock Thursday morning.

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MORNING SESSION - FEBRUARY 17

In the absence of Dr. Patterson, temporary Chairman, the meeting was called to order at 11 o'clock Thursday morning, February 17, by Dr. Rufus E. Clement.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

36. IT WAS VOTED that Mr. Francis R. Bridges, Jr., be elected to serve as temporary Chairman.

Mr. Bridges took the chair.

The following nominations of additional charter members were read by Dr. Guy B. Johnson: Louis I. Jaffe, Norfolk, Virginia; Miss Mildred R. Mell, Decatur, Georgia; Lorimer D. Milton, Atlanta, Georgia; George S. Mitchell, Atlanta, Georgia; John Garland Pollard, Jr., Somers, Virginia; John H. Wheeler, Durham, North Carolina; T. Wilson Wilmer, Richmond, Virginia.

The following nominations were made from the floor: Lillian Smith, Clayton, Georgia; Glenn Rainey, Atlanta, Georgia; B. H. Hampton, Athens, Tennessee; John A. Griffin, Atlanta, Georgia; Rabbi A. O. Feibleman, New Orleans, Louisiana; Rev. B. H. Gayles; Frank McCallister, Atlanta, Georgia; Ralph P. Bridgman, Hampton, Virginia; Rev. Thomas C. Allen, Richmond, Virginia; Carl D. Brorein, Tampa, Florida; Alonzo Moron, Atlanta, Georgia; Herbert N. Davidson, Daytona Beach, Florida; Peter Bryce Hamilton, Mobile, Alabama; Lester Rumble, Atlanta, Georgia; Wallace Rogers, Atlanta, Georgia. (Note: Glenn Rainey, John Griffin, Frank McCallister, and Lester Rumble, as signers of the Atlanta Statement, have received invitations to become members of the Council.)

The members were asked to hand their nominations, with full addresses, to the Secretary.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

37. IT WAS VOTED that we elect to charter membership, subject to their acceptance and payment of dues, all who signed the Atlanta Statement following the meeting of white Southerners on April 4, 1943.

After discussion and on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

38. IT WAS VOTED that the seven persons nominated by Dr. Guy B. Johnson be elected as charter members and that the other persons nominated at this meeting, or nominated by charter members in the next thirty days, be eligible for charter membership, the Board to decide whether to elect them as charter members or as regular members.

The report of the Nominating Committee was read by Dr. Rufus E. Clement, as follows:

President: Bishop Arthur J. Moore; Vice Presidents: P. B. Young, Homer P. Rainey, Carter Wesley; Secretary-Treasurer: Emily H. Clay.

Board of Directors: Will W. Alexander, Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, Horace M. Bond, Francis R. Bridges, Jr., Louis E. Burnham, Wilson Brown, Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Rufus E. Clement, William E. Cole, Virginius Dabney, Ernest Delpit, Louis I. Jaffe, Leonard Haas, Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton, Gordon B. Hancock, Mrs. Henry Havens, R. B. Herbert, Luther P. Jackson, Charles S. Johnson, E. A. McDowell, T. James McNamara, Benjamin E. Mays, Howard W. Odum, Gerald P. O'Hara, F. D. Patterson, Raymond R. Paty, John Garland Pollard, Jr., Edmund M. Preston, James L. Robb, G. D. Rogers, Philip Shulhafer, Edgar B. Stern, J. G. Stuart, Harold L. Trigg, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Forrester B. Washington, Goodrich White, Miss Josephine Wilkins, F. C. Willcoxon, T. Wilson Wilmer, with the recommendation that the Board of Directors be increased at its first session by the addition of the following six (6) persons: A. W. Dent, Lorimer D. Milton, George S. Mitchell, R. L. Russell, John H. Wheeler, and Miss Florence Sytz.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

39. IT WAS VOTED that the report be adopted.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

40. IT WAS VOTED that Mr. Charles Gillman be added to the Board of Directors.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

41. IT WAS VOTED that Dr. Ryland Knight be added to the Board of Directors.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

42. IT WAS VOTED that, in case any of the persons nominated are unable to accept membership, the Board be authorized to fill the vacancies.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

43. IT WAS VOTED that Dr. Ira DeA. Reid be instructed to prepare a press release, to be sent to the AP, ANP, and UP and to certain papers in addition, reporting on this meeting; that this be the official release, and there shall be a time limit on the release.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

44. IT WAS VOTED that the consent of Bishop Moore to serve as President of the Council be secured before any public announcement is made of his election.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

45. IT WAS VOTED that Julian Harris, P. B. Young, and C. A. Scott be asked to confer with Guy B. Johnson and Ira DeA. Reid on the preparation of the official release.

Mr. Shulhafer asked for an expression from the Executive Directors as to what is to be done with the regional groups set up in the various states by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. Dr. Johnson assured the members that this is one of the important "first things" to be undertaken, and that every effort will be made to conserve the state interracial bodies.

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The members of the Board of Directors were asked to meet in the Exhibition Room immediately following the close of the meeting of the Council.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

EMILY H. CLAY, SECRETARY

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Board of Directors

The meeting of the Board of Directors was held in the Exhibition Room of the Atlanta University Library at 12 o'clock noon Thursday, February 17, 1944, with the following present:

Will W. Alexander
Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
Horace M. Bond
Francis R. Bridges, Jr.
Rufus E. Clement
Virginius Dabney
Ernest Delpit
Charles Gillman
Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton
Gordon B. Hancock
Mrs. Henry Havens
Luther P. Jackson
Charles S. Johnson
Guy B. Johnson
Louis E. Burnham
J. R. E. Lee
Benjamin E. Mays
T. James McNamara
Gerald P. O'Hara
Ira DeA. Reid
James L. Robb
G. D. Rogers
R. L. Russell
Philip Shulhafer
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Harold L. Trigg
Forrester B. Washington
Miss Josephine Wilkins
P. B. Young
Emily H. Clay, Secretary

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

1. IT WAS VOTED that Mr. Francis R. Bridges, Jr., be elected temporary Chairman.

2. IT WAS VOTED that the report of the Committee on Nominations as read by Dr. Clement be adopted and that the officers be elected, as follows:

OFFICERS

President: Bishop Arthur J. Moore
Vice Presidents:
P. B. Young
Homer P. Rainey
Carter Wesley
Executive Director:
Guy B. Johnson
Associate Executive Director:
Ira DeA. Reid
Secretary-Treasurer:
Emily H. Clay

Mr. Bridges asked Mr. Young to take the chair.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

3. IT WAS VOTED that the membership of the Board of Directors be increased this year to not more than fifty, exclusive of the ex officio members.

The following were nominated from the floor for membership on the Board of Directors: J. R. E. Lee and Clark Foreman.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

4. IT WAS VOTED that the following be elected to the Board of Directors in addition to the forty elected at the meeting of the Council:

A. W. Dent
Lorimer D. Milton
George S. Mitchell
R. L. Russell
John H. Wheeler
Miss Florence Sytz
Charles Gillman
Ryland Knight
J. R. E. Lee
Clark Foreman

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On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

5. IT WAS VOTED that Z. A. Looby be considered for membership on the Board of Directors in the event of the declination of any member elected at this meeting.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

6. IT WAS VOTED that a committee composed of the President, the Chairman of the Committee on Nominations, the two Executive Directors, and such others as seem desirable be appointed to set up an Executive Committee.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

7. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee, when finally constituted, be empowered to proceed with such further details of organization and program as may be found pending and necessary.

The following committee was appointed by Mr. Young:

Charles S. Johnson, Chairman
Gerald P. O'Hara
Rufus E. Clement
Gordon B. Hancock
P. B. Young, ex officio
Guy B. Johnson, ex officio
Ira DeA. Reid, ex officio

Mr. Carter Wesley was invited to sit in with the committee.

Miss Wilkins asked what provision had been made for electing a president in the event Bishop Moore is unable to serve.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

8. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee be given authority to fill any vacancies which may occur among the officers on account of inability to accept election, from the President down.

Mr. Wesley asked whether it was understood that the Executive Directors had the authority to proceed to work with the state interracial committees. Dr. Reid replied that provision was made for this in the outlines for the Council's suggested program.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

9. IT WAS VOTED that the outline as to structure and program which was presented by the Executive Directors at the meeting of the Council be adopted.

Dr. Forrester Washington expressed the hope that the Executive Directors would not become grooved in the field of race relations, but that they would include in their activities economic affairs, etc.

The Special Committee appointed to select the Executive Committee was asked to meet in the Conference Room of the Administration Building at 2 P. M.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

10. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Directors, in conjunction with the Executive Committee, be authorized to edit the by-laws and eliminate any conflicts that may appear.

Dr. Johnson asked that the Board consider the matter of membership dues.

After discussion and on motion duly seconded-

11. IT WAS VOTED that the membership fee be a minimum of $1.00, and that there be other classes of membership to be agreed upon by the Executive Committee.

The meeting adjourned.

EMILY H. CLAY, SECRETARY

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of Special Committee
Appointed to Select the Executive Committee

The Special Committee appointed to select an Executive Committee met in the Conference Room of the Administration Building of Atlanta University at 2 o'clock Thursday afternoon, February 17, 1944. The following were present: Charles S. Johnson, Chairman, Gerald P. O'Hara, Rufus E. Clement, Gordon B. Hancock, P. B. Young, Guy B. Johnson, Ira DeA. Reid, Carter Wesley, and Emily H. Clay, Secretary.

ABELSO

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

IT WAS VOTED that the following be elected to membership on the Executive Committee (the President and Vice Presidents are ex officio members of the Executive Committee):

Francis R. Bridges, Jr.
Rufus E. Clement
Gordon B. Hancock
Leonard Haas
Charles S. Johnson
T. James McNamara
Miss Josephine Wilkins

The Committee gave instructions that the members of the Board of Directors be notified of the election of the Executive Committee.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

EMILY H. CLAY, SECRETARY

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Executive Committee

The Executive Committee met in the Conference Room of the Atlanta University Administration Building at 11 o'clock Wednesday morning, March 22, 1944. The following members attended: Francis R. Bridges, Jr., Rufus E. Clement, Leonard Haas, T. James McNamara, and Miss Josephine Wilkins. Guy B. Johnson, Ira De A. Reid, and Emily H. Clay from the Council's staff were also present.

Dr. Johnson reported that messages had been received from Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Dr. P. B. Young, Dr. H. P. Rainey, Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, Dr. Howard W. Odum, and Mr. Carter Wesley expressing regret at their inability to be present.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

1. IT WAS VOTED that Mr. Francis R. Bridges, Jr., be elected temporary chairman.

Mr. Bridges took the chair, after which the Committee discussed the selection of a permanent chairman.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

2. IT WAS VOTED that Dr. Charles S. Johnson be elected Chairman of the Executive Committee.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

3. IT WAS VOTED that Miss Emily H. Clay be elected secretary, ex officio.

The Committee recessed for lunch.

Afternoon Session

The meeting reconvened at 1:45 P.M.

After discussion, it was suggested that the Committee meet once a month, or at least every two months, until the annual meeting in October. The fourth Wednesday in each month was tentatively agreed upon as the regular date until October.

Dr. Johnson reported that a small committee had called on Bishop Moore to urge him to accept election to the presidency, but that the bishop felt that recent additions to his heavy church responsibilities would make it impossible for him to do justice to the office. He, therefore, regretfully declined the presidency.

After discussion and on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

4. IT WAS VOTED that Dr. Howard W. Odum be asked to serve as president of the Council, at least until the annual meeting in October.

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At the request of the Committee, Dr. Guy B. Johnson called Dr. Odum in Chapel Hill and received his consent to accept the presidency until the October meeting.

The election of additional members was discussed, but Mr. Leonard Haas called attention to the fact that only the members and the Board of Directors have the power to elect members of the Council.

After discussion and on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

5. IT WAS VOTED that the voting membership shall be open to those who subscribe to the purpose of the Council, as stated in the Charter, and who pay annual dues of $1.00 or more.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

6. IT WAS VOTED that two other membership categories in addition to regular members be provided: Associates and Contributors, the Associates to be composed of people living outside the region who will subscribe to the statement, but who will not have the privilege of voting; Contributors, composed of people either within or without the region who will contribute to the Council, but who need not sign the statement and shall not have the privilege of voting.

Dr. Johnson reported that Mr. T. Wilson Wilmer, of Richmond, Virginia, who was elected to membership on the Council and the Board at the charter meeting, replied that he would be glad to become a member of the Council but regretted that he would not be able to serve on the Board.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

7. IT WAS VOTED that the Committee recommend to the Board the election of Bishop Arthur J. Moore to fill this vacancy in the Board of Directors.

Dr. Johnson called attention to the fact that Dr. Odum's election to the presidency had created another vacancy in the Board, since he would become a member ex officio. The Executive Directors were asked to bring recommendations to the next meeting of the Committee.

The relationship between the Council and existing state interracial groups within the region was discussed and, on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

8. IT WAS VOTED that further consideration be postponed until the next meeting of the Executive Committee and that the Executive Directors be asked to make a report at that time on the number of such committees; the size of each committee, if possible; what the relationship to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation has been; and to make a definite recommendation as to the relationship between the state groups and the Council.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

9. IT WAS VOTED that copies of the budget be sent to the Executive Committee, with administrative comments, and that the budget be approved finally at the next meeting of the Committee.

Dr. Johnson reported that the Marvin Cox Associates had sought to enter into a contract with the Council for public relations work. It was the consensus, however, that the Council should not enter into commercial contract at this time.

Additional personnel is needed as quickly as possible, Dr. Johnson said, especially someone for editorial and public relations work and someone to do field work.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

10. IT WAS VOTED that the two Executive Directors be empowered to employ necessary personnel, subject to the limitations of the budget.

After discussion and on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

11. IT WAS VOTED that the question of publication of THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER, its size, format, etc., be left to the discretion of the two Executive Directors.

At the request of Dr. Johnson and Dr. Reid, and on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

12. IT WAS VOTED that a Committee on Publications be set up to advise with the two Executive Directors relative to THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER, pamphlets, and any other publications which the two Directors may recommend.

After discussion and on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

13. IT WAS VOTED that the Board of Directors be polled and that each member be asked to name not less than three persons residing outside the area of the Southern Regional Council whom they would like to have become members of the National Advisory Committee.

Dr. Johnson reported that Bishop Moore had suggested that the Council might find it advisable to rent quarters in the Wesley Memorial Church Building, which is now being remodeled.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

14. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Directors be instructed to look into the situation and bring recommendations to the next meeting.

15. Following provision of the by-laws and instructions from the Board of Directors, lots were cast and the terms of members of the Board of Directors were arranged as follows:

To expire in October 1945: Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Rufus E. Clement, Ernest Delpit, Leonard Haas, J. R. E. Lee, E. A. McDowell, L. D. Milton, George S. Mitchell, F. D. Patterson, John Garland Pollard, Jr., G. D. Rogers, F. B. Washington.

To expire in October 1946: Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, H. M. Bond, Louis E. Burnham, Wm. E. Cole, Luther P. Jackson, Louis I. Jaffe, Howard W. Odum, Gerald P. O'Hara, Raymond R. Paty, Philip Shulhafer, Harold L. Trigg, Goodrich C. White, Josephine Wilkins.

To expire in October 1947: Wilson M. Brown, A. W. Dent, Clark Foreman, C. H. Gillman, Mrs. Henry Havens, R. B. Herbert, Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton, Gordon B. Hancock, T. James McNamara, Vacancy, John H. Wheeler, F. C. Willcoxon.

To expire in October 1948: Will W. Alexander, Francis R. Bridges, Jr., Virginius Dabney, Charles S. Johnson, Ryland Knight, Benjamin E. Mays, Edmund H. Preston, James L. Robb, R. L. Russell, Edgar B. Stern, J. B. Stuart, Miss Florence Sytz, Mrs. M. E. Tilly.

Dr. Johnson asked that the Committee suggest a sub-title for the Southern Regional Council, to be used on the letterhead and in publications, in explanation of the purpose of the organization.

After discussion and on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

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16. IT WAS VOTED that the following statement from the Charter be adopted as a sub-title: "A council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South."

17. It was the sense of the Committee that the two Executive Directors should prepare a brief statement of policy, to be sent to members of the Executive Committee for comments and suggestions and later submitted to the full Board of Directors for final approval.

18. Dr. Johnson called attention to two articles, one by J.Saunders Redding and the other by Lillian Smith, in the spring issue of the magazine COMMON GROUND, severely criticizing the Southern Regional Council. He asked whether the Committee would approve of his writing a reply to these articles. It was the sense of the Committee that Dr. Johnson should prepare such an article for the summer issue of COMMON GROUND.

After tentatively approving April 26 as the date for its next meeting, the Committee adjourned.

EMILY H. CLAY, SECRETARY

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Executive Committee

April 28, 1944

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., met at 9:30 A. M. at the Council headquarters, 710 Standard Building, Atlanta. The following members attended: Charles S. Johnson, Chairman, Leonard Haas, Gordon B. Hancock, T. James McNamara, Howard W. Odum, and Josephine Wilkins, with Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director, Ira DeA. Reid, Associate Executive Director, and Emily H. Clay, Secretary-Treasurer, from the staff.

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Pictures were taken by LIFE photographers, after which the meeting was called to order by the chairman.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

1. IT WAS VOTED that the minutes of the March 22 meeting be approved without being read, since they had been mimeographed and sent to the members.

Recommendations for filling vacancies in the membership of the Board of Directors were made and, on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

2. IT WAS VOTED that Miss Lillian Smith, of Clayton, Georgia, be recommended to the Board of Directors for membership on the Board to fill the vacancy created by the election of Dr. Howard W. Odum to the presidency of the Council.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

3. IT WAS VOTED that Archbishop Robert Emmet Lucey, of San Antonio, Texas, be recommended to fill the vacancy on the Board created by the death of Dr. J. R. E. Lee.

Attention was called to the fact that the Committee on March 22 voted to recommend the election of Bishop Arthur J. Moore to fill the vacancy created by the inability of Mr. T. Wilson Wilmer to accept Board membership.

The inadequate representation of some of the states on the Board was discussed and, on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

4. IT WAS VOTED that the Board of Directors be requested to add the following persons to the Board from states which do not have adequate representation:

ARKANSAS- Dean T. S. Staples, Hendrix College, Conway; Mrs. A. M. P. Strong, President of the National Colored P. T. A., Marianna; FLORIDA- Walter Matherley, Dean of the School of Business Administration, University of Florida, Gainesville; KENTUCKY- Charles W. Anderson, only Negro member of the Kentucky House of Representatives, Louisville; MISSISSIPPI- Jacob Reddix, President of Jackson College, Jackson; OKLAHOMA- O. D. Duncan, State College, Stillwater; NORTH CAROLINA- N. C. Newbold, Department of Public Instruction, Raleigh; TENNESSEE- Z. A. Looby, Attorney, Nashville.

The relation of the Southern Regional Council to local and state interracial committees was discussed and, on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

5. IT WAS VOTED that the relation between the Southern Regional Council and all state and local organizations having aims and purposes similar to those of the Council be informal and cooperative, the details to be worked out by the two Executive Directors.

The following is a summary of the budget which was presented for the year 1944:

EXPENDITURES			
Salaries:	Now employed	$ 17,045	
	To be employed (adjusted for six months)	4,780	$ 21,825
Travel:	Meetings of Board of Directors and Executive Committee	$ 1,500	
	Staff	6,000	7,500
Overhead and Maintenance			5,450
Promotion and Publications			7,000
Contingency Fund			2,225
			$ 44,000
INCOME			
Assured:	Julius Rosenwald Fund	$ 25,000	
	General Education Board	12,000	
	Board of Missions, The Methodist Church	1,000	
Anticipated:	Board of Missions, Woman's Work, The Methodist Church	1,000	
	Dues and contributions from members, literature receipts, miscellaneous	1,500	40,500
ADDITIONAL FUNDS NEEDED FOR 1944 BUDGET			$ 3,500

After discussion and on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

6. IT WAS VOTED that the budget be adopted, with the understanding that an effort will be made to raise whatever additional funds are needed.

Dr. Odum asked whether it would be in order to suggest that a young Negro woman be employed in the Council office, at least on a part-time basis. It was agreed that this should be done as soon as possible.

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Dr. Charles Johnson asked whether full-time persons for research and field work should be employed right away. Dr. Guy Johnson replied that an effort was being made to find suitable persons for these positions and asked whether he and Dr. Reid were authorized to employ additional staff members for public relations and editorial work, and perhaps two additional stenographers, as soon as they could be found. It was agreed that this should be done, and that a special meeting of the Executive Committee should be called if it would be necessary to exceed the budget in order to get the persons wanted for these positions.

Dr. Charles Johnson reported that there was a disposition on the part of one of the foundations to make a special grant to support research in the colleges, and Dr. Odum told the committee that this would perhaps provide for the research member of the staff.

Dr. Guy Johnson reported that Bishop Moore had offered the Council space, which he said would be at a reasonable rate, in the Wesley Memorial Building. After discussion and on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

7. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Directors be authorized to come to a decision regarding quarters for the Council.

Dr. Guy Johnson reminded the Committee that at the meeting on March 22 he and Dr. Reid were instructed to prepare a statement of policy for the Council. He reported that, after considering this, he felt that the Conference documents and the Charter contained suitable statements of general policy and that it

might be better to let further definition of policy be developed as we go along. Dr. Reid presented a Memorandum on Program, embodying proposals that the Council concentrate for the present upon the following activities:

1. The initiation of an annual closed conference of major agencies working on problems of social amelioration in the South, at which would be presented:

   a. Appraisals of current problems in the region;
   b. Discussions of effective, concerted technique in handling them;
   c. Proposals for concerted action at regional, state and local levels.

2. The development of an effective educational program, which would include:

   a. Periodic general and special news releases from SRC on problems of immediate interest, such as the white primary and the poll tax; the preparation of petitions and special pleas, when necessary.
   b. Cultivation of personal contacts with public officials throughout the region.
   c. The distribution of a series of Southern Regional Council pamphlets on the South. These pamphlets will be designed to define the problems covered and point the way to such action as is desirable.

3. The coordination and stimulation of state and local action groups to work on the following problems:

   a. Public Safety and the Community. This program will be designed to secure more impartial law enforcement and better law observance within the Southern communities. In this connection, the Southern Regional Council, in cooperation with some of the leading universities in the South, would seek to promote one or more institutes for police administrators, with emphasis on the problems of post-war race tensions. Preliminary conferences in this connection have been promising.
   b. Household Employment. This program will be designed to establish more satisfactory norms and working relationships for household employment in the local communities.
   c. Race Relations. This program will be a continuation of the general work conducted by the various interracial committees, and will be concerned with problems of racial good will and understanding.
   d. Social Legislation. The SRC will encourage desirable social legislation within the Southern states and will seek to have certain anti-social and undemocratic laws removed from the statute books.

Dr. Charles Johnson remarked that the landlord-tenant laws in the southern states are so archaic that it probably would not require a great deal of per-

suasion to get some of the states to consider revising them. Dr. Odum said that a good many of the land-grant colleges had developed material on this and that if a cooperative program could be worked out with these colleges the General Education Board might be willing to provide funds for its support.

Dr. Charles Johnson suggested that an annual citation of the best practices in race relations in the South, honoring a movement or a program instead of an individual, might be made. He also suggested that instead of pamphlets on general subjects we take up the "hot" questions, with arguments, since the thing people seem to be asking for the most is some explanation to themselves of these "hot" questions.

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On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

8. IT WAS VOTED that the memorandum on program be approved.

Dr. Guy Johnson spoke of two articles in the spring issue of the magazine COMMON GROUND, one by J. Saunders Redding and the other by Lillian Smith, criticizing the Southern Regional Council. He reported that, upon authorization of the Executive Committee on March 22, he had prepared an answer to the articles to appear in the summer issue of COMMON GROUND.

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock said he wondered how far we should go in answering such statements, and that he had "gone to bat" for the Council several times in his newspaper column and he wondered how much of that should be done. It was the consensus that such unjust criticisms should be answered.

Mr. Leonard Haas said that, under the present by-laws, neither the Executive Director nor the Associate Executive Director is a member of the Executive Committee. He, therefore, asked the Committee to recommend that the Board of Directors pass the following resolution:

RESOLVED- That whereas the Board of Directors believes that it is in keeping with common practice and in the interest of efficiency for the Executive Directors to be members of the Executive Committee, it recommends to the members that the by-laws be amended as follows:

That that part of Article V, Section 1, which reads:

The Board of Directors shall provide for an Executive Committee of not more than seven (7) members in addition to the President and Vice President, who shall be ex officio members, selected from the membership of the Board in such way as the Board may determine,

be amended to read as follows:

The Board of Directors shall provide for an Executive Committee of not more than seven (7) members in addition to the President and Vice Presidents, the Executive Director, and the Associate Executive Director, all of whom shall be ex officio members, selected from the membership of the Board in such way as the Board may determine.

After discussion and on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

9. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted as read and that the Board of Directors be asked to recommend this change in the by-laws.

Mr. Haas then offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED- That the Committee ask the Board of Directors to recommend that that part of Article VI, Section 1, which reads:

The Executive Director and the Associate Executive Director need not be members at the time of their election, but, by virtue of their office, shall become members of the corporation and of the Board with all privileges of Board members, except that they may not be members of the Executive Committee of the Board,

be amended by striking out the words:

except that they may not be members of the Executive Committee of the Board.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

10. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted and that the Board of Directors be asked to recommend this change in the by-laws.

The following resolution was also offered by Mr. Haas:

RESOLVED- That the by-laws be amended as follows:

That that part of Article V, Section 2, which reads:

A quorum of the Executive Committee shall be constituted of such number as may be determined by the Board of Directors but not fewer than four (4)

members, exclusive of ex officio members, be amended to read:

A quorum of the Executive Committee shall consist of not less than six (6) members of the Committee.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

11. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted and that the Board of Directors be asked to recommend that the by-laws be changed accordingly.

Dr. Guy Johnson asked that the Committee make the following recommendations to the Board of Directors:

RESOLVED- That pursuant to the authority granted by Article V, Section 4, of the by-laws, the Board of Directors create the following standing committees: Committee on Finance, Committee on Membership, Committee on Public Relations, Committee on Publications, Committee on Fellows; and that the Chairman of the Board be instructed to appoint these Committees with the understanding that Committee members need not be limited to members of the Board of Directors. Each Committee shall report regularly to the Board and shall make such recommendations as it deems wise.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

12. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be recommended to the Board of Directors.

It was the consensus that the Chairman of each Committee should be a member of the Board.

Dr. Guy Johnson spoke of the provision in the by-laws that members shall be elected only by members of the Council or the Board of Directors and expressed the opinion that, since the members and the Board meet annually, some authorization is needed for bringing in new Council members during the year. He, therefore, offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED- That the Executive Committee recommend to the Board of Directors the passage of the following resolution:

That the Committee on Membership shall have general supervision over questions pertaining to the election of members, shall receive nominations and requests for membership, and shall authorize the Executive Director or the Secretary to extend an invitation to membership to such persons as the Committee may approve, all such elections being subject to confirmation at the next meeting of members or of the Board of Directors.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

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13. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be recommended to the Board of Directors.

RESOLVED- That the Committee on Finance shall have general supervision over the budget, auditing of the accounts, and the securing of funds to finance the program of the Council.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

14. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be recommended to the Board of Directors.

RESOLVED- That the Committee on Public Relations shall advise with the Executive Staff on matters pertaining to public relations.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

15. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be recommended to the Board of Directors.

RESOLVED- That the Committee on Publications shall advise with the Executive Staff on matters pertaining to publications and editorial policy.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

16. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be recommended to the Board of Directors.

RESOLVED- That the Committee on Fellows be authorized to select and appoint honorary fellows as provided in Article III, Section 1, of the by-laws, and that the Committee have general supervision over the activities of the fellows.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

17. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be recommended to the Board of Directors.

RESOLVED- That the First National Bank of Atlanta is hereby approved as the depository for the funds of the Southern Regional Council.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

18. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be recommended to the Board of Directors.

RESOLVED- That the Bond with the National Surety Corporation in the amount of $37,500, covering the positions of Executive Director, Associate Executive Director, and Secretary-Treasurer, is hereby approved by the Board of Directors.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

19. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be recommended to the Board of Directors.

RESOLVED- That the Executive Director be authorized to secure the services of Harold C. Carson, Certified Public Accountant, to audit the books of the corporation.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

20. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be recommended to the Board of Directors.

RESOLVED- That the office of counsel be created as authorized in Article VI, Section 10, of the by-laws, and that Mr. Leonard Haas be elected counsel for the corporation.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

21. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be recommended to the Board of Directors.

RESOLVED - That all members who are not more than twelve months in arrears in payment of dues and whose conduct and public utterances are in general accord with the aims and purposes of the Council as set forth in the Charter shall be declared members in good standing, and that all members in good standing thirty (30) days before the date of any meeting of the members be entitled to vote at such meeting.

RESOLVED, further- That any member who has failed to pay dues for twenty-four (24) months and who, after notice by the Secretary-Treasurer, fails to pay his dues within thirty (30) days, or who is otherwise not in good standing, shall be dropped from membership.

After discussion and on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

22. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be recommended to the Board of Directors.

The following statement was read by Dr. Guy Johnson:

The Supreme Court of the United States has ruled that the exclusion of Negroes from the Texas Democratic primaries is a violation of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The Court has simply recognized the fact that primaries are effective instruments of government, and that the exclusion of the Negro voters from Democratic primaries in some of the Southern states is equivalent to denying them the right to vote on account of race.

This decision has far-reaching consequences, and we appeal to the people of the South to make these consequences positive and constructive rather than negative and destructive.

We deplore the statements of political leaders and others indicating a determination to disregard or nullify the decision of the Supreme Court, and we call on all fair-minded citizens of the South to respect the letter and the spirit of the Court's decision. Let us all, white and Negro, be calm and wise. Let us strive to serve the ends of justice and good government for all of the people of the South.

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To allow Negro citizens to participate in the government under which they live is to give democracy a chance in the South. To deny the vote to qualified Negro citizens is inconsistent with the American ideal of justice and equality before the law. The sooner we recognize these simple facts, the better off we shall be. We cannot honestly wage a war for freedom and democracy in foreign lands when we deny our own Negro citizens the rights and privileges which are justly theirs.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

23. IT WAS VOTED that the Board of Directors be requested to approve this statement and give it publicity.

Dr. Johnson also read the following statement:

In the heat of current political campaigns in various parts of the South, the race issue has been raised by certain candidates or by their promoters. Vicious rumors have been circulated, and the spurious issues of "white supremacy," "social equality," and the like have been dragged forth in an attempt to arouse the passions and prejudices of voters.

We condemn all such tactics as unfair and destructive of the spirit of unity and cooperation which we need now as never before, and we appeal to all good citizens to consider carefully whether those persons who use such tactics are worthy of public trust.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

24. IT WAS VOTED that the Board of Directors be asked to approve this statement and give it publicity.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

EMILY H. CLAY, SECRETARY

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Board of Directors

The Board of Directors met in the Men's Lounge of the Atlanta University Dormitory at 2 o'clock Friday afternoon April 28, 1944. Pictures were taken by LIFE photographers, after which the meeting was called to order by the Chairman, Dr. Howard W. Odum.

The Secretary was asked to call the roll, and the following members were present: Howard W. Odum, Chairman, Will W. Alexander, Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, Wilson M. Brown, Ernest Delpit, A. W. Dent, Clark Foreman, Leonard Haas, Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton, Gordon B. Hancock, Mrs. Henry Havens, Luther P. Jackson, Louis I. Jaffe, Charles S. Johnson, Guy B. Johnson, Ryland Knight, E. A. McDowell, T. James McNamara, Benjamin E. Mays, Lorimer D. Milton, John Garland Pollard, Jr., Ira DeA. Reid, James L. Robb, G. D. Rogers, R. L. Russell, Philip Shulhafer, Forrester B. Washington, John H. Wheeler, and Josephine Wilkins.

Since mimeographed copies of the minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors and the Special Committee on February 17 and the Executive Committee on March 22 were sent to the members of the Board, on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

1. IT WAS VOTED that the minutes be approved without being read at the meeting.

Brief statements concerning their activities since the Charter meeting were made by the two Executive Directors, and Dr. Reid presented a Memorandum on Program, which was prepared at the request of the Executive Committee on March 22. The program for 1944-45 was outlined as follows:

1. The initiation of an annual closed conference of major agencies working on problems of social amelioration in the South, at which would be presented:

   a. Appraisals of current problems in the region;
   b. Discussions of effective, concerted technique in handling them;
   c. Proposals for concerted action at regional, state and local levels.

2. The development of an effective educational program, which would include:

   a. Periodic general and special news releases from SRC on problems of immediate interest, such as the white primary and the poll tax; the preparation of petitions and special pleas, when necessary.
   b. Cultivation of personal contacts with public officials throughout the region.
   c. The distribution of a series of Southern Regional Council pamphlets on the South. These pamphlets will be designed to define the problems covered and point the way to such action as is desirable.

3. The coordination and stimulation of state and local action groups to work on the following problems:

   a. Public Safety and the Community. This program will be designed to secure more impartial law enforcement and better law observance within the Southern communities. In this connection, the Southern Regional Council, in cooperation with some of the leading universities in the South, would seek to promote one or more institutes for police administrators, with emphasis on the problems of post-war race tensions. Preliminary conferences in this connection have been promising.
   b. Household Employment. This program will be designed to establish more satisfactory norms and working relationships for household employment in the local communities.
   c. Race Relations. This program will be a continuation of the general work conducted by the various interracial committees, and will be concerned with problems of racial good will and understanding.
   d. Social Legislation. The SRC will encourage desirable social legislation within the Southern states and will seek to have certain antisocial and undemocratic laws removed from the statute books.

This program represents an abridgement of the initial plan presented in February, and one which might be effected as soon as the professional staff is employed.

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Chairman of the Executive Committee, was asked to report on actions of the Committee at the meeting during the morning. He read the following recommendations for membership on the Board of Directors to fill the three vacancies which have occurred since the Charter meeting:

> That Miss Lillian Smith, of Clayton, Georgia, be elected to fill the vacancy created by the election of Dr. Howard W. Odum to the presidency of the Council; that Bishop Arthur J. Moore, of Atlanta, be elected to fill the vacancy caused by the inability of Mr. T. Wilson

Wilmer to accept Board membership; and that Archbishop Robert Emmet Lucey, of San Antonio, Texas, be elected to fill the vacancy which resulted from the death of Dr. J. R. E. Lee.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

2. IT WAS VOTED that these recommendations of the Executive Committee be approved.

Dr. Johnson explained that, since certain states have inadequate representation on the Board of Directors, the Executive Committee asked that the Board recommend the election of the following additional Board members:

ARKANSAS- Dean T. S. Staples, Hendrix College, Conway;
Mrs. A. M. P. Strong, President of the National Colored P.T.A., Marianna;

FLORIDA- Walter Matherly, Dean of the School of Business Administration, University of Florida, Gainesville;

KENTUCKY- Charles W. Anderson, only Negro member of the Kentucky House of Representatives, Louisville;

MISSISSIPPI - Jacob Reddix, President of Jackson College, Jackson;

NORTH CAROLINA- N. C. Newbold, State Department of Public Instruction, Raleigh;

OKLAHOMA- O. D. Duncan, of the faculty of A. and M. State College, Stillwater;

TENNESSEE- Z. A. Looby, Attorney, Nashville.

Mrs. Henry Havens, of Jacksonville, Florida, said that since the death of Dr. J. R. E. Lee, of Tallahassee, Florida now has only one Negro representative on the Board of Directors, while the addition of Dean Matherly increases the white membership to three. She, therefore, requested that Dr. H. D. Goode, a dentist of Pensacola, be elected to the Board of Directors.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

3. IT WAS VOTED that the name of Dr. H. D. Goode, of Pensacola, Florida, be added to the list submitted by the Executive Committee.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

4. IT WAS VOTED that these nine persons be elected to membership on the Board of Directors, their terms to begin in October, 1944.

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On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

5. IT WAS VOTED that the persons nominated for Board membership who are not now members of the Council be elected to membership.

Mrs. Ames expressed the opinion that women should have better representation on the Board. She asked that, in making up the next list of nominees, there be some effort to balance the membership, not only according to race but also according to sex.

The following recommendation from the Executive Committee was read:

That the relation between the Southern Regional Council and all state and local organizations having aims and purposes similar to those of the Council be informal and cooperative, the details to be worked out by the two Executive Directors.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

6. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

The summary of the budget for the year 1944 was reported, as follows:

EXPENDITURES			
Salaries:	Now employed	$ 17,045	
	To be employed (adjusted for six months)	4,780	$ 21,825
Travel:	Meetings of Board of Directors and Executive Committee	$ 1,500	
	Staff	6,000	7,500
Overhead and Maintenance			5,450
Promotion and Publications			7,000
Contingency Fund			2,225
			$ 44,000
INCOME			
Assured:	Julius Rosenwald Fund	$ 25,000	
	General Education Board	12,000	
	Board of Missions, The Methodist Church	1,000	
Anticipated:	Board of Missions, Woman's Work, The Methodist Church	1,000	
	Dues and contributions from members, literature receipts, miscellaneous	1,500	40,500
ADDITIONAL FUNDS NEEDED FOR 1944 BUDGET			$ 3,500

In commenting on the budget, Dr. Odum said he was convinced that there would be no difficulty in raising the balance of $3,500 needed for the year.

After discussion and on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

7. IT WAS VOTED that the budget be adopted.

The question was asked whether the appropriations from the foundations were made for one year, only, or for a period of years. Dr. Odum replied that the General Education Board appropriation was for a five-year period, and Dr. Alexander said that the officers of the Julius Rosenwald Fund were thinking in terms of a three-year appropriation.

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The following recommendations from the Executive Committee were read:

RESOLVED- That whereas the Board of Directors believes that it is in keeping with common practice and in the interest of efficiency for the Executive Directors to be members of the Executive Committee, it recommends to the members that the by-laws be amended as follows:

That that part of Article V, Section 1, which reads:

The Board of Directors shall provide for an Executive Committee of not more than seven (7) members in addition to the President and Vice President, who shall be ex officio members, selected from the membership of the Board in such way as the Board may determine,

be amended to read as follows:

The Board of Directors shall provide for an Executive Committee of not more than seven (7) members in addition to the President and Vice Presidents, the Executive Director, and the Associate Executive Director, all of whom shall be ex officio members, selected from the membership of the Board in such way as the Board may determine.

After discussion and on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

8. IT WAS VOTED that the Board recommend to the members at the next annual meeting that the by-laws be amended as requested by the Executive Committee.

RESOLVED- That the Committee ask the Board of Directors to recommend that that part of Article VI, Section 1, which reads:

The Executive Director and the Associate Executive Director need not be members at the time of their election, but, by virtue of their office, shall become members of the corporation and of the Board with

all the privileges of Board members, except that they may not be members of the Executive Committee of the Board,

be amended by striking out the words:

except that they may not be members of the Executive Committee of the Board.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

9. IT WAS VOTED that the Board recommend to the members at the next annual meeting that the by-laws be amended as requested by the Executive Committee.

RESOLVED- That the by-laws be amended as follows:

That that part of Article V, Section 2, which reads:

A quorum of the Executive Committee shall be constituted of such number as may be determined by the Board of Directors but not fewer than four (4) members, exclusive of ex officio members, be amended to read:

A quorum of the Executive Committee shall consist of not less than six (6) members of the Committee.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

10. IT WAS VOTED that the Board recommend to the members at the next annual meeting that the by-laws be amended as requested by the Executive Committee.

RESOLVED- That pursuant to the authority granted by Article V, Section 4, of the by-laws, the Board of Directors create the following standing committees: Committee on Finance, Committee on Membership, Committee on Public Relations, Committee on Publications, Committee on Fellows; and that the Chairman of the Board be instructed to appoint these Committees with the understanding that Committee members need not be limited to members of the Board of Directors. Each Committee shall report regularly to the Board and shall make such recommendations as it deems wise.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

11. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

RESOLVED - That the Committee on Membership shall have general supervision over questions pertaining to the election of members, shall receive nominations and requests for membership, and shall authorize the Executive Director or the Secretary to extend an invitation to membership to such persons as the Committee may approve, all such elections being subject to confirmation at the next meeting of members or of the Board of Directors.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

12. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

RESOLVED- That the Committee on Finance shall have general supervision over the budget, auditing of the accounts, and the securing of funds to finance the program of the Council.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

13. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

RESOLVED- That the Committee on Public Relations shall advise with the Executive Staff on matters pertaining to public relations.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

14. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

RESOLVED- That the Committee on Publications shall advise with the Executive Staff on matters pertaining to publications and editorial policy.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

15. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

RESOLVED- That the Committee on Fellows be authorized to select and appoint honorary fellows as provided in Article III, Section 1, of the by-laws, and that the Committee have general supervision over the activities of the fellows.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

16. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

17. IT WAS VOTED that the Chairman of each Committee shall be a member of the Board of Directors.

Dr. Washington called attention to the fact that the program of the Southern Regional Council which was presented at the Charter meeting provided for several divisions in addition to the division on race relations. In this connection, he said that the Council is confining itself too closely to race relations and that he would like to have two additional committees appointed- a Committee on Economic Affairs and a Committee on Civic Affairs, on which white and colored people would work together.

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Dr. Odum said "these will come as soon as we are ready to set up a final functional committee."

Dr. Washington asked whether there would be any harm in having a Committee on Economic Affairs and a Committee on Civic Affairs. He said that he would like to see the two groups thinking on the matter of improving the economic conditions in the South.

Dr. Reid cited the program memorandum which had been presented earlier in the meeting and contended that it was not confined to race relations and that it covered some significant civic and economic problems of the South.

Mrs. Hamilton suggested that it might help to have a standing committee on program that would work on improvements in the outline presented by the Executive Directors.

Dr. Washington moved-

That a committee be added to devise a program which will involve economic, civic, and racial objectives, as indicated in our Charter.

Msgr. McNamara called attention to the fact that the members at the charter meeting voted to devote their attention to the Commission on Race (Human) Relations during this first year.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

18. IT WAS VOTED that the motion to set up a Committee on Economic Affairs and a Committee on Civic Affairs be tabled.

The following resolutions from the Executive Committee were read:

RESOLVED- That on the approval of the Committee on Membership such qualified persons as may be nominated by members or may request in writing the privilege of membership may be notified by the Executive Director or the Secretary that they are invited to membership, subject to confirmation at the next meeting of members or Directors, and may, upon their acceptance, enjoy all the rights and privileges of members.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

19. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

RESOLVED- That all members who are not more than twelve months in arrears in payment of dues and whose conduct and public utterances are in general accord with the aims and purposes of the Council as set forth in the Charter shall be declared members in good standing, ~~and that all members in good standing~~, and that all members in good standing thirty (30) days before the date of any meeting of the members be entitled to vote at such meeting.

RESOLVED, further- That any member who has failed to pay dues for twenty-four (24) months and who, after notice by the Secretary-Treasurer, fails to pay his dues within thirty (30) days, or who is otherwise not in good standing, shall be dropped from membership.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

20. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

RESOLVED- That the First National Bank of Atlanta is hereby approved as the depository for the funds of the Southern Regional Council.

Dr. Forrester Washington suggested that the Citizens' Trust Company of Atlanta be also designated as a depository for the Council.

Therefore, on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

21. IT WAS VOTED that the First National Bank and the Citizens' Trust Company are hereby approved as the depositories for the funds of the Southern Regional Council.

The following resolutions from the Executive Committee were read:

RESOLVED- That the Bond with the National Surety Corporation in the amount of $37,500, covering the positions of Executive Director, Associate Executive Director, and Secretary-Treasurer, is hereby approved by the Board of Directors.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

22. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

RESOLVED- That the Executive Director be authorized to secure the services of Harold C. Carson, Certified Public Accountant, to audit the books of the corporation.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

23. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

ABELSO

RESOLVED- That the office of counsel be created as authorized in Article VI, Section 10, of the by-laws, and that Mr. Leonard Haas be elected counsel for the corporation.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

24. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

Dr. Charles Johnson asked Dr. Guy Johnson to read a statement concerning the Supreme Court decision in the Texas primary case, which the Executive Committee had recommended to the Board of Directors.

Mrs. Ames offered a motion that the words "let us all be calm and wise" be deleted from the statement. After discussion and on motion duly seconded and carried, with one dissenting vote-

25. IT WAS VOTED that this recommendation not be accepted.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

26. IT WAS VOTED that the words "in some of the Southern states" be substituted for the words "in the South."

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

27. IT WAS VOTED that the statement be adopted, as follows:

The Supreme Court of the United States has ruled that the exclusion of Negroes from the Texas Democratic primaries is a violation of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The Court has simply recognized the fact that primaries are effective instruments of government, and that the exclusion of the Negro voters from Democratic primaries in some of the Southern states is equivalent to denying them the right to vote on account of race.

This decision has far-reaching consequences, and we appeal to the people of the South to make these consequences positive and constructive rather than negative and destructive.

We deplore the statements of political leaders and others indicating a determination to disregard or nullify the decision of the Supreme Court, and we call on all fair-minded citizens of the South to respect the letter and the spirit of the Court's decision. Let us all, white and Negro, be calm and wise. Let us strive to serve the ends of justice and good government for all of the people of the South.

To allow Negro citizens to participate in the government under which they live is to give democracy a chance in the south. To deny the vote to qualified Negro citizens is inconsistent with the American

ideal of justice and equality before the law. The sooner we recognize these simple facts, the better off we shall be. We cannot honestly wage a war for freedom and democracy in foreign lands when we deny to our own Negro citizens the rights and privileges which are justly theirs.

After discussion as to the advisability of immediate release of the resolution, on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

28. IT WAS VOTED that the statement be released to the press immediately following the meeting.

A statement on the injection of the race issue into political campaigns, which was recommended to the Board by the Executive Committee, was read by Dr. Guy Johnson.

After discussion and on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

29. IT WAS VOTED that the word "spurious" be substituted for the word "old", that the words "attempt to arouse" be substituted for the words "appeal to", and that the statement be adopted as follows:

In the heat of current political campaigns in various parts of the South, the race issue has been raised by certain candidates or by their promoters. Vicious rumors have been circulated, and the spurious issues of "white supremacy," "social equality," and the like have been dragged forth in an attempt to arouse the passions and prejudices of voters.

We condemn all such tactics as unfair and destructive of the spirit of unity and cooperation which we need now as never before, and we appeal to all good citizens to consider carefully whether those persons who use such tactics are worthy of public trust.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

30. IT WAS VOTED that the statement be given immediate publicity.

Dr. Guy Johnson read a list of persons nominated at the Charter meeting or within thirty days of the meeting, in accordance with the action of the Board of Directors at the Charter meeting.

During the discussion which followed, Dr. Forrester Washington asked whether it would be important to have a portion of the Charter expressing the aims and purposes of the Council sent to those invited to membership, with the request that they sign the statement in accepting membership. Dr. Guy Johnson

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replied that we proposed to do that.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

31. IT WAS VOTED that the nominations be referred to the Committee on Membership for action.

Dr. Robb asked whether we should endeavor to elect large numbers of members or to confine the membership to a small number. Dr. Alexander asked whether it was contemplated that there would be an annual meeting, to which the expenses of members would be paid. When Dr. Guy Johnson replied that the expenses of members would not be paid, Dr. Alexander said he did not see why the Council membership should not be as large as possible. Dr. Johnson explained that a large membership involved the problem of proxies, etc. Dr. Robb expressed the opinion that from the standpoint of the purpose of the organization it would be desirable to enlist the cooperation of a large number of people by inviting them to become members.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

32. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee be asked to bring to the next meeting of the Board of Directors a statement of policy regarding limitation of membership and methods of selecting members.

Dr. Guy Johnson reported that the Executive Committee on March 22 voted to ask each Board member to submit the names of at least three people living outside the South who might be nominated to the National Advisory Committee, for which provision was made in the by-laws. He said that we already have the names of some persons who might be nominated to the Committee, but he felt that this needs more study.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

33. IT WAS VOTED that the whole matter of a National Advisory Committee be referred to Guy B. Johnson and Ira DeA. Reid, with the Chairman of the Board, to work out in considerable detail just how the National Advisory Committee will function and what sort of Committee it will be.

All business having been completed, the meeting adjourned.

EMILY H. CLAY, SECRETARY

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Executive Committee

The Executive Committee met at 2:30 P.M. Tuesday, December 5, 1944, in the Conference Room of the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia. Dr. Howard W. Odum presided, in the absence of the Chairman, Dr. Charles S. Johnson. The following attended: Howard W. Odum, Carter Wesley, Leonard Haas, T. James McNamara, Francis R. Bridges, Rufus E. Clement, Josephine Wilkins, the Executive Directors, Guy B. Johnson and Ira DeA. Reid, and the Secretary, Emily H. Clay.

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The Secretary was asked to read the minutes of the previous meeting, April 28.

1. IT WAS VOTED that the minutes be adopted as read.

On motion of Mr. Haas, seconded by Mr. Wesley-

2. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution of the Board of Directors, regarding members in good standing voting at annual meetings, be recommended as a change in the by-laws and be submitted to the members as an amendment to the by-laws.

In view of correspondence which Miss Wilkins had had with members of the Board of Directors, Dr. Odum asked her to make a statement to the Committee. Miss Wilkins expressed the view that if a Board is going to offer any leadership in a general membership meeting it has to have some opportunity for counsel before the members come together. She felt that provision should be made for a meeting of the Board before the member meeting.

After discussion and on motion of Miss Wilkins-

3. IT WAS VOTED that a resolution be presented to the annual meeting, asking that the by-laws be amended to provide for a meeting of the Board of Directors immediately preceding the annual meeting of members, as well as following the member meeting.

Dr. Guy Johnson said that he wished someone would move that we have specified times set for meetings of the Executive Committee.

Dr. Reid was of the opinion that monthly meetings should be held.

Miss Wilkins said she thought that we should have more Atlanta people on the Committee.

Mr. Wesley felt that it would be better to reduce the Executive Committee than to have an unwieldy number.

Dr. Odum suggested that we might add Dr. Goodrich White or Dr. Forrester Washington to the Committee.

Dr. Johnson suggested bi-monthly meetings of the Executive Committee.

On motion of Mr. Haas, seconded by Mr. Wesley-

4. IT WAS VOTED that regular bi-monthly meetings of the Executive Committee be held on the fourth Wednesday of each month.

The advisability of having an Advisory Committee, composed of Atlanta members of the Executive Committee, to meet in the interim months was discussed.

On motion of Miss Wilkins, seconded by Mr. Haas-

5. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee direct the Atlanta members to meet in the interim months on the fourth Wednesday to advise with the Executive Directors.

At Dr. Johnson's request, the Committee discussed the program for the annual meeting to be held on December 6. The agenda was agreed upon, as follows:

MORNING SESSION
10:30 A.M. to 12:30 P.M.

Prayer
Address by the President
Review of Registration and Proxies
Confirmation of Members
Minutes of Charter Meeting
Appointment of Committees
Recommendations of the Board of Directors
Report of the Executive Directors
Adjournment for Lunch

AFTERNOON SESSION
2:00 P.M. to 4:30 P. M.

Report of Standing Committees
Report of Resolutions Committee
Other Business
Adjournment

Dr. Reid said that, under the head of new business, he and Dr. Johnson had been thinking of such things as the case of Dr. Homer P. Rainey and academic freedom, segregation and discrimination, law and order (particularly with reference to police), politics (including the white primary), and post-war employment. He said, further, that Mr. Virginius Dabney feels that we should devise a tactical statement concerning segregation that will not alienate certain people who might be helpful to the Council. The following statement has been suggested:

> We believe in maintaining the absolute integrity and identity of the races, with mutual respect and cooperative endeavor as the basis of their relationship, and with equal opportunity and an end to unfair discrimination as our goal.

Mr. Wesley said that he thought the sensible thing to do was to ask for equality under the law. He said he knew that some Negroes would say that unless you attack segregation you condone it, and it was his opinion that we should by-pass it at this time.

Dr. Odum said that as a person who is "trying to claim to be scientific" he could not sign any statement that says segregation forever is right.

It was Mr. Bridges' opinion that, if the Southern Regional Council is to be a powerful organization, we are going to have to sell it to the white South, and we are going to have to say either that we are for or against segregation.

Dr. Clement called attention to the section of the Durham Conference statement which begins "We are fundamentally opposed to the principle and practice of compulsory segregation in our American society —."

Mr. Wesley said the South cannot afford two standards and as soon as it has to pay for double facilities under the provision for equal opportunities it will put an end to segregation.

Dr. Reid read the following proposed resolution on Segregation/Discrimination:

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> The Council recognizes the existence of the pattern of legal racial segregation in the South, but it is convinced that forthright steps must be taken to remove the inequalities which violate the law in letter and spirit. We believe that a first step in this direction is moving toward the establishment of equal facilities as guaranteed under the law. The Council pledges itself to immediate action in this direction.
>
> As a second step it proposes a full and impartial study of the quantitative and qualitative costs of racial separation and segregation to the South, as a basis for community education and action.
>
> Finally, it proposes that the right, true end of full and equal citizenship in the South exacts full responsibility of whites and Negroes alike working together as citizens; furthermore, it demands of white persons that they compel, induce, or initiate no pattern of discrimination or separation not covered by statute, and of Negroes, that they support, attend, or patronize no service, establishment, or movement which arbitrarily discriminates against or segregates them.

Mr. Haas said it was his idea that we should precede the second paragraph by the section from the Durham Statement which begins "We are fundamentally opposed to the principle and practice of compulsory segregation in our American society —."

Mr. Bridges was convinced that to include such a statement would alienate a large number of powerful people, at least in the State of Florida, who could be helpful to the Council.

Mr. Wesley said that, if we think honestly that the thing to do is to center our attack on equality as the best way to approach the big problem, we should make a statement and not take the Durham Statement. We cannot make an open attack on segregation, he said, and get any support from the people in the South who have the power. He called attention to the fact that the point of the Durham Conference and the point of this whole movement is that it will be "a peaceable movement of liberal white and Negro people in this section where the situation is."

Dr. Odum asked whether the Committee wished to have this statement go to the member meeting for consideration. It was the consensus that some such

statement should be presented to the Council members.

Mr. Bridges expressed the opinion that the statement should also call on the Negroes to accept their responsibility as citizens, because it cannot all be done by the majority race.

Mr. Wesley said that to include such a statement as that would seem to say that Negroes accept segregation forever.

Mr. Bridges expressed the opinion that there should be a separateness of the races, but there should be an equality of opportunity, equality of law, equality in voting.

It was Mr. Wesley's opinion that we might be able to make improvements in equality by making this statement.

Mr. Bridges spoke of the near-lynching in Florida some months ago, which was prevented by the action of the Governor of Florida, who insisted that the law should take its course and proceeded to see that this was done. Organizations are prone to criticize, Mr. Bridges said, but they are not prone to commend people who do their duty. He expressed the hope that the Council might issue a resolution commending the Governor of Florida for his action.

On motion of Mr. Haas, seconded by Mr. Wesley-

6. IT WAS VOTED that Mr. Bridges should prepare such a resolution for presentation to the members at the annual meeting.

All business having been completed, the meeting adjourned.

EMILY H. CLAY, SECRETARY

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Annual Meeting

The first annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., was held in the Exhibition Room of the Atlanta University Library, Atlanta, Georgia, on December 6, 1944. The meeting was called to order at 10:30 A.M. by Dr. Howard W. Odum, President, who requested the Rev. J. C. Perry, of Birmingham, Alabama, to offer a prayer. The following were present in person or by proxy:

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Theodore F. Adams
Will W. Alexander P
Mrs. L. W. Alford
Charles W. Anderson, Jr.
Mrs. Leah Pierce Argieard
R. B. Atwood
Fannie Bame
W. R. Banks
Kelley Barnett
Mrs. Janie Porter Barrett
J. A. Bayes
R. C. Beaty
R. D. Bedinger
William H. Bell
W. Y. Bell, Jr. P
George C. Bellingrath P
Ruby Berkley
Gordon W. Blackwell
J. E. Blanton P
Morris Bogdanow
Horace M. Bond P
Miss A. Bowden P
Stanley R. Brav P
James P. Brawley P
H. C. Brearley
Francis R. Bridges, Jr. P
Ralph P. Bridgman P
Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown P
Edward M. Brown P
Lee L. Brown
Merrill E. Brown
Louis E. Burnham P
Charles H. Bynum P
J. L. Clark
Edwin L. Clarke
Emily H. Clay P
Mrs. George C. Clement
Rufus E. Clement P
Charles Clingman
William E. Cole P
L. D. Collins
Donald Comer
Robert L. Cousins P
W. E. Coxhead
Mrs. James E. Crate
W. H. Crawford P
John E. Culmer
J. L. Cuninggim
Virginius Dabney P
Frank D. Daniel P
R. P. Daniel
V. E. Daniel
Colgate W. Darden, Jr.
M. S. Savage P
Don A. Davis
T. D. Davis
A. W. Dent P
J. C. Dixon
Witherspoon Dodge P
R. Edward Dowdy
L. C. Downing
O. D. Duncan
R. B. Eleazer P
Mrs. Edith G. Emerson
Mark Ethridge
Leo M. Favrot
Margaret Fisher P
E. Horace Fitchett P
L. H. Foster
E. G. Francis
G. Hamilton Francis
Fred C. Frey
Opal Futch P
S. Hughes Garvin
Mrs. Nathaniel Gist Gee
Mrs. Harry M. Gershon P
Gertrude Gerwertz
H. C. Goerner
Mrs. Marion E. Gonzales
H. D. Goode P

John Gowdy
F. P. Graham
John Granbery
Charles M. Gray
William H. Gray, Jr.
Mrs. F. H. Gray
K. W. Green
Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton P
Leonard Haas P
Carey Haigler
James E. Hanes
Gordon B. Hancock P
Mrs. Henry Havens P
Mrs. John M. Hanna
Mrs. A. A. Hardy
L. D. Haskew
D. Swan Haworth
F. C. Hayes
J. Lewis Henderson
W. C. Henson P
R. B. Herbert P
Mrs. Herman Heyman P
Mrs. William H. Hogue
John Hope II P
J. Sheldon Horsley
S. E. Howie
A. D. Huddleston
Mrs. G. W. Hummel
Roy E. Hyde
John W. Inzer
Luther P. Jackson P
W. C. Jackson
Louis I. Jaffe P
Annie Tait Jenkins P
Katharine Jocher
Howard E. Jensen
Charles S. Johnson P
Mrs. Guion G. Johnson P
Guy B. Johnson P
David D. Jones
Miss L. Carey Jones P
Mrs. Marian E. Jones P
Mrs. Louis Kaufman P
Paul B. Kern
L. R. Killam
Edward S. King
R. O'Hara Lanier
Mrs. G. W. Long P
Roswell Long
Frank McCallister P
James McClendon
Mrs. James McClendon
Edward A. McDowell P
O. E. McKaine
T. James McNamara P
Edward G. Mackay
Mrs. Edward G. Mackay
Kathleen Mallory
William H. Marmion
Mrs. E. B. Martin P
Mrs. Attwood R. Martin
David Marx P
Lucy R. Mason P
Walter J. Matherly
Benjamin E. Mays P
A. R. Mead
Mildred R. Mell P
Hubert L. Mills
L. D. Milton P
George S. Mitchell P
John W. Mitchell
Samuel C. Mitchell
Josiah Morse
Mrs. Audley Morton P
Jackson M. Mundy
Ernest E. Neal
* M. Mae Neptune P
H. C. Nixon
Howard W. Odum P
Gerald P. O'Hara
N. C. Newbold
Noel F. Parrish
Raymond R. Paty
Paul S. Peirce
A. M. Pennybacker
J. C. Perry P
E. C. Peters
J. Mitchell Pilcher
Mrs. C. B. Pittman P
John Garland Pollard, Jr.
E. M. Preston
D. R. Price
H. Quillian
D. Hiden Ramsey
Arthur Raper
Mrs. N. H. Ratliff
Florence M. Read P
Ira DeA. Reid P
Mrs. Lillian M. Rice
James L. Robb P
Harry W. Roberts P
G. D. Rogers P
J. Alvin Russell
R. L. Russell P
J. W. Seabrook
Leander J. Shaw
Charles A. Shaw
Philip E. Shulhafer P
Mrs. Philip E. Shulhafer P
Mrs. Andrew W. Simkins

*N. C. Newbold

T. Lynn Smith
C. C. Spaulding
Frank W. Spencer
Ludd M. Spivey
Thomas S. Staples
James R. Stein, Jr.
Mrs. J. Morgan Stevens
Mrs. E. W. Stewart P
Mrs. W. B. Suddeth P
Henry H. Sweets
Florence Sytz P
James T. Taylor
Mrs. M. E. Tilly P
L. M. Robin P
H. Councill Trenholm
H. L. Trigg
H. St. George Tucker
Mrs. W. A. Turner P
J. M. Tydings
J. King Vivion
Patterson Wardlaw
Henry T. Ware
Forrester B. Washington P
Kendall Weisiger
Carter Wesley P
John H. Wheeler
Goodrich C. White P
Walter W. Whitson
M. F. Whittaker
Josephine Wilkins P
F. C. Willcoxon
D. E. Williams
C. B. Wilmer
Mrs. Henry Wilson
John D. Wing
William Archer Wright, Jr.
Louise Young
P. B. Young

ARE1SO

Dr. Odum announced that the Board of Directors would meet immediately following the member meeting. He then addressed the members, reviewing the first year of the Council and pointing out certain problems of policy and strategy which confront us. (Address published in full in the December 1944 issue of THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER).

The registration and proxies were examined by the Secretary, who reported a quorum present.

On motion of Dr. Guy B. Johnson-

1. IT WAS VOTED to confirm the list of persons who have accepted the invitation of the Membership Committee to become members of the Council since the charter meeting.

On motion of Msgr. T. James McNamara-

2. IT WAS VOTED that the President be instructed to appoint a committee of three to examine the minutes of the charter meeting, February 16, 1944, and report whether or not they shall be approved.

The following committee was appointed: Msgr. T. James McNamara, Dr. A. W. Dent, and Mr. Carter Wesley.

The report of the Executive Directors was read by Dr. Johnson. (Published in pamphlet entitled Report of the Executive Directors, 1944).

On motion of Dr. N. C. Newbold, seconded by Mr. J. E. Blanton-

3. IT WAS VOTED that the report of the Executive Directors be accepted.

On motion of Dr. Johnson-

4. IT WAS VOTED that recommendations for amendments to the by-laws be gone into at this time.

Mr. Leonard Haas reported that the Board of Directors, on April 28, 1944, recommended that the following resolution be adopted:

> RESOLVED- That whereas the Board of Directors believes that it is in keeping with common practice and in the interest of efficiency for the Executive Directors to be members of the Executive Committee, it recommends to the members that the by-laws be amended as follows:
>
> That that part of Article V, Section 1, which reads:
>
> The Board of Directors shall provide for an Executive Committee of not more than seven (7) members in addition to the President and Vice Presidents, who shall be ex officio members, selected from the membership of the Board in such way as the Board may determine,
>
> be amended to read as follows:
>
> The Board of Directors shall provide for an Executive Committee of not more than seven (7) members in addition to the President and Vice Presidents, the Executive Director, and the Associate Executive Director, all of whom shall be ex officio members, selected from the membership of the Board in such way as the Board may determine.

The question of membership of the Executive Directors on the Executive Committee, in view of their being paid employees, was discussed. Dr. Dent called attention to the fact that the two Directors, along with the President and Vice Presidents, would be ex officio members, only. Dr. Goodrich White expressed the opinion that the elected officers of the Council should have a vote in the Executive Committee, but that the paid officers should not have the privilege of voting.

Dr. Dent moved that the resolution be adopted with the exception that it shall stipulate that the Executive Directors shall be ex officio members of the Executive Committee without the right to vote.

After careful consideration, and on motion of Dr. Dent-

5. IT WAS VOTED that the amendment be accepted.

On motion of Dr. White-

6. IT WAS VOTED that a special committee be appointed to review and reword the resolution concerning membership of the Executive Directors on the Executive Committee and to report back to the afternoon session. (See Vote #21)

Mr. Haas read the following additional recommendation of the Board of Directors for an amendment to the by-laws:

That that part of Article VI, Section 1, which reads:

The Executive Director and the Associate Executive Director need not be members at the time of their election, but, by virtue of their office shall become members of the corporation and of the Board with all the privileges of Board members, except that they may not be members of the Executive Committee of the Board,

be amended by striking out the words,

except that they may not be members of the Executive Committee of the Board.

In view of the previous amendment, authorizing the Executive Directors to have membership on the Executive Committee, without vote, it was agreed that this amendment to the by-laws would be unnecessary.

Mr. Haas reported that the Board of Directors, on April 28, recommended a further change in the by-laws, as follows:

That that part of Article V, Section 2, which reads,

A quorum of the Executive Committee shall be constituted of such number as may be determined by the Board of Directors but not fewer than four (4) members, exclusive of ex officio members, be amended to read,

A quorum of the Executive Committee shall consist of not less than six (6) members of the Committee.

After discussion and on motion of Mr. Frank A. McCallister-

7. IT WAS VOTED that the quorum be five (5), instead of six (6), and that this portion of the by-laws be amended to read:

A quorum of the Executive Committee shall consist of not less than five (5) members of the Committee.

ABE1.80

The following resolution was presented by Mr. Haas:

That the by-laws be amended by striking Article IV, Section 2, which reads,

After each meeting of members of the corporation at which a Board of Directors shall have been elected, the Board of Directors so elected shall meet as soon as practicable for the transaction of business, at such time and place as may be designated by the members of the corporation at such meeting. No notice of such first meeting shall be necessary if held as hereinbefore provided,

and by substituting therefor the following:

The Board of Directors shall meet immediately prior to each meeting of the members of the corporation and again following such meeting of the corporation, at such time and place as may be designated by the President.

8. IT WAS VOTED that this resolution be adopted.

Dr. Odum asked that the Committee on Public Relations serve as a Committee on Resolutions for this meeting, to report during the afternoon session.

Dr. Dent reported for the committee appointed to study the minutes of the Charter meeting and on his motion-

9. IT WAS VOTED that the minutes of the Charter meeting be approved.

The meeting adjourned for lunch, to reconvene at 2:30 P.M.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The afternoon session was called to order at 2:30 P. M. by Mr. Carter Wesley, Vice President. Mr. Wesley explained that since he had certain matters to present he preferred not to remain in the chair.

On motion of Dr. Witherspoon Dodge, therefore-

10. IT WAS VOTED that Mr. Francis R. Bridges be appointed to serve as Acting Chairman.

On motion of Miss Josephine Wilkins-

11. IT WAS VOTED that the reports of the Standing Committees, with the exception of the Membership Committee, be made to the Board of Directors immediately following this meeting.

ABE1SO

The report of the Membership Committee was read by Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Co-Chairman. The Committee offered the following suggestions:

1- That the function of the Membership Committee be that of planning ways of implementing the expansion of Council membership and of passing on applications for membership.

2- That the Council sponsor a membership campaign in which every member of the Council participates as an active recruiter.

3- That the membership dues remain at $1.00, but that contributions be requested of members.

4- That persons living outside the Council area who subscribe to the purposes of the Council and contribute $1.00 or more be accepted as associate members.

On motion of Mrs. Tilly-

12. IT WAS VOTED that the report be adopted.

On motion of Mr. Wesley-

13. IT WAS VOTED that the report be amended to include other names to be presented at this time.

On motion of Dr. Robb-

14. IT WAS VOTED that the members have the privilege of submitting to the Secretary the names of other persons to be added to the list to be elected at this meeting.

Mr. Blanton said that in view of the report of the Executive Directors he wanted to suggest that the annual dues be increased from $1.00 to $5.00. Dr. Johnson stated, however, that the recommendation of the Membership Committee concerning dues was agreeable to the Executive Directors and that he thought perhaps it would be advisable to leave the dues at $1.00 for the present and ask each member to make a contribution in addition.

In reporting for the Resolutions Committee, Mr. Virginius Dabney read the following general resolutions:

We believe that every effort must be made to prepare the people of the South for the returning Negro and white soldiers. The problems which are arising already as they come back from active

service or are demobilized into civilian life call for prompt and constructive action on local, state, and regional levels.

With a view to encouraging the returning Negro soldiers to have faith that the democratic principles for which they have fought are to be translated into reality, we recommend:

1- Employment of all persons on the basis of ability.

2- Abolition of the white primary where it exists.

3- Employment of Negro policemen and firemen in the Negro areas of all Southern cities and equal treatment of members of both races by the police and the courts.

4- Equalization of educational opportunity and of pay for teachers of both races.

5- Extension of publicly financed low cost housing.

6- Increased publicly financed medical and dental care available to both races on an equal basis.

Dr. Dodge expressed the opinion that, under Item 1, seniority rights of workers should be considered. After discussion and on his motion, therefore-

15. IT WAS VOTED that Item 1 be amended to read,

Employment of all persons on the basis of ability, with due regard for seniority rights.

Mr. Rogers asked whether it would be possible to add to the resolution a statement concerning travel. He called attention to the seriousness of the situation, particularly with reference to Negro soldiers, and said he wondered whether something might be said which would lessen the tension, especially on the busses.

Dr. Dent said that he thought we should not draw a line between transportation facilities for civilians and for military personnel. He recommended that a statement with reference to travel on public conveyances be added by the Committee.

In discussing Item 3, Dr. Dent spoke of the restrictive statement as to where Negro policemen and firemen should work and asked that this item be

re-worded. He said that, in a statement of policy which is southwide, he thought it was a mistake to "put the Negro leadership on the spot as a matter of removing the white leadership from the spot."

Dr. Alexander expressed the opinion that, since a number of Southern cities are already employing Negro policemen and firemen, it would strengthen our statement to call attention to this fact and to urge the "extension of the growing practice of employing Negro policemen and firemen in Southern cities and equal treatment of members of both races by the police and the courts."

Dr. Dent suggested that the following statement be included with reference to transportation on public conveyances:

> That equal accommodations for Negroes, as provided under the law, be actually provided on all public transportation facilities, and that discriminatory practices now common in travel be abolished.

Mr. McCallister said it seemed to him that the poll tax and all other restrictive practices should be included in this item.

Mr. Dabney reported that the Committee thought it would be wiser not to make this an all-inclusive statement at the present time.

Mr. Wesley expressed the opinion that an attack on the white primary was about as much as we should include at this time.

Dr. Alexander said that he had never been convinced that the poll tax is the most effective means of barring people from voting. It was his opinion that it was very much more important to get rid of the white primary than the poll tax.

Mrs. Havens supported this statement and called attention to the fact that Florida has no poll tax, but does have a white primary, "and the Negroes generally do not vote."

16. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted as amended, as follows:

We believe that every effort must be made to prepare the people of the South for the returning Negro and white soldiers. The problems which are arising already as they come back from active service or are demobilized into civilian life, call for prompt and constructive action on local, state, regional and national levels.

With a view to encouraging the returning Negro soldiers to have faith that the democratic principles for which they have fought are to be translated into reality, we recommend:

1- Employment of all persons on the basis of ability, with due regard for seniority rights.

2- Abolition of the white primary where it exists.

3- Extension of the growing practice of employing Negro policemen and firemen in Southern cities and equal treatment of members of both races by the police and the courts.

4- Equalization of educational opportunity and of pay for teachers of both races.

5- Extension of publicly financed low cost housing.

6- Increased publicly financed medical and dental care available to both races on an equal basis.

7- That equal accommodations for Negroes as provided under the law, be actually provided on all public transportation facilities, and that discriminatory practices now common in travel be abolished.

A resolution concerning Dr. Homer P. Rainey and the University of Texas was read by Mr. Dabney, as follows:

The Southern Regional Council wishes to protest the dismissal of Dr. Homer P. Rainey as President of the University of Texas. The Council believes this is a startling infringement of personal and academic freedom, and a severe blow to those Southern persons and agencies working for democratic rights.

The Southern Regional Council believes in Dr. Rainey because of his long and effective participation in progressive movements. It believes in him because of his close association with us in the formation of SRC which he now serves as Vice-President. The Council commends him for the stand he has taken, and applauds those Texas citizens and those students and faculty members at the University of Texas who gave him such unqualified support.

After discussion,

17. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

After discussion and on motion of Dr. Dent-

18. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be released to the press.

Dr. Daniel moved that Dr. Rainey's permission be secured before releasing the resolution to the press. The motion was defeated.

Mr. Dabney read a resolution on Education, which was presented to the Resolutions Committee by Mrs. Grace Hamilton, as follows:

ABE180

In the seventeen states and the District of Columbia which require separation of the races in their public school systems, continuing and substantial differences in the public schools for white and Negro children prevail despite requirements of educational statutes, that separate and uniform school facilities be established and maintained. These differences are reflected in the buildings and equipment, in the length of the school day, in the teacher-pupil loads, in the per-pupil expenditure, in the investments in public school property, and in teachers' salaries.

Recognizing the necessity and continuing obligation to establish equality of educational opportunity for all in order to further the establishment of a sound economy in the Southern region, and recognizing the opportunities inherent in the post-war plans for school improvements now developing in communities within these states, we accept the principles that:

1. There should exist and be available for Negro children the same types of educational opportunities as there are for white children.

2. The teacher-pupil ratio in Negro schools should be as low as that in schools for white children.

3. The length of the school day should be the same for the Negro child as it is for the white child.

4. The same types of physical accommodations and facilities in the public schools should exist and be available for Negro children as are available for white children.

We commend these principles for the consideration of all law-abiding citizens, and responsible school officials in Southern communities, and urge, in behalf of the common welfare, that action be taken to make these principles operative in all plans for public school improvements.

On motion of Mrs. Harry L. Gershon-

19. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

At the request of Mr. Bridges, Mr. Wesley took the Chair.

After presenting what he emphasized was first-hand information on the subject, Mr. Bridges offered the following resolution, commending the Governor of Florida, the judiciary, members of the State Department of Safety, and the State Guard for their handling of the case of three young Negroes who were alleged to have criminally assaulted a young white woman:

> RESOLVED, that the Southern Regional Council commends Governor Spessard L. Holland of Florida for his courageous handling of the situation developing recently in that State as the result of the criminal assault upon a white woman by three Negroes.
>
> Be it further resolved that the Southern Regional Council also commends the judiciary of the State of Florida for the fair manner in which the accused men were brought to justice, and the members of the Florida Department of Safety and the State Guard be commended for their handling of situations whereby the accused were protected from mob violence.
>
> Be it further resolved that copies of these resolutions be transmitted to Governor Holland, to the Hon. Jess Gilliam, Director of the State Department of Safety, to the justices of the Florida Supreme Court, to the Hon. Judge May Walker of the Leon County Circuit, to the Hon. Orion S. Parker, State Attorney, Tallahassee, and to Brig. Gen. Vivian B. Collins, St. Augustine, commanding officer of the State Guard.

Mr. Bridges moved the adoption of the resolution, and the motion was seconded by Dr. Jackson.

Disapproval of the resolution was voiced by a number of members. Dr. Johnson reported that the Executive Directors had kept in touch with the situation and had written the Governor of Florida, commending him for his prompt action in preventing the lynching of the accused men.

After discussion, a substitute motion was presented by Dr. Dent, as follows:

> That this Council concur in the action of the Executive Directors in commending the Governor of Florida.

Dr. Forrester B. Washington said that if the resolution concerning the Florida case is passed we should pass another one protesting the failure of the legal officials of an Alabama countyto bring to justice the six white

men who were alleged to be guilty of criminally attacking a young Negro soldier's wife.

Mr. Wesley ruled Dr. Washington out of order.

On motion of Dr. Dent-

20. IT WAS VOTED that the substitute resolution be adopted.

Mr. Bridges explained that he was thoroughly in support of the substitute motion of Dr. Dent. His only purpose in offering his resolution, he said, was that interracial affairs in Florida were considerably disturbed because of the attitude of certain persons concerning this affair, and it was his opinion that "the Southern Regional Council would do itself good by so asserting itself."

Mr. Bridges took the chair again.

Mr. Haas reminded the members that at the morning session Dr. White asked that a special committee review and rewrite the resolution on the amendment to the by-laws providing for membership of the Executive Directors on the Executive Committee, and that they report back to the afternoon session. Mr. Haas read the amendment to Article V, Section 1, as follows:

> The Board of Directors shall provide for an Executive Committee of not more than seven (7) members in addition to the President and three Vice Presidents; the Executive Director and the Associate Executive Director shall also be ex officio members of the Committee, but without the right to vote.

Miss Florence Read moved that the three Vice Presidents be omitted from membership on the Executive Committee, since it was her opinion that a smaller committee makes a better working group. This amendment was defeated.

21. IT WAS VOTED that the original motion be adopted.

Under the head of New Business, a resolution on Post-war Employment was offered by Mr. Louis E. Burnham, as follows:

ABE180

The Southern Regional Council realizes the importance of encouraging and planning for an effective program of full employment in every Southern community.

We, therefore, urge that such planning include the initiation and maintenance of an effective public employment service which within its ranks and among employers will promote the effective utilization of all workers in terms of their skills and training, without regard to their race, color, or creed.

We recommend that equal and effective opportunities for the technical and vocational training of Negroes be made available.

We recommend the creation of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee to promote the non-discriminatory use of manpower.

On motion of Mr. Burnham-

22. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

On motion of Dr. Washington-

23. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Directors be instructed to investigate the case in Alabama of the young Negro mother who was raped by six white men, and to take such steps as the facts justify to see that justice is done.

Mr. Wesley said that the new business which he wished to bring up was the question of whether the Southern Regional Council shall make a direct attack on segregation or whether we shall confine ourselves to working for equality under segregation as it exists. It was his opinion that, even though the Council might be accused of fostering segregation, we must be realistic if we are going to accomplish anything in the South. In the belief that the Council should center its attention on working for equality under segregation, rather than make a head-on attack, Mr. Wesley offered the following resolution:

Legal racial segregation exists in the South. We recognize this fact. We shall center our efforts on gaining equal facilities as provided by law and equal opportunities for all people of the South.

Dr. Hancock said that we have come up against the matter of segregation, but that we must face the fact that it was brought forward by those who

opposed us. It was his opinion that we should not attempt to appease those who have criticized us, but should pass up the question of segregation at this time. Dr. Hancock said that he was "interested in getting something done, rather than said."

Mr. McCallister said that he thought the Council was not yet ready to make a statement on segregation, but that he would like to propose that the executive officers launch a full-fledged study of segregation, instead.

Dr. Benjamin Mays and Dr. Washington both spoke in opposition to the resolution.

In opposing it, Mr. Burnham said that he voiced the sentiment of young Negroes in the South, since segregation is a system which distorts the opportunities of Negro youth.

Mr. Dabney expressed the opinion that this resolution was not an endorsement of segregation, but rather a statement that we realize that segregation exists. He said it was his firm view that segregation means discrimination, but he was confident that the Council would not be able to enlist the aid of a large body of Southerners whose support is needed unless we can reassure them that it is not our purpose to endeavor to do away with segregation. The foundations, he said, have been giving us money, but he is convinced that they will not continue to do so unless we can raise some money here in the South, and to do this we must enlist the support of a large number of influential people.

The following resolution was offered by Dr. Mays as a substitute:

> The Southern Regional Council opposes the principle and practice of segregation. We oppose segregation because it violates democratic processes, it violates Christian principles, it develops friction and ill will between the races, it makes for gross discrimination, since there is seldom if ever equality in segregation; but as long as legal segregation exists the Southern Regional Council shall work within the law to equalize all opportunities for Negroes within that framework as stated and implied in the laws of the several states.

ABE160

Mr. Wesley said that he thought Dr. Mays' statement voiced the sentiment of perhaps everyone present at the meeting, but not the sentiment of our purpose. No Negro here would endorse segregation, he said, but segregation is so embedded that we could not make any headway by a head-on attack on it. He advocated a statement on segregation, he told the members, because it would enable us to make a fair-minded attack on the inequalities and at the same time to enlist the aid of some people who support segregation.

Msgr. McNamara said he thought that we were "losing sight of the people whom we hope to help — the rank and file of the white and the rank and file of the black." He expressed the belief that "segregation will pass by the board once we have attained practical equality."

Dr. Odum spoke in opposition to both resolutions. He said that if we should adopt either resolution there was no assurance that the South would go along with us, and that in his opinion such a statement as Mr. Wesley recommended would imply that the Council has adopted a philosophy which commits us to segregation.

In speaking against the resolution, Miss Florence Sytz reminded the members that we have already adopted certain points in a platform that is an attack on some of the worst parts of segregation — transportation facilities, educational facilities, health facilities -- and that she would much rather "throw out the words and make no resolution about segregation."

On motion of Mr. R. B. Eleazer-

24. IT WAS VOTED that both resolutions be laid on the table.

Dr. Alexander said that he hoped nobody would go out of the meeting saying why anyone else had voted as he had. He was convinced, he said, that the Council in the long run must do something about segregation, but he was not sure that we know anything effective to do about it at this moment.

He expressed the opinion that a careful study of segregation should be made by the Executive Directors and that out of this might emerge something that the Council can do. So far as getting money is concerned, he said, we are going to have a hard time, but if this group can hold together with a little mutual confidence we will develop sufficient moral integrity to get us through financially.

Rabbi Stanley Brav offered a motion that we adopt the recommendation which Dr. Odum made in his address during the morning with reference to a closed conference to discuss segregation.

Mr. Wesley asked whether it was possible to close the discussion of segregation and then reopen it. He expressed the opinion that Rabbi Brav's motion was out of order.

Dr. Odum reminded the members that the Executive Directors had already been instructed to hold a conference on strategy and to proceed with a study of segregation.

Mr. Blanton asked that a rising vote of thanks be given to the President and the Executive Directors for the stimulating and encouraging reports which they gave during the morning.

On motion of Miss Wilkins-

25. IT WAS VOTED that the President of the Council appoint a committee of three to approve the minutes of this meeting.

On motion of Dr. Guy Johnson-

26. IT WAS VOTED that the nominations of new members received by the Secretary at this meeting be submitted to the Board of Directors for action.

All business having been completed, the meeting adjourned.

EMILY H. CLAY, SECRETARY

EHC:JTM

ABT150

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Board of Directors

The Board of Directors met in the Exhibition Room of the Atlanta University Library, Atlanta, Georgia, at 4:45 P.M., Wednesday, December 6, 1944, immediately following adjournment of the member meeting. The following were present:

Will W. Alexander, Horace Mann Bond, Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Louis E. Burnham, Virginius Dabney, A. W. Dent, Leonard Haas, Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton, Gordon B. Hancock, Mrs. Henry Havens, R. B. Herbert, Luther P. Jackson, T. James McNamara, Benjamin E. Mays, N. C. Newbold, James L. Robb, G. D. Rogers, Philip Shulhafer, Miss Florence Sytz, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Forrester B. Washington, Miss Josephine Wilkins, Howard W. Odum, Carter Wesley, Guy B. Johnson, Ira DeA. Reid, and Emily H. Clay, Secretary.

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman, Dr. Howard W. Odum, who appointed the following Committee on Nominations: Mrs. Henry Havens, Chairman, Horace M. Bond, Rufus E. Clement, Leonard Haas, Gordon B. Hancock, Luther P. Jackson, Benjamin E. Mays, T. James McNamara, and Josephine Wilkins.

In view of the late hour and the fact that several members of the Board must take early evening trains-

1. IT WAS VOTED that the Board of Directors adjourn, to be reconvened by the President at a convenient date to be agreed upon.

After discussion, it was agreed that the Board meeting shall be held in Atlanta on Wednesday, January 31, 1945.

The nominations of new members were presented to the Board. ~~(Secret-tachedy)~~

On motion of Dr. Johnson-

2. IT WAS VOTED that the persons nominated at the member meeting be declared elected to membership in the Southern Regional Council.

3. IT WAS VOTED that the recommendations of the Executive Directors be approved.

The meeting adjourned, to reconvene on January 31.

EMILY H. CLAY, SECRETARY

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Board of Directors

The meeting of the Board of Directors was called to order by Dr. P.B. Young, Vice Chairman, at 10:30 A.M., January 31, 1945, in the Exhibition Room of the Atlanta University Library, Atlanta, Georgia. The following members were present:

Howard W. Odum, Chairman

Will W. Alexander	George S. Mitchell
Mrs. Jessie D. Ames	N. C. Newbold
Horace M. Bond	F. D. Patterson
Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown	Edmund M. Preston
Wilson M. Brown	Ira De A. Reid
Rufus E. Clement	James L. Robb
A. W. Dent	G. D. Rogers
Clark Foreman	Philip E. Shulhafer
H. D. Goode	Miss Florence Sytz
Leonard Haas	Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton	Harold L. Trigg
Gordon B. Hancock	Forrester B. Washington
Mrs. Henry Havens	John H. Wheeler
Charles S. Johnson	Goodrich C. White
Guy B. Johnson	Miss Josephine Wilkins
E. A. McDowell	F. C. Willcoxon
T. James McNamara	P. B. Young
Benjamin E. Mays	

The opening prayer was offered by Dr. Edward A. McDowell.

The minutes of the meeting held on December 6, 1944, were read by the Secretary.

1. IT WAS VOTED that the minutes be adopted as read.

A brief report of the meeting of the Committee on Fellows, on December 5, 1944, was made by the Chairman, Dr. Forrester B. Washington. At that meeting the following Fellows were nominated: Charles Jones, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; John Ivey,Jr., Knoxville, Tennessee; Mrs. Annie Laurie McDonald, Hickory, North Carolina; Vernon Wharton, Millsaps College, Jackson, Mississippi; Ernest Neal, Dallas, Texas; W. H. Pipes, Southern University, Scotlandville, Louisiana; Captain Robert M. Hughes, Lawson General Hospital, Atlanta; and John

William Morgan, Georgia State College for Women, Milledgeville. It was agreed by the Committee, Dr. Washington said, that the staff of the Council should be requested to prepare a manual, giving a detailed description of the work of the Fellows. It was further agreed that an invited Fellow who is on leave of absence outside the region may be considered a resident of the region if he plans to return. In the event he has moved outside this area, however, the Committee agreed that he must be informed of the sections of the By-laws which require that "all members of the corporation shall be residents of this area" and that Fellows "shall, during the term of their fellowship, be members with all the rights and obligations of members, except that they shall be exempt from the payment of dues."

2. IT WAS VOTED that the report be adopted.

Dr. Hancock said that he was very much impressed with the list of Fellows selected. He noticed, however, that they were all from within our own region, and he wondered whether the Council was ready to draw from other regions, thus broadening our scope of activity and answering the charge that we are too provincial. It was the consensus that the Fellows should be selected from the area of the Council.

Mrs. Hamilton asked what was the basis for the selection of Fellows. Dr. Johnson explained that at a meeting of the Committee on Fellows last summer it was the general agreement that Fellows should be preferably people of the young or young middle-age group, but that no definite age limit was set; that they should have shown some talent for leadership in organization or research, or in public relations; that they should be selected to represent a variety of professions. He also called attention to the fact that Council members were expected to nominate Fellows to serve for a period of two years.

Dr. Washington called attention to the fact that the Fellows are not Fellows in the usual sense, but are "free, voluntary field workers who supply information and sometimes, perhaps, work on situations."

Dr. Johnson asked whether Board members would like to have copies of the memorandum sent to the Fellows, outlining ten or twelve different sorts of things they might do and requesting that each one check the things which he would be best able to do. It was the consensus that the Board should be provided with this memorandum.

ABELSO

In the absence of Mr. Virginius Dabney, Chairman, Dr. Johnson made a brief report for the Committee on Public Relations, which held its first meeting on December 5, 1944, with only three of its members present: Mr. Dabney, Mrs. Havens, and Mr. W. Y. Bell, Jr. The possibility of getting a person who would be suitable for public relations and publicity work was discussed. The members also discussed the demobilization of the Service men and the importance of doing something to impress on the public the necessity for post-war planning to take care of the demobilization problems. It was suggested, Dr. Johnson said, that the Council might sponsor a South-wide conference on the post-war period, bringing in some of the chiefs of police and other experts and trying to dramatize the problem as much as possible. Dr. Johnson reported that no formal action was taken at the meeting.

3. IT WAS VOTED that the report be accepted.

Dr. Bond told of a conference of land-grant college presidents among Negroes held in Chicago last fall, when a project aimed at the reintegration of Negro veterans into civilian life was authorized and the president of the conference was instructed to take steps to set up a series of regional conferences, as well as a series of state conferences, taking as a guide the conference held in Virginia recently under the direction of Dr. P. B. Young

and President L. H. Foster of the State College. Dr. Bond asked for the cooperation of the Council in this project.

Mr. Preston expressed the opinion that a question as important as this should be given a special place on the agenda. After discussion and on motion of Msgr. McNamara-

4. IT WAS VOTED that the Chairman be empowered to appoint a committee to bring in a report after lunch suggesting ways in which the Council might assist in carrying out the plans of the cooperating Negro educational institutions for the readjustment of Negro veterans.

The following committee was appointed: H. M. Bond, Chairman, Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Charles S. Johnson, Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton, Clark Foreman, George S. Mitchell, John H. Wheeler, Edmund M. Preston, and N. C. Newbold.

Dr. Johnson reported briefly for the Committee on Publications, stating that arrangements had been made for the preparation of several pamphlets during 1945.

Dr. Odum said that Dr. Alexander hoped to call a meeting of the Committee on Finance, of which he is Chairman, about the sixteenth of February, when he will be in Atlanta.

The report of the treasurer was read. (See attached.)

5. IT WAS VOTED that the report be accepted and filed.

Dr. Clement asked whether the Council has continuing appropriations from any of the foundations. Dr. Odum replied that the General Education Board appropriation is for a period of five years and that it is understood that the appropriation of the Julius Rosenwald Fund is a continuing appropriation. It was agreed that the Committee on Finance should make an effort to get assurance of continuing support from the Fund.

The report of the Committee on Nominations was read by the Chairman Mrs. Henry Havens, as follows:

President- Mark Ethridge
1st Vice President- P. B. Young
2nd Vice President- Homer P. Rainey
3rd Vice President- Carter Wesley
Secretary-Treasurer- Emily H. Clay
Executive Director- Guy B. Johnson
Associate Executive Director - Ira De A. Reid

For the vacancy on the Executive Committee-
Edmund M. Preston
For the Board of Directors-
Rt. Rev. Charles Clingman

The committee further suggests that the Board of Directors accept the resignation of Mr. Haas from the Executive Committee and that the counsel be made an ex officio member of the Committee.

The committee recommends, also, that Dr. Odum be made a member of the Executive Committee to fill the vacancy.

ABE189

Mrs. Havens was asked whether all the people nominated had agreed to accept the nominations. She replied that all with the exception of Mr. Ethridge had indicated that they would do so, and that it was understood that he would consider accepting the presidency.

After discussion, Dr. Dent moved that the Committee on Nominations be instructed to call Mr. Ethridge by long-distance telephone to find out, before electing him, whether or not he will accept the presidency. Mr. Preston suggested that it would be better first to have a vote on whether or not the Board wanted to invite him to become President.

The advisability of electing Mr. Ethridge, in view of his remarks concerning segregation at the FEPC hearings in Birmingham in 1942, was discussed. Dr. Bond stated that the Committee on Nominations, of which he was a member, was of the opinion that the remarks alleged to have been made by Mr. Ethridge in the Birmingham document "were not too serious an impediment to his elevation to the presidency of the Council."

Dr. Dent said that he would like to withdraw his previous motion and

have the Board vote first on the report of the Committee on Nominations.

Dr. Clement spoke in favor of the election of Mr. Ethridge, who in his opinion is "one of the most liberal of living Southerners," and said that his only concern was whether or not Mr. Ethridge would accept. Dr. Clement, therefore, made a motion-

> That the report of the Committee on Nominations be tabled until Mr. Ethridge can be consulted.

Dr. Charles S. Johnson expressed the opinion that the main point to be decided at present is whether or not the members of the Board want to elect Mr. Ethridge to the presidency. He said that he took occasion to read the transcript of the Birmingham hearings in which Mr. Ethridge's speech appeared and that he got a very different impression from that which was given by the published reports of the address - one that increased his respect for Mr. Ethridge. Dr. Johnson stated, also, that it was his belief that Mr. Ethridge was describing a situation and that the statement which he made was not his present or ultimate opinion concerning segregation.

Dr. Clement's motion was seconded by Dr. Patterson, and, after further discussion-

6. IT WAS VOTED that the report of the Committee on Nominations be tabled.

Dr. Clement said that he would like to propose a motion-

> That it would be the sense of this body that after a discussion of segregation, no matter what the decision, we would ask Mr. Ethridge to accept the presidency of the Council.

Dr. Foreman called attention to an article by Dr. Will W. Alexander, entitled "Our Conflicting Racial Policies," in the January Harper's magazine and made a motion-

> That the Board go on record as endorsing the article and that this statement be accepted as the Council's policy on segregation; further, that one hundred thousand reprints of the article be ordered and distributed.

The motion was seconded by Dr. Clement.

In the discussion which followed, Dr. Charles Johnson expressed approval of distributing the article, but said he thought it was somewhat irregular to adopt a magazine article as a policy of a body. He said, also, that at the present time he thought it was unnecessary and unwise to make a statement either for or against segregation and that he was opposed to any such statement.

ABE150

Dr. Mays said it was his opinion that the Council "should be known by its works," and that no statement should be issued on the subject of segregation.

After saying that he was in full agreement with Dr. Charles Johnson's statement, Dr. Clement offered a substitute motion-

> That we now have a vote on the question of whether or not Mr. Ethridge shall be invited to accept the presidency of the Council.

7. IT WAS VOTED that his motion be accepted.

Dr. McDowell offered an amendment-

> That we express it as the consensus of this body that Mr. Ethridge shall be chosen as the President of the Southern Regional Council if he is willing to accept election.

With the approval of Dr. Clement-

8. IT WAS VOTED that the amendment be accepted.

Dr. Young requested Dr. Odum to get in touch with Mr. Ethridge as quickly as possible.

The meeting adjourned for lunch.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The meeting reconvened at 2:30 P.M., with Dr. Young presiding.

Dr. Guy Johnson read the list of Honorary Fellows elected by the Committee on Fellows and reported that 29 had accepted to date, 3 had re-

fused, and 8 had not replied to the invitation. (See attached list.)

Dr. Johnson said that he and Dr. Reid had made an arrangement with a research specialist to prepare some data suitable for making a large display chart which will be printed. The chart will put emphasis on the South-its people, resources, and problems - and not on the race problem, he said, and will answer the criticism of some people that the Southern Regional Council is interested solely in race relations. Dr. Johnson asked the Board to consider the question of whether it would be wise for this Council to sponsor some sort of Southwide, post-war committee composed of fifty or sixty representatives of business, industry, and other interests, which might be the focal point at which this chart and any pamphlets or publicity that grow out of it might be disseminated.

After discussion and on motion of Mr. Rogers-

9. IT WAS VOTED that this Council be authorized to sponsor the formation of a South-wide, post-war committee to consider the general problems of the South.

In the discussion which followed, Dr. Johnson explained that it was thought that a prospectus or pamphlet based on the information contained in the chart would receive much more attention if it were sponsored by a South-wide committee of well-known people, regardless of whether they are connected with the Council.

A substitute motion was offered by Mrs. Hamilton-

That we approve the proposal of the Executive Directors that the information be made available in the form of a prospectus, and that the Executive Committee consider ways of setting up machinery to deal with it.

On motion of Dr. Goodrich White-

10. IT WAS VOTED that the whole matter be referred to the Executive Committee with the unanimous approval of the Board and with instructions that they take action on it.

At the suggestion of Mr. Wilson Brown and on motion of Mrs. Havens-

11. IT WAS VOTED that the report of the Committee on Nominations be brought before the Board for action.

Mrs. Havens reported that efforts had been made to get in touch with Mr. Ethridge, but that he was away from Louisville and could not be reached by telephone before Friday. In presenting the nominations, she asked that the report be accepted and that the Executive Committee be instructed to elect him if he accepts the nomination or, if he declines, that the full slate of officers continue as they stand at present.

ABE180

On motion of Mr. Brown-

12. IT WAS VOTED that the officers nominated, with the exception of the president, be elected; that Mr. Ethridge be advised that it is the wish of the Council that he accept the presidency; that the Executive Committee be instructed to elect him if he accepts the nomination, and if he declines that Dr. Odum be reelected to the presidency.

On motion of Dr. Clement, seconded by Dr. McDowell-

13. IT WAS VOTED that President Rufus B. Atwood, of Kentucky State College, Frankfort, be elected to the Board of Directors.

Dr. Johnson asked for a consideration of the suggested program for 1945, which was presented by the Executive Directors at the annual meeting and was referred to the Board of Directors for action. The program was outlined as follows:

1- The organization of state divisions of the Council.
2- A series of South-wide conferences.
3- A series of state-wide race relations institutes or forums.
4- A special visiting committee, which would seek private conferences with as many Southern governors as possible.
5- Establishment of a civil rights committee.
6- Youth work.
7- A study of police systems.
8- A study of segregation and discrimination.
9- A primary test case, if it appears that there is no case under way.

14. IT WAS VOTED that this be endorsed as the proposed program for 1945, subject to the limitations of budget and personnel.

Dr. Goode reported that a primary case in Pensacola, sponsored by the Citizens Committee, would be tried on February 2. It was suggested that the Executive Directors keep in touch with the progress of this case.

Dr. Johnson explained that it might be necessary, in consultation with the Executive Committee, to cut down on the program. He reported that on Item 2 we already have called two small meetings - on February 1, the heads of ten state interracial committees; on February 2, a small group of women to discuss a program of action for the prevention of lynching, riots, and other racial friction, especially in the post-war period. On Item 3, he said, the Executive Directors have helped to plan institutes of human relations for Georgia and Virginia. He stated that he and Dr. Reid were of the opinion that Items 6, 7, and 8 should have priority, and he asked Dr. Reid to present special memoranda which he had prepared on Youth Work and the Study of Segregation and Discrimination. (See attached memoranda.)

Dr. Hancock expressed appreciation for the memorandum on segregation, but said he wondered whether we should "dissipate our energies on finding out more about segregation, or whether with our limited resources it would be better to do something about the segregation we know about." It was his opinion that "what we need is to change these mores."

Dr. Charles Johnson spoke in support of the study of segregation, which he thought would be a means of educating people. He said, further, that "if we can calculate with some convincing accuracy the cost of segregation, where it works, where it doesn't work, where it is breaking down, it would be tremendously valuable, not simply to the student, but to the practical man of affairs who wants to know in terms of dollars and cents what next steps to take."

Mr. Preston expressed particular interest in the memorandum on Youth Work, but said that he hoped a way could be found to get the cooperation of young people without labeling them as "youth" and segregating them from the older group.

On motion of Dr. Foreman-

15. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Directors be directed to procure and circulate as many reprints of the Harper's article by Dr. Will W. Alexander as the Council's funds and the paper situation will permit.

The report of the Committee on Veterans' Assistance was read by Mrs. Hamilton. (See attached.)

16. IT WAS VOTED that the report be adopted.

At the request of Dr. Mitchell, Dr. Foreman spoke briefly of the plans of the Southern Conference for Human welfare, of which he is President, and expressed the hope that the two organizations might cooperate in working on Southern problems.

Dr. Guy Johnson reported that, as a result of the special request which was made of Council members recently, we now have approximately 500 nominations on file. He proposed that the Board authorize the election of all those persons who have been nominated and who accept the invitation to become members of the Council.

On motion of Mr. Wilson Brown-

17. IT WAS VOTED that all persons whose nominations are now on file be elected to membership in the Council upon acceptance of the invitation.

On motion of Dr. Odum-

18. IT WAS VOTED to adjourn at 4:45 P.M.

EMILY H. CLAY, SECRETARY

EHC:JTM

ABE150

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Report of the Treasurer
February 16 to December 31, 1944

RECEIPTS		
Funds and Foundations		$ 29,600.00
Church Boards		1,425.00
Membership Dues and Contributions		1,320.50
The Southern Frontier - Subscriptions		382.00
Mailing List - Subscriptions		179.00
Non-member Contributions		71.00
Miscellaneous - Literature		1,668.81
Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.		
Cash in Bank		194.00
Postage Account		8.69
TOTAL RECEIPTS		$ 34,849.00
DISBURSEMENTS		
Salaries	$ 19,127.93	
Travel Expense	3,920.75	
General and Administrative Expense	10,624.71	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS		33,673.39
		$ 1,175.61
Less:		
Balance in Postage Account, Dec. 31	40.23	
Balance in Air Script Account, Dec. 31	144.39	184.62
BALANCE IN BANK, DECEMBER 31, 1944		$ 990.99

HONORARY FELLOWS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

January 31, 1945

William Y. Bell, Jr.
Room 4, 158 Auburn Avenue, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Miss T. Ruth Brett
Box 76, Whittier Hall
1230 Amsterdam Avenue
New York 27, New York

J. H. Daves
409 Bankers' Trust Building
TVA Knoxville, Tennessee

Miss Dorothy Dickins
Mississippi Experiment Station
State College, Mississippi

The Rev. Jerome A. Drolet
St. Matthias Church
3924 General Taylor Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

S. E. Duncan
Washington High School
Reidsville, North Carolina

Merl Eppse
Tennessee A. & T. College
Nashville 8, Tennessee

John R. Ewbank
Philander Smith College
Little Rock, Arkansas

E. Horace Fitchett
Claflin College
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Margaret Fletcher
St. Mary's House
930 Walker Avenue
Greensboro, N. C.

John Hope Franklin
North Carolina College
Durham, North Carolina

Miss Eva L. Frazer
121 East South Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Charles G. Gomillion
Box 31
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Miss Josephine Hamilton
Chattanooga High School
East Third Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Captain Robert M. Hughes
Lawson General Hospital
Atlanta, Georgia

R. E. Jones
A. & T. College, Box 68
Greensboro, N. C.

Howard Kester
Frogmore Post Office
St. Helena Island, S. C.

Roscoe E. Lewis
Box 101
Hampton Institute, Virginia

Miss Flemmie Kittrell
Home Economics Department
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Mrs. Annie Laurie McDonald
315 Pittsboro Street
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Miss Mildred Mell
344 Kirk Road
Decatur, Georgia

W. H. Pipes
P. O. Box 71, Southern University
Scotlandville, Louisiana

John F. Potts
Chief Specialists (R) USNR
1410 Pine Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Charles A. Ray
Box 628, North Carolina College
Durham, North Carolina

AB5189

Harry W. Roberts
Virginia State College
Ettrick, Virginia

Allyn Robinson, Jr.
The United Church
Raleigh, North Carolina

Asa T. Spaulding
North Carolina Mutual Life Ins. Co.
Durham, North Carolina

Lt. Vernon Wharton, USNR
1617 Foucher Street
New Orleans 15, Louisiana

G. D. Wilson
3344 Grand Avenue
Louisville, Kentucky

The Following Have Declined Honorary Fellowships

Mrs. Frederick Bolman
Randolph Macon College
Lynchburg, Virginia

John Ivey
Committee on Southern Regional
Studies and Education
Knoxville, Tennessee

Robert H. Sutherland
University of Texas
Austin, Texas

The Following Have Not Been Heard From

Charles Jones
Presbyterian Church
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

G. E. Jones
Shaw University
Raleigh, North Carolina

R. W. Mance
Columbia, South Carolina

John W. Morgan
Professor of Social Science
Georgia State College for Women
Milledgeville, Georgia

H. I. Fontellio Nanton
State Board of Health
Raleigh, North Carolina

Ernest Neal
Specialist in Race Relations
Southwestern Office, OPA
Dallas, Texas

George Snowden
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Stephen Wright
North Carolina College
Durham, North Carolina

ABE150

PROPOSED YOUTH SERVICE SECTION
of
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

PURPOSE - To stimulate, initiate and service group consideration and action among young people of the South, particularly college and church groups, the social and economic problems of the South, placing special emphasis upon

1 - Promoting a desire for understanding and discussing these problems, and

2 - Developing a socially constructive point of view with reference to their amelioration -- all within the Southern Regional Council's special fields of interest.

ORGANIZATION - Eventually it is hoped to have a Youth Service Secretary and an assistant or associate Secretary on the Southern Regional Council staff. Since it is desirable to undertake this program immediately, it is recommended that the work be initiated as follows:

I - Select 2 Fellows, one white, one colored, in each state to serve as organizers of the Youth Service Section in those areas;

II- Have these Fellows prepare lists of youth organizations and their leaders

1. On the various college campuses

2. In the larger church organizations of the larger communities

3. Such state or city-wide organizations of youth as may exist.

Have these lists submitted to Southern Regional Council.

III- Have literature on the South especially designed for these groups prepared for distribution and discussion in these various groups. Send, for example, the UNC Memorandum on Negroes -- preparing a brief list of questions to accompany it. Also, prepare -- or have prepared other memoranda for discussion and distribution.

IV- Prepare a discussion or action memorandum for these groups as the basis for informal or formal meetings.

V - Prepare an itinerary for Fellows and/or other SRC representatives to discuss The South: Its Problems and Potentialities (or some kindred subject) at specially designed talk-fests.

VI- Arrange a program of volunteer experience where these students may serve some cause in their home community, as a proving ground

for testing their interests and abilities, and as a means for testing what may and may not be done with success.

The promotion of such a program might be based upon a 5 months' budget of $1,200.00 to be expended as follows:

Services and expenses of 26 Fellows in 13 states	@ $25.00 each	$ 630.00
Literature		250.00
Promotion and Visits of SRC Staff Members		200.00
Incidentals		120.00
		$1200.00

RACIAL SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION IN THE SOUTH

The general theories underlying this study are three: first, that in theory segregation is the antithesis of democracy, and in practice means the limitation, and at times abrogation of basic citizenship rights; second, that acceptance of the principle of segregation or of established segregation is not only wrong but impolitic and inexpedient; and, third, that there is an immediate need for ignoring most of the rationalizations regarding segregation and to work out definite techniques and programs for immediate practice.

The purpose of this study, therefore, may be stated, to explore the ways and means of segregation and legalized discrimination in the South, in other words, how they work, and to devise therefrom techniques for promoting both the theory and the structure of equality under the law.

The study would be designed to show how segregation works, what people believe about segregation, and what can be done about its patterns and practices.

In its entirety the study should be completed within two years, although sub-portions of it should be available for study and action at intervals of six months' periods following the study's inception.

It is recommended that the Southern Regional Council set up a subdivision of its organization to be known as the Segregation Research Committee, to be composed of selected representatives from research groups and educational institutions, white and colored, to supervise the initiation and conduct of the study for the Southern Regional Council. This Committee will have a paid secretariat, and will be held responsible for the successful promotion of a program for understanding and recommending action regarding its findings.

It is recommended that a budget of $68,600 to be allocated for the two year study, $15,000 of which shall be appropriated by the Southern Regional Council, and $53,600 to be secured from other sources.

It is recommended that the study be conducted by the Southern Regional Council, the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina, and the Department of Social Sciences of Fisk University with the assistance of Fellows of the Southern Regional Council. The responsibility for action on any phase of the study and the publication authority shall belong to the Southern Regional Council. Fellows of the Southern Regional Council shall assist in the furtherance of the study.

ABE 180

TENTATIVE BUDGET

Director - 2 years	@ $6,500	$13,000
Editorial Assistant - 2 years	@ 4,500	9,000
3 Research Assistants - 1½ years	@ 2,400	10,600
3 Stenographer Clerks - 2 years	@ 1,800	10,800
20 Fellows for special employments averaging, for expenses and honoraria	@ 500	10,000
Meetings and promotion		2,000
Travel - (other than Fellows)		5,000
Publications		5,000
Office expenses and supplies		2,000
Contingency		1,200
		$68,600

REPORT OF THE
COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' ASSISTANCE
January 31, 1945

It is recommended that-

1. The Southern Regional Council cooperate in the organization and establishment of state-wide efforts to integrate the returning veteran, and to give particular attention to the needs of the Negro veteran.

2. That a committee be appointed to report to the executive committee on specific ways of cooperation with the plans of the cooperating Negro education institutions and to give particular attention to-

   a. Tension in places to which veterans are returning.
   b. Using the Council's influence, aggressively, to open new employment opportunities.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting

The Executive Committee met in the Council's conference room on Wednesday, February 28, 1945, beginning at 10:30 A. M. Those present were Rufus E. Clement, Edmund M. Preston, Josephine Wilkins, Guy B. Johnson, Ira DeA. Reid, and Rosa Lee Jay, Acting Secretary.

Dr. Johnson opened the meeting by raising the question as to whether the two Executive Directors could be counted for purposes of a quorum. At Mr. Preston's request, the amendments to the by-laws concerning membership and quorum of the Executive Committee were read. According to the by-laws the Executive Directors are members of the Committee without vote, and a quorum consists of any five members of the Committee. Mr. Preston expressed the legal opinion that in the absence of any provision to the contrary, the Executive Directors might be counted toward a quorum.

On motion of Dr. Reid-

1. IT WAS VOTED that those present constitute a quorum.

Dr. Johnson pointed out the necessity of selecting a chairman for the meeting on account of the absence of Dr. Charles S. Johnson, and also suggested the importance of electing a vice-chairman of the Committee. The latter suggestion was postponed until such time as there is a fuller attendance of the Executive Committee.

On motion of Mr. Preston-

2. IT WAS VOTED that Miss Wilkins be elected chairman of this meeting.

Dr. Reid read the minutes of the last meeting of the Committee and on his motion-

3. IT WAS VOTED that the minutes be approved as read.

Since there were no minutes of the January informal meeting of the local members of the Executive Committee, Dr. Johnson reviewed the discussion which took place at the meeting. It was agreed that in the future minutes for such informal meetings should be taken and copies distributed to the members of the Committee.

ABE150

Dr. Johnson reported that Mr. Mark Ethridge was unable to accept the offer of the Council presidency and that Dr. Odum was, therefore, reelected for the year 1944-45 in accordance with instructions of the Board of Directors on January 31. He reported, also, that Mr. Ethridge had wired the Council on the day before the meeting of the Board to the effect that he would not be able to accept the presidency, because of the pressure of work in the absence of Mr. Barry Bingham, Publisher of the Louisville Courier Journal, but that the telegram did not reach the Council office until after the meeting of the Board.

On motion of Dr. Clement-

4. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Director should write Mr. Ethridge in behalf of the Executive Committee, expressing regret that he could not accept the presidency and appreciation for his continuing interest in the Council.

On motion of Dr. Clement-

5. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Director be requested to write Dr. Odum in behalf of the Executive Committee, expressing appreciation for his willingness to continue in office and confidence in his leadership.

In reviewing his negotiations with a minister of Wilmington, North Carolina, who was interested in joining the Council staff as a field worker, Dr. Johnson said that a salary of $5100 a year had been offered, but that since this was less than the man's present salary he had asked whether a living allowance of $75 a month could be made. After discussion, it was agreed that the Executive Committee did not look with favor on the policy of making such additional allowances.

Negotiations were being carried on with Dean J. T. Taylor, of North Carolina College for Negroes, Dr. Johnson said, and Claude Nelson, Jr., of Atlanta, was being considered for editorial and publicity work. The qualifications of these men were discussed, and final action was left to the discretion of the Executive Directors.

Dr. Johnson told of two meetings called by the Council: the state interracial committee heads at the Council headquarters on February 1, and a group of church women at the Piedmont Hotel on February 2 to discuss post-war conditions.

Dr. Johnson mentioned three pamphlets which are now being prepared for the Council: one by Rupert Vance of the University of North Carolina on the Southern people; one by Dorothy Dickins of the Mississippi Agricultural Experiment Station on health, and one by Stetson Kennedy on suffrage. Dr. Johnson reported, also, that the Commission pamphlet "Understanding Our Neighbors" was in the process of revision by the Council.

A report of the research which is being done by Mr. Lawrence Drake for a graphic presentation of the human and economic resources of the South was made by Dr. Johnson, who said that the subject would be dealt with at a conference sponsored by the Council on April 11-12 in Atlanta.

Dr. Johnson said that after the members at the annual meeting had instructed the Executive Directors to investigate the case of Mrs. Recy Taylor he wrote Governor Sparks, and that he had had confidential reports from Alabama members. It was found that action was being taken in Alabama. After discussion-

6. IT WAS VOTED that a statement of the facts of the case be prepared by the Directors for presentation to the Executive Committee.

It was reported that an Institute of Race Relations was being planned for April 11-12-13, sponsored jointly by the Southern Regional Council and the American Missionary Association.

A preliminary schedule designed to poll the membership of the Southern Regional Council on the question of segregation was submitted to the Council by Dr. Reid. After discussing this memorandum at length, the Committee suggested that it be discussed more fully by Dr. Odum, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, and the Executive Directors.

ABE160

Dr. Reid reported that a meeting of representatives from the colleges in the Atlanta area, to discuss what can be done on college campuses and how the Council can help with such a program, was scheduled for March 9.

Memoranda on the Program on Veterans and Post War Attitudes were distributed. In the discussion, it was reported that the planning committee was attempting to arrange a conference with Governor Arnall on this subject.

The meeting adjourned at 1 P. M.

Rosa Lee Jay, Acting Secretary

RLJ:JTM

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Executive Committee

The Executive Committee met in the Council's conference room on Friday, May 25, 1945, beginning at 10:30 A.M. Dr. Charles Johnson, Msgr. T. James McNamara, Dr. Howard W. Odum, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Miss Josephine Wilkins, Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, and Dr. Guy Johnson were present. Dr. Charles Johnson, Chairman, presided.

The meeting was opened with prayer by Msgr. McNamara.

After the roll call, Dr. Guy Johnson reported that he had received letters of regret from Dr. Homer Rainey, Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, Mr. Carter Wesley, and Mr. P. B. Young. Mr. Leonard Haas had expected to be present but was unable to attend on account of illness.

The minutes of the previous meeting, February 28, were read and upon motion of Msgr. McNamara-

1. IT WAS VOTED that the minutes be adopted as read.

Since there was some doubt as to whether those present at the meeting of February 28 constituted a quorum, on motion of Miss Wilkins-

2. IT WAS VOTED that the action taken at the meeting of February 28 be ratified and become the official action of the Executive Committee.

Dr. Guy Johnson raised the question as to whether under the by-laws the Executive Directors could make motions since they have no vote in the Committee. After some discussion, it was the consensus of opinion that the Executive Directors could make motions. Dr. Clement suggested that a ruling be gotten on this from Mr. Haas.

Dr. Guy Johnson expressed concern over the difficulty of getting the

Executive Committee together. He recognized the fact that all members of the Committee were busy people and some lived a long distance away. However, bi-monthly dates had been set and the members had been notified of these dates well in advance, and attendance was still not good. The February meeting was of doubtful legality, because only five were present including the Executive Directors. The meeting in April had to be postponed because it was impossible to get a quorum. The present meeting, which is approximately a month late, has thrown the meetings off schedule. After some discussion, it was decided that the next meeting would be held on the next regular set date, which would be Wednesday, June 27.

Miss Wilkins stated that she felt that notice of the February 28 meeting was not sent far enough in advance; that she received notice only one week before the date of the meeting. Dr. Guy Johnson asked that the letter of notice for that meeting be brought from the Executive Committee file. This was done and it was shown that the letter of notice was mailed on February 16.

Dr. Guy Johnson raised the question of filling the vacancy on the Executive Committee caused by the death of Mr. Preston. After due consideration and on motion of Msgr. McNamara-

3. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee recommend to the Board of Directors that Mr. Charles Gillman be elected to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Preston and that the Board of Directors be polled by mail.

Dr. Guy Johnson presented a list of the membership of the Board of Directors which, according to the by-laws, had been divided by lot and placed in terms. Eight members have been elected since the election of the original Board. Dr. Johnson asked whether these should fill the six vacancies now on the Board or serve full four-year terms. After discussion and on motion of

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Dr. Clement-

4. IT WAS VOTED that they be taken alphabetically and placed in the vacancies in the order of their appearance and the remainder serve a four-year term.

The Executive Director reported as follows on personnel:

Mr. A. C. Robinson, who has been connected with the FSA, came on in January and will work until July 1. He has made an informal survey of the use of Negro labor in the textile industries in Georgia. His findings were shown informally to several government agencies in Washington. Mr. Robinson has also done some investigating involving civil rights, and he is organizing some work that will enable us to use the Council Fellows more effectively.

Mrs. Henry Havens, of Jacksonville, Florida, is working with the State Committees along the Seaboard and with church women's groups. She is also looking into the police situation in Florida, especially Ft. Lauderdale where there has been considerable trouble.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly is doing similar work with Georgia and westward with State Committees and church women. She is helping us look into a case in DeKalb and Gwinnett counties involving the rape of a colored woman.

The Council is getting part-time service of Dr. Hardin Hughes who is working with Dr. Charles Johnson at Fisk and who will be in Atlanta this summer. He is a good compiler and writer, and he has already submitted a pamphlet manuscript on "The Economic Value of the Negro to the South."

Mrs. Jay, of the secretarial staff, has had to resign on account of her health. This is a vacancy that must be filled as soon as possible.

Mr. James T. Taylor of Durham, North Carolina, seemed anxious to work with us, but he was unwilling to move his residence, and so negotiations with him have come to an end.

Miss Wilkins reported that she had been quite favorably impressed with Mr. Mattison, who is Director of the Community Chest in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Dr. Reid Suggested that the possibilities of getting Mr. Mattison on the staff be explored. On motion of Dr. Odum-

5. IT WAS VOTED that the Directors be instructed to investigate Mr. Mattison and report at the June meeting.

The name of Mr. James Slade was also mentioned as a possible staff member, but no action was taken.

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In discussing personnel, Dr. Reid reminded the Committee that his resignation which had already been submitted would become effective in June. At the request of Dr. Odum, Dr. Reid will continue as Associate Director until the meeting on June 27.

Dr. Charles Johnson spoke at some length on several matters. He expressed concern over the problem of continued financial support from the Rosenwald Fund, particularly in view of the growth of other organizations which are, in a sense, competing with the Council. He thought that it was important to move more actively in one or more current areas of vital concern to the South and to obtain adequate personnel for the task. One such current issue, he said, is the whole matter of veterans, the administration of the GI Bill in the South, and the dangers of race conflict which are imminent. He stated that funds for this type of work are obtainable if a suitable person can be found to put over a special program. He suggested that Dr. George Mitchell, now with PAC, might soon be available and that he would be a good person to promote a veteran's program.

There was discussion of these matters, and it was agreed that Dr. Mitchell should be approached. Some concern was expressed over meeting Dr. Mitchell's salary, but Dr. Charles Johnson said that he was reasonably

certain that funds would be available to meet the salary if Dr. Mitchell, or some person like him, were available. Dr. Odum expressed agreement, and stated that if the salary exceeds the present Council scale the salaries of the Executive Directors should be increased accordingly. As Dr. Mitchell was in Atlanta, he was called to the Council offices.

In the meantime, Dr. Guy Johnson reported on the Lawrence Drake project. Mr. Drake began work in January on a special contract basis to compile some data on the economic outlook of the South and to prepare a chart on this subject to be printed in colors. He also helped to secure speakers for the Conference on the South's Post War Economy. The talks given at this Conference are being published in a 9 X 12 booklet. Dr. Johnson called attention to the chart and pointed out that due to poor judgment in planning its size and color composition its reproduction is a complicated problem. He stated that unless there was objection the arrangement with Mr. Drake would be concluded and the Executive Directors would assume responsibility for working out the reproduction of the chart.

Dr. George Mitchell came in, and Dr. Odum outlined a plan for doing constructive work in the field of veterans' service, particularly Negro veterans.

Dr. Mitchell expressed great interest in the proposal, and there was further discussion of what the work would involve. He left the room, and after some discussion and on motion of Dr. Odum-

6. IT WAS VOTED that we offer Dr. George Mitchell $7,500 a year and moving expenses.

The Executive Directors were excused from the room, and after discussion and on motion of Dr. Odum-

7. IT WAS VOTED that the salary of the Executive Director be made $7500 and the Associate Director $3500 on a part-time basis.

Miss Wilkins brought up recommendations acted on at the annual meeting of SRC in regard to a permanent organization of FEPC and the fact that the National Council for a Permanent FEPC is now organizing groups over the South to promote legislation now pending in Congress. She thought the Council should urge its members to affiliate with the groups now being organized in the South.

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Dr. Clement stated that it was his impression that the resolution had been published in the press and in THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER, so that members were already familiar with the endorsement of the principle of a permanent FEPC, but that it would be in order to call their attention to the matter again.

After some discussion and on motion of Miss Wilkins-

8. IT WAS VOTED that we call to the attention of the members of the Council the action taken in regard to FEPC at the annual meeting in December and suggest that, since the National Council for a Permanent FEPC is now setting up local committees, this will give them an opportunity to implement their interest.

Dr. Reid asked for instructions regarding the segregation study. After some discussion and on motion of Dr. Odum-

9. IT WAS VOTED that Dr. Reid be instructed to do whatever he and Dr. Johnson and finances would permit to make a study of segregation in transportation, and to make a preliminary report at the next annual meeting.

Dr. Guy Johnson reported progress on two cases in which SRC is interested. One involves the redemption of the property of a Negro who was about to be cheated out of it, the other the false arrest of a 16-year-old white boy for vagrancy.

Dr. Johnson reported on a conference which five Council members had with Governor Arnall in May. A memorandum on post-war tensions and their pre-

vention was presented to the Governor. Although the Governor's immediate reaction was not wholly favorable, it was felt that the discussion made a definite impression upon him. Dr. Johnson said the Council was planning to arrange similar conferences with other Southern Governors.

Dr. Johnson presented a tentative manuscript for a leaflet on post-war tensions as an outgrowth of the Conference of Church Women sponsored by the Council in February. He asked for suggestions from the Committee before its publication.

Dr. Reid reported that the youth group with which he had been working agreed to send out an appeal to all schools of the South to get students actively interested in social problems of this Region. The Council will sponsor two youth scholarships for institutes this summer, he said.

In reporting on the case of an assault on a Negro woman by several white boys at Abbeville, Alabama, Dr. Johnson said the May issue of THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER would carry the report of an investigation which was made on behalf of the Council by Mrs. Eleanor Nichols, the wife of a Methodist minister at Georgiana, Alabama.

Dr. Johnson made the following report on publications:

UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS has been revised and is being reprinted because of the heavy demand for it.

Mr. Stetson Kennedy has nearly completed the manuscript on suffrage, and this will be printed soon.

Miss Dorothy Dickins has sent her revised manuscript on health problems in the South, and this will make an excellent publication.

The addresses of the speakers at the Conference on the South's Post War Economy are being printed.

Reprints of Dr. Alexander's article "Our Conflicting Racial Policies," which appeared in Harpers' in January 1945, are being distributed, according to instructions given at the annual meeting in December.

Dr. Johnson said he is trying to work out a method of approach to police problems in the South. Mr. Theo Hall of Illinois has promised to help work on this sometime in the late summer or early fall. Mrs. Havens is trying to pave the way with some of the better sheriffs and police chiefs in Florida. It is hoped that a one- or two-day conference on police and race relations can be held in Atlanta in the early fall. More contacts with police officers are needed and some literature should be developed which could be put into the hands of the police.

A financial statement was read by Dr. Johnson and was discussed.

On motion of Dr. Odum, the Committee adjourned at 2 P. M.

Arlene R. Parks
Acting Secretary

ARP:JTM

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Executive Committee

The regular bi-monthly meeting of the Executive Committee was held in the Council Conference Room on Wednesday June 27, 1945. The meeting was called to order at 10:45 A.M. by Dr. Guy B. Johnson, who said that the Chairman, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, had planned to be present but was unable to do so because of illness. The following were present: Rufus E. Clement, Leonard Haas, Gordon B. Hancock, T. James McNamara, Josephine Wilkins, Guy B. Johnson, and Emily H. Clay, Secretary.

Dr. Johnson reported that Dr. Reid was unable to attend the meeting, as he was delayed in getting transportation from Seattle, Washington, where he had been attending a conference. He reported, further, that all other absent members of the Committee had expressed regret because of their inability to be present.

Mr. Haas was elected temporary chairman.

It was decided to dispense with the reading of the minutes of the May 25 meeting, inasmuch as copies were mailed to all members. Miss Wilkins asked, however, that the portion of the minutes referring to notice of meetings be changed to read: "Miss Wilkins stated that since committee meetings involve southwide attendance she felt that insufficient advance notice of meetings is being given. She cited as an example the February 28 meeting, notice of which she received only a week in advance." Dr. Johnson stated that he was sure that the notices of the February 28 meeting were mailed on February 16, since a reply dated February 17 was received from one of the local members of the Committee.

On motion of Msgr. McNamara, seconded by Dr. Clement-

1. IT WAS VOTED that the minutes be adopted with this correction.

With reference to personnel, Dr. Johnson reported that Dr. George Mitchell had accepted the position offered to him at the time of the May meeting and that he began work on June 18. Dr. Mitchell regretted, Dr. Johnson said, that he could not attend this meeting because of an engagement in Bridgeport, Connecticut, where he had gone to look over a veterans' center which is being set up in that city.

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Dr. Johnson reported that Mrs. Anna Warwick, who was Dr. Mitchell's secretary in PAC, had begun work with the Council. He also told of other additions to the staff: Miss Margaret Price, who will begin work on July 1, and Mrs. Inez Tillison, who will come to us on August 1. Miss Price, a Mississippian who recently received her Master's degree at the University of North Carolina, will be a research assistant and will work with Dr. Reid on the segregation study. Mrs. Tillison, who is now with the Atlanta Social Planning Council, will do secretarial work and supervise the stenographic staff. She will also organize our books and pamphlet material. Dr. Johnson said that he planned to go to Knoxville later in the week to interview a young man at TVA about doing our editorial and publicity work.

The matter of an Associate Executive Director is still unsettled, Dr. Johnson stated. He told the committee that he had been interested in trying to work out an arrangement with Mr. W. Y. Bell, Jr., who is head of the Southern office of the National Urban League, with headquarters in Atlanta. The only possibility at the present time, however, would be to have an understanding with the Urban League which would enable Mr. Bell to divide his time between the Southern Regional Council and his present position, with the understanding that he would come on a full-time basis eventually. In the discussion which followed, Dr. Clement offered to talk with Mr. Granger of the Urban League about this when he is in New York in July. Dr. Johnson said he would be glad to have him do so.

With reference to the State interracial committees, Dr. Johnson said that he had recently attended a two-day meeting of the Texas Interracial Committee, at Fort Worth, at which time the committee voted to affiliate with the SRC and to take whatever steps are necessary to become a state division of SRC as soon as possible. Dr. Johnson said that he had promised to return to Texas later in the summer to assist the committee in completing their plans.

Dr. Johnson reported that he and Mrs. Tilly went to Louisville, Kentucky, on June 16 to meet with the Executive Board of the Kentucky Interracial Council, who voted to affiliate with the SRC. Mrs. Havens was attending a meeting of the South Carolina Executive Board in Columbia to advise with the members concerning cooperation with SRC. The committee has already voted to become the South Carolina Committee of the Southern Regional Council, Dr. Johnson said. He also reported that we are conferring with Virginia and North Carolina with the idea of working out their affiliation with the SRC, and he expressed the hope that all ten of the existing state committees would be affiliated and working more closely with us by the time of the annual meeting in the fall.

Dr. Johnson told the Committee of the effort which we are making to collect information on the use of Negro police and the reactions of police chiefs and others to the use of Negroes on the police forces in Southern cities. A research on police training and administration in the South is being planned, he said, to be supervised by a group of university people. It is hoped that this will be financed by the General Education Board, who have indicated their willingness to make a special grant for important research projects which will be done through the universities. Dr. Johnson asked that the Committee authorize him to request a grant from the GEB when the plans have matured and, on motion of Dr. Hancock, seconded by Dr. Clement-

2. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Director be authorized to approach the General Education Board about funds for a research project on police.

Dr. Johnson told of a conference that a committee of which he was a member had recently with Mayor Hartsfield of Atlanta regarding the use of Negroes on the city police force. It was suggested, also, that a group from the Fulton-DeKalb Interracial Committee be asked to have a similar conference with Mr. Roy LeCraw, who will oppose Mr. Hartsfield in the coming campaign for the office of Mayor of Atlanta.

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New Council publications which Dr. Johnson said are just off the press, or soon will be, are: (1) A revised edition of UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS, a former publication of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation; (2) AFTER THE WAR, a leaflet prepared at the request of the Council's Conference of Church Women for use in aiding the returning veterans; (3) OPPORTUNITIES FOR NEGRO VETERANS IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA, a pamphlet prepared by Mr. Joseph Shabses of the faculty of the Atlanta University School of Social Work; (4) ECONOMIC VALUE OF THE NEGRO TO THE SOUTH, by Dr. W. Hardin Hughes; (5) a booklet containing the addresses delivered at the Council's Conference on the South's Post War Economy. The pamphlet entitled VOTING RESTRICTIONS, a publication of the Committee of Editors and Writers of which Mark Ethridge is Chairman, is also being distributed by the Council. Material for two other pamphlets -- one on Health, the other on Suffrage -- is on hand, but is awaiting final editing.

Mr. Haas asked whether these publications would be sent to public libraries, chambers of commerce, and the Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, and other civic clubs. He thought that such distribution would be most beneficial. Dr. Johnson assured him that this would be done.

Dr. Johnson reported that the circulation of THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER is increasing gradually. He said that it is our hope to improve and enlarge it, perhaps to a six or eight publication, as soon as a publicity man can be added to the staff.

Dr. Johnson asked what the Committee would think of having Dr. Mitchell's veterans program prepare a pamphlet on what the Negro soldier has done in this war. He told of a letter received from Dr. James Dombrowski of the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, saying that the Conference Executive Board had voted to give special attention to the question of veterans and had given instructions that whatever the Conference does in this field shall be done in cooperation with the Southern Regional Council. After discussion and on motion of Dr. Hancock, seconded by Msgr. McNamara-

3. IT WAS VOTED that the Southern Regional Council shall cooperate with the Southern Conference on Human Welfare in the work with veterans and that Dr. Mitchell be asked to consider the advisability of cooperating in the preparation of a pamphlet on the contribution of the Negro soldier.

Dr. Hancock asked whether the Council had taken note of President Truman's stand on the FEPC. After discussion and on motion of Dr. Clement, seconded by Dr. Hancock-

4. IT WAS VOTED that a letter be sent to President Truman commending him on his forthright statement about FEPC.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned at 12:15 P.M.

EMILY H. CLAY, SECRETARY

EHC:JTM

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of Local Members of the Executive Committee

The meeting of the local members of the Executive Committee was held in the office of the Executive Director at 10:45 A.M. Wednesday July 25, 1945. The following were present: C. H. Gillman, Josephine Wilkins, Guy B. Johnson, and Emily H. Clay, Secretary.

Mr. Gillman was welcomed as a new member of the Committee, and Dr. Johnson reported that at the last minute Mr. Haas was unable to attend because of illness in his family, while Dr. Clement and Dr. Reid were both out of the city.

Dr. Johnson said he was glad to report that Mr. Ray Warwick, recently on the local staff of the Associated Press, would join the Council's staff in August to edit THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER and to do other editorial and publicity work.

The question of an Associate Executive Director was discussed. Dr. Johnson said he was still endeavoring to work out some arrangement whereby Mr. W. Y. Bell, Jr., might for the present divide his time between the Council and the Urban League, with the expectation that he would eventually become a full-time member of the Council's staff. Dr. Johnson asked, however, whether the Committee thought he should continue to negotiate with Mr. Bell, or whether it would seem more desirable to make further efforts to find someone who could give undivided attention to this work. He said Dr. Reid had suggested that President R. B. Atwood of State Teachers College, Frankfort, Kentucky, who is a Council member, might be interested. After discussion, it was the consensus that before the next meeting Dr. Johnson should inquire into the possibility of securing the services of President Atwood.

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Dr. Johnson spoke of the annual meeting of the Council scheduled for the second Wednesday in October. It was agreed that this should be brought up at the next official meeting of the Committee.

Attention was called to a recent editorial by Dr. P. B. Young in the Norfolk Journal and Guide for July 7, which contained some criticism of the Southern Regional Council. Dr. Johnson read portions of the editorial and of his reply, which was carried in the July 21 issue. After discussion it was agreed that Dr. Young, who as vice president of the Council is an ex officio member of the Executive Committee, should be urged to attend the next official meeting of the Committee and to present his views concerning the Council.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

EMILY H. CLAY, SECRETARY

EHC:JTM

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Executive Committee

The Executive Committee met in the Conference Room of the Council on Wednesday, September 18, 1945, and was called to order at 10:45 A.M. by the Chairman, Dr. Charles S. Johnson. In addition to the Chairman, the following were present: Rufus E. Clement, C. H. Gillman, Leonard Haas, T. James McNamara, Guy B. Johnson, Ira DeA. Reid, Emily H. Clay, Secretary, and George S. Mitchell, Director of Veterans' Services, who had been invited to sit with the Committee.

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The Chairman read a telegram from Dr. Odum who had expected to be present, but who found it impossible to come.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson explained that Mr. Carter Wesley had wired that he would be present if he could arrange for transportation from Houston to Atlanta, but apparently he was unable to do so. Messages of regret had also been received from Messrs. Hancock, Rainey, and Young.

The Chairman called for the reading of the minutes of the last meeting of the full Committee. In view of the fact that copies were sent to the members, however, on motion of Mr. Haas-

1. IT WAS VOTED that the reading of the minutes of the June 27 meeting be dispensed with.

The minutes of the July meeting of local members were read and on motion of Dr. Guy Johnson-

2. IT WAS VOTED that the minutes of the July 27 meeting be approved with a minor change in wording.

The Chairman asked Dr. Guy Johnson whether he cared to comment on anything in the minutes. Dr. Johnson said he would like to say that, following his reply

to an editorial by Dr. Young in the Norfolk Journal and Guide for July 7, Mr. Wesley wrote expressing regret that any reply was made to the editorial. He also included some criticism of the Council's activities which Dr. Johnson summarized as: (1) that we are doing too much publishing of propaganda, which he thought was not particularly effective; (2) that we are not getting at the people who control things, who have influence and prestige; and (3) we are not getting anywhere on the policies laid down in the Durham statement. In the same letter Mr. Wesley offered his resignation. Dr. Johnson said that he wrote Mr. Wesley, thanking him for his letter and expressing the hope that he could meet with the Executive Committee and that we might have a full discussion of the Council's policies. Mr. Wesley replied that he would do his best to be present.

Dr. Johnson also spoke of the difficulty of getting good attendance at meetings of the Committee which he thought tied in with some of the misunderstandings we have had. He told the Committee that the attendance record shows that two members have missed all meetings of the Committee and that another member has attended only one. The record of the other members, he said, was fair to good. Dr. Johnson reminded the Committee that it had been necessary to postpone several meetings because of inability to get a quorum, and he expressed the hope that we might find some way of being assured of better attendance. He recalled that it had been suggested that insufficient notice was given. According to the record, however, the only meeting for which insufficient notice was given was the first one following the charter meeting, and the attendance was good in spite of the short notice. Msgr. McNamara spoke of the recent telegram asking whether he could attend a meeting on September 18. He said he replied that he could be present and, although he did not receive confirmation of the date, he assumed that the meeting would be held. To avoid misunderstanding, however, he suggested that such messages be confirmed in the future.

The Committee discussed the annual meeting, which, according to the by-laws, shall be held on the second Wednesday in October at the Council headquarters, or at such other time and place as may be designated by the Executive Committee. Dr. Clement explained that inasmuch as the Council met in December last year he was under the impression that it would meet at the same time this year. Accordingly, because of other meetings which have been scheduled, Atlanta University would not be able to entertain the Council during October. It was revealed that the October date was also inconvenient for other members of the Committee. After discussion, therefore, and on motion of Mr. Gillman-

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3. IT WAS VOTED that the next annual meeting be held on Wednesday November 14, 1945, at Atlanta University and, in accordance with the provision in the by-laws, that the Board of Directors meet on the preceding day at the same place.

The Executive Directors expressed satisfaction in the Council's new personnel: Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director of Veterans Service, Mr. Ray Warwick, Director of Public Relations, and Mrs. Inez Tillison, Office Manager. He reported that Mr. W. Y. Bell, Jr., who had been considered as a possible staff member, had been in ill health and there was considerable uncertainty as to his availability. He said, also, that following the Committee's instructions he had been in correspondence with President R. B. Atwood as to the possibility of his becoming full-time Associate Executive Director. President Atwood expressed interest, in replying to Dr. Johnson, but up to the time of this meeting was undecided as to whether he might consider an offer. Since no definite commitment had been obtained from him, Dr. Johnson reported that he had followed another suggestion and had conferred with President H. L. Trigg, of the State Teachers College at Elizabeth City, North Carolina, who is a member of our Board of Directors. Mr. Trigg appeared to be definitely interested, and Dr. Johnson was convinced that he would consider an offer of the position of Associate Executive Director. Dr. Johnson told the Committee that he has been acquainted with Mr.

Trigg for about twenty years, that he has high regard for him, and that he knows of no one with whom he would rather work.

In the discussion which followed, the question of Dr. Reid's continuing as part-time Associate Executive Director was raised. Dr. Clement said that insofar as Atlanta University was concerned the part-time arrangement had been entirely satisfactory. Dr. Reid replied, however, that he was convinced that the Council needs a full-time Associate Director. Dr. Clement asked whether Dr. Reid might be needed for research work in the event a full-time person is secured. It was the consensus that such an arrangement would be advisable.

On motion of Dr. Clement-

4. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Director be authorized to proceed with negotiations with Mr. H. L. Trigg.

Dr. Mitchell reported briefly on his activities since joining the Council's staff on June 18. He explained that most of his time had been spent in reading everything he could find about the administration of assistance to veterans in the North, as well as in the Southern states, and about the very complicated Federal legislation for veterans' benefits. His object, he said, was to find out as much about the laws and practices for helping veterans as would be known by most of the people whom he would later be interviewing over the South. He now plans to visit the thirteen Southern states, spending from two to three weeks in each one, for the purpose of making an administrative survey and finding out the kind of help which is provided for veterans -- "whether the thing is ticking, where the holes are, and whether it is doing a good or poor job of giving service to any one community." Dr. Mitchell feels that after surveying several of the states he will be in a position "to make reasonable suggestions in states as yet unsurveyed, or to go back to states already visited and report what is being done in other states." He would like to have at least one white and one Negro veteran to assist in this work and is

now endeavoring to find these staff members.

The Committee heard Dr. Mitchell's report with interest and expressed approval of his plans for the veterans service program.

Dr. Charles Johnson told of three officers - an Admiral, a Colonel, and a Captain - who have had experience with white and Negro troops in combat and who, in talking with him recently, expressed great interest and a desire to have some part in the postwar plans for the returning veterans. The Admiral and the Colonel, in particular, he said, "want to devote the next year or two to some sort of service in this field." He thought that the Captain, a Southerner and the first of the three whom he heard express interest in this field, might also be available. It was Dr. Johnson's opinion that, "if they are not too ponderous as representatives of veterans, they might have considerable influence on governors and other state officials."

Dr. Guy Johnson gave a brief report of the Council's over-all activities. One thing we have continued to work on, he said, is our relation to the state interracial committees. The committees in South Carolina, Kentucky, and Georgia have already effected affiliation with the Council, and it now appears that several other state committees will do so at their next annual meetings. Dr. Johnson spoke of the field work of Mrs. M. E. Tilly and Mrs. Henry Havens with church groups and other agencies in the Southeast. He reported that Mrs. Havens is helping to set up some conferences on law enforcement and race relations in South Carolina and Florida, and he expressed the hope that several such conferences might be held sometime during the fall.

The new publications which Dr. Johnson said have been distributed since the last meeting are OPPORTUNITIES FOR NEGRO VETERANS IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA, with a guide sheet for other communities, and THE SOUTH, AMERICA'S OPPORTUNITY NUMBER ONE, containing the addresses delivered at the Conference on the South's

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Post-War Economy, which was sponsored by the Council. Two manuscripts which Mr. Warwick is now editing for publication are a survey on health conditions in the South, by Dr. Dorothy Dickins, of the Agricultural Experiment Station, State College, Mississippi, and one on suffrage in the South, by Stetson Kennedy, now of Atlanta, Georgia. Dr. Johnson told, also, of an article by Dr. Clement, entitled BLACK GI JOE COMES HOME, which will be published in the near future.

Dr. Johnson spoke of two pieces of research which have been carried on by the Council: (1) A sampling of rural and urban communities has been worked out and conducted by Mr. A. C. Robinson, "to try to give us a line-up on the effects of the war on employment, reconversion, and family conditions." The Council's Fellows have cooperated in making this study, which will furnish data that will be useful to the veterans program and will provide some special news stories that will get the problem before the people. It is expected that this study will be completed about the middle of October. (2) A study of transportation in the Atlanta area, as a part of the segregation study proposed at the annual meeting in 1944, has been carried on under the direction of Dr. Reid, with the help of four trained assistants.

Dr. Reid presented a summary of the study, accompanied by photographs of typical scenes showing the inequalities in provisions for Negro passengers on public carriers. He posed two questions. (1) Shall this material be presented to the Board of Directors, and (2) what use shall be made of it?

After full discussion and on motion of Mr. Gillman-

5. IT WAS VOTED that a sub-committee be appointed from the Board to work with Dr. Reid in analyzing the materials and making recommendations to the Board.

The Chairman said that he would like to appoint this committee in consultation with the Executive Director.

Dr. Guy Johnson said that, judging by the letters which we receive, expressing appreciation for the publications, for public statements issued, and for our work with other organizations, it is his opinion that we are "beginning to make the presence of the Council known a good deal better than it was." He reported that the Council cooperated with twenty other lay organizations of Georgia this month in sponsoring the Conference on Georgia Rural Health. Our chief contribution, he said, was clerical assistance, the preparation of a leaflet and a set of maps giving health information, and the handling of publicity for the Conference.

The Treasurer made a brief statement concerning the finances as of August 31.

Mr. Ray Warwick came into the meeting, on the invitation of the Executive Director, who introduced him to the Committee and asked him to speak about his plans. Mr. Warwick said that, after a study of the current publications of the Council, it was his opinion that most of our publications were designed to be read principally by "people who are already on our side." He would like to supplement these with a more popular type of leaflet and pamphlet which "will be read by the man on the street." Mr. Warwick hopes to develop some sort of promotion to enlist either more memberships or a larger number of subscribers to the Council publications. He reported that he is now working on an eight-page, small-sized leaflet summing up the information contained in the suffrage manuscript. He proposed two types of publications for the Council: (1) detailed and documentary pamphlets, and (2) simple, "punchy" leaflets. He expressed the opinion that this material can be made self-sustaining by distributing it in quantity to other organizations which will purchase it for their own use.

Another proposal offered by Mr. Warwick concerned THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER, which he recommended changing to a pocket-sized publication of perhaps eight pages. He also suggested the possibility of issuing each quarter a special, enlarged edition, based on a thorough study by the Council of some particular Southern problem. He recommended that we publish simultaneously for mass distribution a brief, popular pamphlet based on the same material; also that we issue a study manual, to be used as a guide to study groups. Mr. Warwick said it was his opinion that "if we can get ourselves identified as a group working on the problems of the South as a whole" the Council will be received with greater confidence and when we speak on the race problem the public will listen more readily.

Dr. Charles Johnson said he had noticed that a great many small-town newspapers have a very good editorial policy. He suggested that we use in the FRONTIER quotations from "some of these people on a range of questions, not exclusively race," in order to "let the people know the thinking that is going on at the grass roots."

Mr. Gillman suggested the use of cartoons in the FRONTIER.

Dr. Guy Johnson asked whether the Executive Committee should act on the suggestions for publications, or whether they should be referred to the Committee on Publications and the Committee on Public Relations.

6. IT WAS VOTED that we recommend to the Committee on Publications and the Committee on Public Relations that they follow through on Mr. Warwick's recommendations insofar as it is possible within budget limitations.

Mr. Gillman urged that some effort be made to reach the farmers. Dr. Charles Johnson suggested the use of advertisements in farm papers.

Mr. Haas expressed the opinion that a good deal of work could be done among the business men, many of whom are not aware of the existence of the Southern Regional Council.

Dr. Guy Johnson said he feared that, if the membership of the Council grows to several thousand, difficulties will arise in our annual meetings as a result of the required quorum of not less than one-fourth of the entire membership. He suggested that this might be taken care of (1) by limiting the voting membership to one thousand and having as many sponsors, contributors, or subscribers as we can get; or (2) by making the voting Council a kind of enlarged Board, with representatives elected from the states.

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Mr. Haas said he was impressed with the idea that people generally value the right to vote, and that this situation could be taken care of at any time by a change in the by-laws which would reduce the number required for a quorum.

The Chairman requested the Executive Director to draw up these alternatives for presentation to the Board of Directors at their next meeting.

Dr. Guy Johnson asked whether the annual meeting should be a straight business meeting, or whether we should have a public evening session with a speaker. He recalled that last year we made plans for a public meeting but were unable to get the speaker we wanted.

Dr. Reid suggested that, inasmuch as we shall be working on law enforcement this fall, it would be appropriate to invite as our speaker United States Attorney General Tom Clark who is a Southerner and has demonstrated a liberal attitude.

Mr. Warwick said that, inasmuch as everybody is interested in postwar plans and the South is particularly concerned, he thought that Mr. Wallace might be more effective, especially in view of his recently published book Sixty Million Jobs.

Msgr. McNamara suggested Justice Hugo L. Black as another possibility.

On motion of Mr. Gillman-

7. IT WAS VOTED that an effort be made to get Mr. Wallace to speak at an open session at the time of the annual meeting of the Council.

On motion of Msgr. McNamara-

8. IT WAS VOTED that in the event Mr. Wallace is unavailable the Executive Director, in consultation with the officers and other available members of the Executive Committee, be authorized to invite other persons to appear on the program.

All business having been completed, the meeting adjourned at 1:30 P.M.

EMILY H. CLAY, SECRETARY

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Executive Committee

The Executive Committee met at 10:45 A. M. Tuesday November 13, 1945, in the Conference Room of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia. The meeting was called to order by the Chairman, Charles S. Johnson, with the following present: Rufus E. Clement, C. H. Gillman, Gordon B. Hancock, Charles S. Johnson, Guy B. Johnson, T. James McNamara, Howard W. Odum, Ira De A. Reid, Josephine Wilkins, and Emily H. Clay, Secretary. Mr. Louis I. Jaffe and Mr. John G. Pollard, Jr., who were present for the meeting of the Board of Directors, were invited to sit with the Committee.

As the first item of business, Dr. Guy Johnson called attention to several items in the by-laws for which he recommended amendments. These were reported as follows:

(1) That the portion of ARTICLE VI, Section 1, which reads,

"The Executive Director and the Associate Executive Director need not be members at the time of their election, but, by virtue of their office, shall become members of the corporation and of the Board with all the privileges of Board members, except that they may not be members of the Executive Committee of the Board,"

be amended by striking out the words,

"except that they may not be members of the Executive Committee of the Board."

(Purpose of amendment to remove a conflict with ARTICLE V, Section 1.)

On motion, duly seconded-

1. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee recommend the adoption of this amendment to the by-laws.

(2) That the portion of ARTICLE IV, Section 1, which reads,

"Each director elected at any subsequent meeting of the Board shall hold office for four years..."

be amended to read,

"Each director elected at any subsequent meeting of members or of the Board, except such directors as are elected by the Board to fill unexpired terms, shall hold office for four years..."

(Present wording in conflict with the remainder of the Section, since all directors are elected by the members except those who are elected by the Board to fill vacancies.)

On motion, duly seconded-

2. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee recommend the adoption of this amendment to the by-laws.

(3) That the provision concerning a quorum in ARTICLE II, Section 6 of the by-laws be considered with a view to amendment.

After discussion and on motion, duly seconded-

3. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee recommend that ARTICLE II, Section 6, which reads as follows, be deleted:

"At all meetings of members the presence, in person or by proxy, of not less than one-fourth of the entire membership, shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, but in the absence of a quorum the members present in person or by proxy at the time and place fixed by Section 3 of this ARTICLE II for an annual meeting, or fixed by the notice of a special meeting, or at the time and place of any adjournment thereof, by majority vote may adjourn the meeting from time to time, but not for a period of over sixty days at any one time, without notice other than by announcement at the meeting, until a quorum shall attend. At any such adjourned meeting at which a quorum shall be present, any business may be transacted which might have been transacted at the meeting as originally notified."

(4) That provision be made in the by-laws for balloting by mail on certain questions.

On motion, duly seconded-

4. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee recommend that ARTICLE II, Section 7, which reads-

"Each member shall have one vote and, except in cases in which it is by the charter or by these by-laws otherwise provided, a majority of the votes cast shall be sufficient to elect and to pass any measure,"

be amended by the following addition:

"Voting by mail may be conducted on such questions and in such manner as may be provided by the Board of Directors."

(5) That the members discuss the question of the time of the annual meeting and that if a more suitable date can be established the by-laws be amended accordingly.

After discussion and on motion, duly seconded-

5. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee recommend that the portion of ARTICLE II, Section 3, which reads:

"The Corporation shall hold annually a meeting of its members for the election of directors and for the transaction of general business at its principal office in Atlanta at ten o'clock A.M. on the second Wednesday in October..."

be amended to read,

"The Corporation shall hold annually a meeting of its members for the election of directors and for the transaction of general business at its principal office in Atlanta at ten o'clock A.M. on the second Wednesday in November..."

Dr. Guy Johnson suggested that the Executive Committee submit to the members a resolution raising the annual dues for Council membership. It was his opinion that the dues should be not less than $2.00 a year, and he said that there was much to be said for making them still higher.

After discussion and on motion, duly seconded-

6. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee recommend that the annual dues be set at $2.00 for regular members and $5.00 for sustaining members.

It was suggested that members joining toward the latter part of the year be entered for membership for the following year.

Dr. Charles Johnson asked how much effort was being made to enlarge the membership. Dr. Guy Johnson replied that while a good many nominees are being invited, no special campaign was being carried on at the present time, but that Mr. Warwick is now preparing material for use in a membership campaign which we hope to begin early in the year.

Dr. Guy Johnson said that experience during the past year indicates that it is probably unreasonable to expect busy persons who live as far away from Atlanta as Virginia and Texas to attend bi-monthly meetings of the Executive Com-

mittee. Although regular dates were set and due notice given, one meeting was held without a quorum and two others had to be postponed because a quorum was not available on the regular dates. Dr. Johnson suggested that quarterly meetings of the Executive Committee would be sufficient to carry on the regular business of the Council, since the by-laws provide that, when necessary, special meetings may be called by the Chairman or any three members of the Committee.

After discussion and on motion, duly seconded-

7. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee hold quarterly meetings.

Dr. Guy Johnson presented the following items for consideration by the Executive Committee.

(1) Status of members who move out of the South -- whether they should be changed from voting to associate status, inasmuch as they can no longer be voting members under the by-laws.

(2) Now that the standing committees have helped in working out the basic policies,and considering the fact that it is difficult to get busy people to attend committee meetings, whether it is feasible to discharge the standing committees and let the Executive Committee take over their functions.

(3) If the Executive Committee meets quarterly, whether it would recommend the establishment of a central advisory committee, composed of the Atlanta members of the Executive Committee and five other persons who live close enough to Atlanta to be able to attend a meeting on short notice, to confer with and advise the executives on minor problems between meetings of the Executive Committee.

On motion, duly seconded-

8. IT WAS VOTED that members moving out of the South be changed from voting to associate status.

On motion duly seconded-

9. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee recommend that all standing committees, with the exception of the Finance Committee, be dissolved as of the first of the year.

On motion duly seconded-

10. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee recommend the appointment of the advisory committee.

Dr. Guy Johnson asked that the members consider the question of whether the Charter of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation should be surrendered. After discussion, it was agreed that the Charter should be allowed to continue to its expiration, which will be July 1, 1949.

Another matter of pressing importance, Dr. Johnson said, is the report of the special committee, consisting of John A. Griffin, Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Mrs. E. G. Mackay, Benjamin E. Mays, Philip Shulhafer, Guy B. Johnson, and Ira De A. Reid, which was authorized by the Executive Committee at its September meeting, to consider the results of the study of racial separation in transportation in Atlanta. Dr. Reid was asked to report the action taken by the special committee, which had held two meetings. He said that the committee had agreed on the following report to the Executive Committee:

> The committee which you named to discuss the SRC's study of racial separation in transportation in Atlanta and to make suggestions thereon submits the following report:
>
> The purpose of this study of racial separation in transportation was to explore the ways and means of racial separation and discrimination in Atlanta's transportation systems; to show how racial separation works and what people believe about it; and, by interpreting its patterns and practices in the community, seek to devise therefrom techniques for promoting both the theory and the structure of equality under the law.
>
> The evidence we have examined in this study reveals that little if any equality exists under the present interpretation, application, and enforcement of the laws and practices regulating the separation of races in Atlanta's transportation systems.
>
> At the present time, the social temper of the South is such that we must first achieve first steps toward the ultimate goal of equal opportunity for all people in the region. In recognition of this fact, we believe that we may immediately take the following steps of social and legal action:
>
> (a) action designed to actually achieve the equality implicit in the law;
> (b) action designed to discourage, and to seek penalties for, extra-legal and administrative discriminatory practices attending racial separation.
>
> And, since evidence secured in this study seems to indicate that without the repeal or revision of existing laws equal opportunity for all

people is not possible, we further suggest:

(c) the establishment of educational programs designed to promote public thought and discussion of the question, "Can equal opportunity actually be achieved under the 'separate but equal' tradition?"

It is suggested that the above recommendations on the Atlanta transportation study be used as the basis for immediate action in this community in concert with other agencies, if possible, and if this is not possible, by the SRC acting alone.

It is suggested that a full and complete analysis of conflict and undemocratic situations arising under the separate but equal laws of Atlanta be undertaken by the Southern Regional Council. It is our opinion that the next fields of analysis should be those of health and law enforcement and observance.

It is suggested that as these studies are made, and whenever there is sufficient material to warrant and justify action, that the Council initiate such action forthwith by going to the authorities, agencies, or institutions involved, presenting the material and urging corrective action. In making these presentations the Council should enlist the support and cooperation of other agencies, such as the Chamber of Commerce, churches, and civic groups.

It is our belief that this method of social analysis, followed by the social education and action which the problems discovered might suggest, should be used immediately in as many communities as possible throughout the South.

It is suggested that the Executive Committee might act to organize and finance further studies in this field in Atlanta and the South, and that action on this section of the report should be instituted not later than January, 1946.

Regarding the financial support, it was expected that special funds should be secured for such studies.

Dr. Charles Johnson said that it would seem that there are several questions which would be raised if the Executive Committee is interested in going forward with this type of study as originally proposed and authorized: (1) whether it would be considered the basis of a program for action of some sort; (2) whether the Committee is interested enough in it to propose that funds be secured or provided to carry the work farther; and (3) just what should be proposed to the Board of Directors.

Dr. Odum said that he would like to have a discussion and then hear a

motion giving authority to seek special funds to carry on this type of study. He was in favor of having the Executive Committee "approve it as a continuing project to be worked out in consultation with the administration of the Council."

On motion, duly seconded-

11. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee recommend to the Board of Directors the continuation of the study of racial separation and discrimination and that funds be sought for its enlargement.

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Mr. Pollard pointed out that this is an objective study, presenting facts, and that we want the facts to speak for themselves. We not only want to be sure that the facts are unbiased, he said, but we want to be sure that the public does not feel that they are biased. He suggested the desirability of having other agencies join with us in making similar studies in other communities, so that the findings might be presented on the authority of the local organizations.

After discussion and on motion, duly seconded-

12. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee recommend that the Council seek the cooperation of other agencies in making its observations in those communities where studies are undertaken.

On motion, duly seconded-

13. IT WAS VOTED that the recommendations of the sub-committee be presented to the Board of Directors.

Msgr. T. James McNamara, who had been sitting with the Nominating Committee as Chairman, brought the following report from his committee:

The Nominating Committee recommends that the Executive Committee in turn recommend to the Board of Directors that when members of the Board are elected to the staff their membership on the Board be declared vacant by reason of election to the staff, and that they continue to serve as Board members ex officio.

After discussion and on motion, duly seconded-

14. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee recommend that when members of the Board are elected to the staff their membership on the Board be declared vacant by reason of election to the staff.

The Nominating Committee, likewise, recommends to the Executive Committee that they submit to the Board of Directors an amendment to ARTICLE VI, Section 1, of the by-laws as follows:

Inasmuch as the by-laws require that the Executive Director, Associate Executive Director, Secretary, and Treasurer be elected by the Board of Directors-

That in ARTICLE VI, Section 1, concerning Executive Officers, a sentence reading, "The Executive Director and the Associate Executive Director, Secretary-Treasurer, and Counsel shall be elected by vote of the Executive Committee upon the recommendations of a committee whose function shall be the selection and nomination of these officers," be inserted immediately following the sentence which reads, "The President and the Vice Presidents shall be chosen from among the members of the corporation," and

That the portion of this Section 1, which reads,

"The executive officers shall be elected annually by the Board of Directors at its first meeting following the annual meeting of members, and each such officer shall hold office until the corresponding meeting in the next year and until his successor shall have been fully chosen and qualified..."

be amended to read,

"The President and Vice President shall be elected annually by the Board of Directors at its first meeting following the annual meeting of members. The Executive Director and Associate Executive Director, Secretary-Treasurer, and Counsel shall be confirmed annually by the Board of Directors, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee. Officers shall hold office until the corresponding meeting in the next year, and until their successors shall have been fully chosen and qualified..."

Because of a lack of time for proper consideration of this recommendation, it was suggested that it be referred directly to the Board without recommendation.

The meeting adjourned at 1 P. M.

EMILY H. CLAY, SECRETARY

EHC:JTM

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Board of Directors

The meeting of the Board of Directors was called to order at 2:30 P.M. Tuesday November 13, 1945, in the Conference Room of the Administration Building, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia. The Chairman, Dr. Howard W. Odum presided, with the following present: Will W. Alexander, Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, Rufus E. Clement, Virginius Dabney, A. W. Dent, Clark Foreman, C. H. Gillman, Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Gordon B. Hancock, Mrs. Henry Havens, Luther P. Jackson, Louis I. Jaffe, Charles S. Johnson, Guy B. Johnson, E. A. McDowell, T. James McNamara, George S. Mitchell, N. C. Newbold, Howard W. Odum, John G. Pollard, Jr., Ira De A. Reid, Philip Shulhafer, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Forrester B. Washington, Goodrich C. White, Josephine Wilkins, Emily H. Clay, Secretary, Ray Warwick, Director of Public Relations, and Mrs. Inez B. Tillison, Office Manager.

The Chairman asked whether it was necessary for the Secretary to read the minutes of the Board of Directors meeting of January 31, 1945, and of Executive Committee meetings of February 28, May 25, June 27, and September 18, inasmuch as copies had been mailed to all members of the Board.

On motion, duly seconded-

1. IT WAS VOTED that the minutes of these meetings be approved without reading.

At the request of the Chairman, Dr. Guy Johnson introduced the new members of the staff: Dr. Mitchell, Director of Veterans Service, Mr. Ray Warwick, Director of Public Relations, and Mrs. Tillison, Office Manager.

In view of the fact that reports of the Executive Directors and the Standing Committees would be heard at the member meeting on November 14, Dr. Johnson asked whether it would be agreeable to the Board to dispense with the reports at this time. His suggestion was approved.

The following recommendations from the Executive Committee were reported

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by the Secretary:

(1) That the portion of ARTICLE VI, Section 1, which reads,

"The Executive Director and the Associate Executive Director need not be members at the time of their election, but, by virtue of their office, shall become members of the corporation and of the Board with all the privileges of Board members, except that they may not be members of the Executive Committee of the Board,"

be amended by striking out the words,

"except that they may not be members of the Executive Committee of the Board."

(Purpose of amendment to remove a conflict with ARTICLE VI, Section 1,)

On motion, duly seconded-

2. IT WAS VOTED that the amendment be approved and recommended to the members.

(2) That the portion of ARTICLE IV, Section 1, which reads,

"Each director elected at any subsequent meeting of the Board shall hold office for four years..."

be amended to read,

"Each director elected at any subsequent meeting of members or of the Board, except such directors as are elected by the Board to fill unexpired terms, shall hold office for four years..."

(Present wording in conflict with the remainder of the Section, since all directors are elected by the members except those who are elected by the Board to fill vacancies.)

On motion, duly seconded-

3. IT WAS VOTED that the amendment be approved and recommended to the members.

(3) That ARTICLE II, Section 6, concerning a quorum, which reads as follows, be deleted:

"At all meetings of members the presence, in person or by proxy, of not less than one-fourth of the entire membership, shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, but in the absence of a quorum the members present in person or by proxy at the time and place fixed by Section 3 of this ARTICLE II for an annual meeting, or fixed by the notice of a special meeting, or at the time and place of any adjournment thereof, by majority vote may adjourn the meeting from time to time, but not for a period of over sixty days at any one time, without notice other than by announcement at the meeting, until a quorum shall attend. At any such adjourned meeting at which a

quorum shall be present, any business may be transacted which might have been transacted at the meeting as originally notified.

On motion, duly seconded-

4. IT WAS VOTED that the amendment be approved and recommended to the members.

(4) That ARTICLE II, Section 7, which reads,

"Each member shall have one vote and, except in cases in which it is by the charter or by these by-laws otherwise provided, a majority of the votes cast shall be sufficient to elect and to pass any measure,"

be amended by the following addition:

"Voting by mail may be conducted on such questions and in such manner as may be provided by the Board of Directors."

On motion, duly seconded-

5. IT WAS VOTED that the amendment be approved and recommended to the members.

(5) That the portion of ARTICLE II, Section 3, which reads,

"The Corporation shall hold annually a meeting of its members for the election of directors and for the transaction of general business at its principal office in Atlanta at ten o'clock A.M. on the second Wednesday in October..."

be amended to read,

"The Corporation shall hold annually a meeting of its members for the election of directors and for the transaction of general business at its principal office in Atlanta at ten o'clock A.M. on the second Wednesday in November..."

On motion, duly seconded-

6. IT WAS VOTED that the amendment be approved and recommended to the members.

(6) That the annual dues be set at $2.00 for regular members and $5.00 for sustaining members.

In the discussion which followed, Dr. Guy Johnson said that, personally, he would like to have the dues increased to $5.00, part of which might be allocated to the states. He said that we are trying to get the state interracial committees to come in with the Council, and we now have several on an affiliate basis. He pointed out, however, that there is some confusion because at present members of state organizations who are also members of the Council must pay dues

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in both organizations. It will be necessary, he said, to find some means of bargaining with the state committees. Dr. Johnson called attention, also, to the fact that the present dues of $1.00 do not even cover the cost of postage used on communications to the members during the year.

On motion, duly seconded-

7. IT WAS VOTED that the annual dues be set at $2.00 for regular members and $5.00 for sustaining members.

Mr. Shulhafer asked that a note be enclosed with the 1946 notices explaining that the dues have been increased to cover expenses.

(7) That members moving out of the South be changed from voting to associate status.

On motion, duly seconded-

8. IT WAS VOTED that this recommendation be approved.

(8) That all standing committees, with the exception of the Finance Committee, be dissolved as of the first of the year.

On motion, duly seconded-

9. IT WAS VOTED that this recommendation be approved.

(9) That an advisory committee, composed of Atlanta members of the Executive Committee and five other persons who live close enough to Atlanta to be able to attend a meeting on short notice, be appointed to advise the executives on minor problems between meetings of the Executive Committee.

On motion, duly seconded-

10. IT WAS VOTED that this recommendation be tabled.

A substitute motion was offered and, after discussion, duly seconded, and-

11. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Directors be authorized, within budget limitations, to call in such people as are needed to advise with them during the interim between meetings of the Executive Committee.

Dr. Charles Johnson, speaking as Chairman of the Executive Committee, pointed out that at the last annual meeting it was voted to proceed with a study of segregation, and that Dr, Ira Reid was authorized to outline such a study and to begin work. He said that it was decided to begin by making a study of transportation facilities in the area of Atlanta, and that a report on this phase of

the study had been completed by Dr. Reid and his staff. A preliminary report was presented to the Executive Committee at its September meeting, at which time it was voted to set up an advisory sub-committee, composed of Atlanta persons "whose judgment was respected and whose intelligence would add materially to the whole exploration." After an exhaustive examination of the materials which had been prepared, the committee, composed of John A. Griffin, Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Mrs. E. G. Mackay, Benjamin E. Mays, Philip Shulhafer, Guy B. Johnson, and Ira De A. Reid, reported as follows to the Executive Committee at its meeting immediately preceding this meeting of the Board:

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> The purpose of this study of racial separation in transportation was to explore the ways and means of racial separation and discrimination in Atlanta's transportation systems; to show how racial separation works and what people believe about it; and, by interpreting its patterns and practices in the community, seek to devise therefrom techniques for promoting both the theory and the structure of equality under the law.
>
> The evidence we have examined in this study reveals that little if any equality exists under the present interpretation, application, and enforcement of the laws and practices regulating the separation of races in Atlanta's transportation systems.
>
> At the present time, the social temper of the South is such that we must first achieve first steps toward the ultimate goal of equal opportunity for all people in the region. In recognition of this fact, we believe that we may immediately take the following steps of social and legal action:
>
> (a) action designed to actually achieve the equality implicit in the law;
> (b) action designed to discourage, and to seek penalties for, extra-legal and administrative discriminatory practices attending racial separation.
>
> And, since evidence secured in this study seems to indicate that without the repeal or revision of existing laws equal opportunity for all people is not possible, we further suggest:
>
> (c) the establishment of educational programs designed to promote public thought and discussion of the question, "Can equal opportunity actually be achieved under the 'separate but equal' tradition?"
>
> It is suggested that the above recommendations on the Atlanta transportation study be used as the basis for immediate action in this community in concert with other agencies, if possible, and if this is not possible, by

the SRC acting alone.

It is suggested that a full and complete analysis of conflict and undemocratic situations arising under the separate but equal laws of Atlanta be undertaken by the Southern Regional Council. It is our opinion that the next fields of analysis should be those of health and law enforcement and observance.

It is suggested that as these studies are made, and whenever there is sufficient material to warrant and justify action, the Council initiate such action forthwith by going to the authorities, agencies, or institutions involved, presenting the material and urging corrective action. In making these presentations the Council should enlist the support and cooperation of other agencies, such as the Chamber of Commerce, churches and civic groups.

It is our belief that this method of social analysis, followed by the social education and action which the problems discovered might suggest, should be used immediately in as many communities as possible throughout the South.

It is suggested that the Executive Committee might act to organize and finance further studies in this field in Atlanta and the South, and that action on this section of the report should be instituted not later than January 1946.

On the recommendation of the Executive Committee, it was moved and seconded:

That the Board recommend the continuation of the study of racial separation and discrimination and that funds be sought for its enlargement.

In the discussion that followed, Mr. Shulhafer said that he would not be in favor of voting for further research unless something is to be done with it. Dr. Foreman asked whether it would be proper to propose the appointment of a committee to be charged with the responsibility of carrying out the action. It was Dr. Alexander's opinion that in Atlanta action should be taken by local citizens, on the basis of facts assembled by the Southern Regional Council, and that it should be the responsibility of the Council to organize a local group.

It was suggested that the Fulton-DeKalb Interracial Committee might be asked to act in the Atlanta area. Mrs. Tilly suggested, however, that it might be more desirable to call together the Atlanta members of the Southern Regional Council and members of the Fulton-DeKalb Committee who are also members of civic organizations for the purpose of laying the matter before them.

As a substitute, the following resolution was offered by Dr. Alexander:

(1) That we instruct the Executives of the Southern Regional Council to initiate through Atlanta citizens an action program for Atlanta, on the basis of material gathered.

(2) That we instruct the Executives to take steps to initiate similar studies and action in other Southern communities.

(3) That in addition to transportation, as rapidly as resources are available, the questions of health, education, and other fields where the "separate but equal" practices prevail will be covered.

(4) That the Executives be instructed to draw up, as rapidly as possible, a plan for the implementation and extension of this study to other cities, with the idea of getting funds to carry out the program.

On motion, duly seconded-

12. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

The final recommendation from the Executive Committee was read, as follows:

That when members of the Board are elected to the staff their membership on the Board be declared vacant by reason of election to the staff.

On motion, duly seconded-

13. IT WAS VOTED that the recommendation be approved.

The Treasurer's report was presented and, on motion, duly seconded-

14. IT WAS VOTED that the report be put on record. (Copy on file.)

The following recommendations from the Committee on Membership were read by Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Co-Chairman:

(1) That we confirm the membership of all those who have signed the membership cards and paid their dues since the 1944 annual meeting.

(2) That the annual dues be increased to two dollars.

(3) That since there are plans in the making for a promotional campaign for members and contributors, the membership committee be discontinued.

On motion, duly seconded-

15. IT WAS VOTED that the recommendations be approved.

Mr. Virginius Dabney asked for information concerning the bequest from the Estate of Esther Morton Smith, which was mentioned in the Treasurer's report.

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Miss Clay said that this was a bequest to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation from the estate of Miss Esther Morton Smith, a Quaker of Philadelphia, who had been a friend and supporter of the Commission for many years. Dr. Alexander recalled that in the early days of the Commission Miss Smith and a Mrs. Hallowell, a Quaker from Boston, had called on him to talk about their plan to visit the various southern governors for the purpose of interesting them in an effort to put an end to lynching. Dr. Alexander suggested that Dr. Odum write a letter to Miss Smith's family expressing appreciation for her interest and for the bequest.

Mr. Shulhafer told of the committee which was organized in Atlanta during the summer to enlist support for a permanent FEPC. He said he felt that the Southern Regional Council should have been in the forefront of this work and, inasmuch as the issue will undoubtedly come up again, he wished to raise the question as to whether the Council could be counted on to take a definite part in any future effort in support of the FEPC.

Dr. Guy Johnson reported that the Executives had followed the instruction of the Executive Committee. A letter was sent to all members of the SRC, reminding them that the Council at its meeting on December 6, 1944, had endorsed the principle of a permanent FEPC and asking them to use their influence in behalf of the effort to continue the agency. He also stated that Mrs. Tilly represented the Council on the local committee for a permanent FEPC and that many signers of the petition were Council members. It was his understanding, however, that the Executives were not authorized to support specific legislation in the name of the Southern Regional Council. Mrs. Hamilton expressed the opinion that if the Council is going to take action in such cases, either the Board of Directors or the Executive Committee should give some thought to the nature of the course to be pursued by the Executives.

The Board requested the Executive Director to write Mr. Haas a letter

of regret because of his absence from the meeting and appreciation for his assistance in matters relating to the Council's affairs.

The resignation of two members of the Board was reported — Dr. Horace M. Bond, because of change of residence to Pennsylvania, and Dr. James L. Robb, because of ill health.

Dr. Guy Johnson reported that the Council had been asked by a local committee in Jacksonville, Florida, to undertake a survey of a Negro community in that city. He expressed pride in receiving this request and said that we would endeavor to make a realistic survey and to offer recommendations which we hope will be accepted. He said that the Council staff would give as much direct help as possible to the survey, but he anticipated that we would be able to enlist sufficient local assistance to do most of the work. He was especially interested, he said, in the fact that Jacksonville Community Chest had appropriated $2,000 to the Jacksonville Committee toward the expense of the study. Dr. Johnson expressed the opinion that if we can do that kind of thing in a number of communities the Council "will not lack for local support and local funds for doing good things." He reported that we had also been approached by a committee in Durham, North Carolina, relative to assisting with a survey of public schools there and that we are trying now to see what we can do to help.

In commenting on the Jacksonville Study, Mrs. Havens said that the idea of the committee in asking the Southern Regional Council to make the study was that it could "make itself heard in the county commissioners' meetings and in the city council as no other organization in the South could."

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 5 P. M.

EMILY H. CLAY, SECRETARY

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Annual Meeting

The annual meeting convened in the Exhibition Room of the Atlanta University Library at 10 o'clock Wednesday morning November 14, 1945. The meeting was called to order by the President, Howard W. Odum, who requested the Rev. Moses Belton to offer a prayer. The following members were in attendance, and 361 were present by proxy:

Will W. Alexander
Mrs. L. W. Alford
Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
Benjamin R. Andrews (Associate)
Mrs. Leah Pierce Argieard
Mrs. L. M. Awtrey
Wm. H. Bell
Moses S. Belton
Frances Blackmon
J. E. Blanton
T. Ruth Brett
Charles H. Bynum
Emily H. Clay
Frank W. Clelland
Rufus E. Clement
Virginius Dabney
Richard P. Daniel
V. E. Daniel
A. W. Dent
Frank Dix
E. W. Dixon
Witherspoon Dodge
Mrs. F. P. Drake
John R. Ewbank
Margaret Fisher
Clark Foreman
Opal Futch
Mrs. Harry M. Gershon
C. H. Gillman
Wm. H. Gray, Jr.
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Gordon B. Hancock
Julian LaRose Harris
Mrs. Henry Havens
J. R. Henderson
Mrs. Herman Heyman
Asbury Howard
W. Hardin Hughes
Louis I. Jaffe
Annie Tait Jenkins
Lorraine Jennrich
Charles S. Johnson
Guy B. Johnson
Mrs. Louis Kaufman
Edgar Love (Associate)
Frank McCallister
T. James McNamara
Mrs. E. G. Mackay
Mrs. Ed. B. Martin
Lucy R. Mason
Benjamin E. Mays
Mildred R. Mell
Louise B. Miller
Mrs. M. Raoul Millis
M. Mae Neptune
N. C. Newbold
Howard W. Odum
Mrs. Phyllis S. O'Kelley
Noel S. Parrish
Mrs. Helena M. Payne
J. C. Perry
Mrs. C. B. Pittman
J. G. Pollard, Jr.
Margaret Price
Ira De A. Reid
Mrs. H. L. Rhorer
J. McD. Richards
A. C. Robinson
Mrs. Mary George Robinson
Charles D. Saxon
C. A. Scott
Philip E. Shulhafer
Mrs. Philip E. Shulhafer
Mrs. Andrew W. Simkins
James O. Slade
Mrs. Eugene H. Spearman
Frank W. Spencer
Mrs. Augustine M. St. Cyr
James T. Taylor
A. L. Thompson

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Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Mrs. R. L. Turman
Mrs. W. A. Turner
Mansir Tydings
Mrs. C. A. VerNooy
Ray Warwick
Forrester B. Washington
Mrs. Leslie N. Webb
Kendall Weisiger
Josephine Wilkins

After welcoming the members, Dr. Odum recalled that when the Council was set up it was agreed, tentatively at least, that the most important domestic problem in America was regional equality and balancing of the nation, and that within this framework race relations, itself, and the attainment of fuller opportunity for all people constituted our most specific problem. It was agreed further, he pointed out, that another thing of great importance was that there should be a south-wide organization or Council "committed without compromise to the development of such a program as would guarantee greater balanced development of the South, a greater achievement of regional balance, equality in the nation, and more equality of opportunity for minority groups, particularly for the Negro in the South and the nation." Dr. Odum feels even more strongly now that these are the fundamental premises upon which the nation must work. Recognizing the fact that the members can devote only limited time to these problems, Dr. Odum stressed the need for so strengthening the central office that it will be their responsibility "to see that the job is done." He urged that "this be made a Council for all the people, that all of us alike may share equally in the development of a great nation."

Dr. Odum reported that the minutes of the annual meeting of December 6,1944, had been approved in writing by the committee composed of Leonard Haas, L. D. Milton, and Mrs. M. E. Tilly. Therefore, on motion, duly seconded,

1. IT WAS VOTED that the minutes of the annual meeting be approved.

A committee to review the minutes of the Board of Directors meeting of January 31, 1945, was appointed, as follows: Virginius Dabney, Rufus E. Clement, and T. James McNamara.

The following Committee on Resolutions was appointed: Louis I. Jaffe, Virginius Dabney, A. W. Dent, Mrs. A. W. Simkins, J. T. Taylor, Mrs. Leslie Webb, and M. A. Wright. Later, in the absence of Mr. Wright, Miss Josephine Wilkins was asked to serve on the committee.

The report of the Treasurer was read and, on motion duly seconded,

2. IT WAS VOTED that the report be approved. (Report on file.)

Mr. Virginius Dabney reported that the committee of which he was chairman had reviewed and approved the minutes of the January 3 meeting of the Board of Directors.

The President called for reports from the Executive Directors.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director, read expressions of regret from a number of members who had intended to be present, but who were unavoidably detained at the last moment. He then presented a report on the Council's activities during 1945. In the beginning, he stated that the size and efficiency of the staff, both administrative and clerical, had been increased considerably, that the Council membership had more than doubled, and that many thousands of people had become acquainted with the work of the Council through conferences, literature, and publicity. Details of program activities were reported under the following headings: work with state interracial committees; work with local committees; conferences and advisory services; cooperation with other agencies; information services; publications; research projects; the work of the Council fellows; veterans' work; the FEPC; the white primary; lynchings; and miscellaneous activities.

Dr. Johnson pointed out certain trends and issues which are facing the South and which need the wholehearted attention of the Council. These were: (1) employment opportunities for Negroes; (2) fair treatment of Negroes in the administration of veterans' services; (3) law enforcement, with particular reference to the relation of the police to racial friction; (4) the danger of revival

of extra-legal and reactionary agencies; (5) increasing political participation by Negroes; and (6) the equalization of facilities and opportunities in education, health, transportation, recreation, etc.

In concluding, Dr. Johnson emphasized the importance of envisioning the Council's structure in terms of a mass membership, with emphasis on state and local action; the necessity of finding a larger financial support; and the importance of achieving a clearer understanding of the aims and strategy of the Council.

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Dr. Ira De A. Reid, Associate Executive Director, began his report by calling attention to the necessity for more vigorous programs and procedures in order to carry out the objectives of the Council. His suggestions fell into two groups: (1) the need for full cooperation with agencies and individuals having specific programs in the field of political education and action and in the field of economic action, and (2) the need for research and action with respect to the following regional situations: (a) human relations, (b) law enforcement and law observance, (c) the community and public education, (d) social security, (e) household employment. Dr. Reid said that he recognized the urgency in all these matters, but he recommended that the Council, first, create through research and education an awareness of the acute phases of each of the above situations in every Southern state and, second, design programs for local and south-wide action upon these matters. He recalled that at the first meeting of the Council he had suggested that some attention be given to the holding of an annual south-wide conference of agencies called to discuss and design strategy for attacking imminent problems of the region. He urged again that consideration be given to this suggestion.

In reporting on the development of the study of racial separation in Atlanta's transportation systems, Dr. Reid said that it was undertaken by the Council "as an exploratory study to test whether or not any effective action could or should be taken by this organization on the problem of racial segregation."

The report indicated the nature of "separate-but-equal" transportation facilities in Atlanta and presented methods and lines of action that could be taken toward the elimination of the existing inequalities. (A brief of the findings is on file.)

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director of Veterans Services, said that he came on the Council's staff in June with an assignment to endeavor to find out what would be helpful in the South's effort to "achieve tolerable justice for the returning veterans of both groups." After spending most of the summer reading pamphlets and laws relating to veterans, he reached the conclusion that "a necessary preliminary to doing anything was getting acquainted with the people in each of the thirteen states of the region who are administering services to veterans." Visits to a number of cities and local communities convinced him of the need for Negro personnel in positions dealing with Negro veterans. He was convinced, also, that of all the benefits that are available to the veterans the one which particularly meets the needs of the South is on-the-job training. Dr. Mitchell stressed the importance of widening the opportunity for on-the-job training so that hundreds of thousands of young men and women may take advantage of it. He assured the SRC members that he would be calling on them as he travels over the region.

The meeting adjourned for lunch at 12:30.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The afternoon session was called to order by Dr. Odum, who requested that any resolutions which the members wished to present be turned over to Mr. Louis I. Jaffe, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions. He then called for reports of the Field Secretaries.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly told of the work in her territory, which includes Georgia, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Kentucky. She reported that the Georgia Interracial Committee, which has a membership of 700 and is now self-supporting, has

six local committees, and has had requests to organize local committees in seven other towns. The Fulton-DeKalb (Atlanta) Committee is endeavoring to get Negro policemen for the Atlanta area, and Mrs. Tilly said that the Atlanta Chief of Police and the Journal and Constitution have gone on record as saying that they will support the effort. This committee is working, also, to see that provision is made for Negro doctors to practice in Grady Hospital, and it is cooperating with the Urban League of Atlanta in the effort to bring about improvements in the local schools for Negroes. Mrs. Tilly told of visits to Kentucky and to the race relations institute in Nashville and said that she would go to Mississippi on November 15 for a conference concerning the returning veterans. She reported that the Council was one of the sponsors of the Georgia Rural Health Conference, which met in Atlanta September 13-14 (and of which she was Chairman), and that the staff had cooperated in the workshops for Methodist women which were held in seven cities in Georgia. It was Mrs. Tilly's opinion that the state committees will be "fields of action, but that the problem of financing them is one yet to be solved." This problem, she stated, must be "thrown into the laps of the Board of Directors."

Mrs. Henry Havens spoke briefly of the work in Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia. She reported that during the past year the Florida Interracial Council has supplied speakers for various church and civic organizations and groups. On October 30 of this year the State Council voted to become the first state division of the SRC, and its program, she said, "will be the program of the SRC brought down to the level of the state." Mrs. Havens referred to the South Carolina Committee of the SRC as a "committee of action," and expressed the opinion that its pattern might well be copied by any other committee. She reported that the South Carolina Committee had resolved that it was the moral obligation of each white member to accompany one of the Negro members of the committee to the place of registration to see that the Negro was registered to vote, and that if any discrimination was shown it was the duty of the white member to testify at the proper

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time. Mrs. Havens told of attending the annual meeting of the Virginia Committee in Richmond and the meeting of the Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation in Norfolk. She reported that the Women's Council had conducted a campaign to have Negroes added to the Norfolk police force and that at their meeting it was suggested that men who had been trained as MPs or SPs might be employed. As a result of this effort, two Negroes have qualified and have just been added to the force. It is expected that this will encourage other cities in Virginia to take similar action.

Mr. J. M. Tydings, Chairman of the Kentucky Interracial Committee, was asked to report concerning the Kentucky Governor's Commission on Negro Affairs, of which he is chairman. He stated that this is a fact-finding body, appointed last year, and that it has just completed a report which will lay the ground work for real action -- "action supported by the facts instead of grievances." The Commission, he said, is divided into five sections: civil affairs, education, economic affairs, health, and housing and social welfare -- "all interested in working together with, rather than for, Negro people."

The report of the Committee on Fellows was read by Mr. J. T. Taylor, in the absence of Dr. Goodrich C. White, co-chairman. The following recommendations were made by the Committee:

(1) That a letter be written to each Fellow, with an outline of the on-the-job training program which is available to veterans and a request that each Fellow visit a suggested list of local officials who might inform the Fellow as to the on-the-job training opportunities available and already in use, or not yet developed, in the community, the Fellow to forward the findings to the Southern Regional Council.

(2) That the following list of nominations for Fellows be accepted, and that the Executive Directors be authorized to extend invitations to any persons whom they consider qualified:

Miss Reynall Goodman, Richmond, Virginia
Miss Louise Harrison Hagner, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
Mrs. Reid Dunn, Richmond, Virginia
John D. Lane, Clemson College, South Carolina

John R. Larkins, State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, Raleigh, North Carolina
Dr. Rosamonde Wimberly, Converse College, Spartanburg, South Carolina
Chester Cowart, Jacksonville, Florida
Howard McClain, Campbell College, Buie's Creek, North Carolina
Harry Williams, formerly with TVA, Institute for Research in Social Science, Chapel Hill, North Carolina
Douglas Hunt, Jr., Chairman, Southern Students Conference, Chapel Hill
Maurice Clifford, Negro co-chairman of Southern Students Conference, Howard University Medical School, Washington, D. C.
Paul Clanton, Pine Bluff, Arkansas
Neal McLeon, Bricks Rural Life School, Bricks, North Carolina
George C. Cooper, Director Veteran's Bureau, Hampton Institute, Virginia
Mrs. Virginia Cobb, Durham, North Carolina
Rev. F. W. Dowd Bangle, Pastor, Methodist Church, Madison, North Carolina

On motion, duly seconded-

1. IT WAS VOTED that the report of the Committee on Fellows be approved.

Dr. Alexander called attention to the Institute on Race Relations, which is conducted at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, for a period of three weeks each summer. He said he felt that this Institute, which is composed of a national student body of white and colored people, could be helpful to the Council's Fellows. He recommended, therefore, that the Executive Director send them information concerning it.

Mr. Virginius Dabney reported the following recommendations from the joint meeting of the Committee on Public Relations and the Committee on Publications, which was held the night of November 13:

(1) That the format of the Council's monthly publication, THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER, be changed to pocket size; that a plan for special quarterly issues be adopted and that the name of the publication be changed to THE NEW SOUTH.

(2) That the yearly subscription price of THE NEW SOUTH be $1.00, including special quarterly issues; that the yearly subscription to all SRC publications, including THE NEW SOUTH, be $2.00; and that those subscribing for all publications be eligible for membership if they wish it.

Mr. Dabney moved the adoption of the joint report of the Committees on Publications and Public Relations and the motion was duly seconded. Dr. Clark Foreman informed the Council, however, that the Southern Conference for Human Welfare is incorporating its educational work in a separate press under the name

of the New South Press. Therefore, a substitute motion was made and seconded, and

2. IT WAS VOTED that the joint report of the Committee on Publications and Public Relations be adopted, with the exception of the reference to the name of the publication, the selection of the name to be left to the Executive Committee.

The Committee on Resolutions was asked to retire and prepare its report.

Dr. Rufus E. Clement reported nine recommendations from the Board of Directors, as follows:

(1) That the portion of ARTICLE VI, Section 1, which reads:

"The Executive Director and the Associate Executive Director need not be members at the time of their election, but, by virtue of their office, shall become members of the corporation and of the Board with all the privileges of Board members, except that they may not be members of the Executive Committee of the Board,"

be amended by striking out the words,

"except that they may not be members of the Executive Committee of the Board."

(Purpose of amendment to remove a conflict with ARTICLE V, Section 1.)

On motion, duly seconded-

3. IT WAS VOTED that the amendment be adopted.

(2) That the portion of ARTICLE IV, Section 1, which reads:

"Each director elected at any subsequent meeting of the Board shall hold office for four years...."

be amended to read,

"Each director elected at any subsequent meeting of members or of the Board, except such directors as are elected by the Board to fill unexpired terms, shall hold office for four years..."

(Present wording in conflict with the remainder of the Section, since all directors are elected by the members except those who are elected by the Board to fill vacancies.)

On motion, duly seconded-

4. IT WAS VOTED that the amendment be adopted.

(3) That ARTICLE II, Section 6, concerning a quorum, which reads as follows, be deleted:

"At all meetings of members the presence, in person or by proxy, of not less than one-fourth of the entire membership, shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, but in the absence of a quorum the members present in person or by proxy at the time and place fixed by Section 3 of this ARTICLE II for an annual meeting, or fixed by the notice of a special meeting, or at the time and place of any adjournment thereof, by majority vote may adjourn the meeting from time to time, but not for a period of over sixty days at any one time, without notice other than by announcement at the meeting, until a quorum shall attend. At any such adjourned meeting at which a quorum shall be present, any business may be transacted which might have been transacted at the meeting as originally notified."

On motion, duly seconded-

5. IT WAS VOTED that the amendment be adopted.

(4) That ARTICLE II, Section 7, which reads:

"Each member shall have one vote, and, except in cases in which it is by the charter or by these by-laws otherwise provided, a majority of the votes cast shall be sufficient to elect and to pass any measure."

be amended by the following addition:

"Voting by mail may be conducted on such questions and in such manner as may be provided by the Board of Directors."

On motion, duly seconded-

6. IT WAS VOTED that the amendment be adopted.

(5) That that portion of ARTICLE II, Section 3, which reads:

"The Corporation shall hold annually a meeting of its members for the election of directors and for the transaction of general business at its principal office in Atlanta at ten o'clock A. M. on the second Wednesday in October..."

be amended to read,

"The Corporation shall hold annually a meeting of its members for the election of directors and for the transaction of general business at its principal office in Atlanta at ten o'clock A. M. on the second Wednesday in November..."

On motion, duly seconded-

7. IT WAS VOTED that the amendment be adopted.

(6) That the annual dues be set at $2.00 for regular members and $5.00 for sustaining members.

On motion, duly seconded-

8. IT WAS VOTED that the recommendation be approved.

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(7) That all standing committees, with the exception of the Finance Committee, be dissolved as of the first of the year.

On motion, duly seconded-

9. IT WAS VOTED that the recommendation be approved.

(8) With reference to the Segregation Study reported by Dr. Reid, the Board recommends:

a - That we instruct the Executives of the Southern Regional Council to initiate through Atlanta citizens an action program for Atlanta, on the basis of material gathered.

b - That we instruct the Executives to take steps to initiate similar studies and action in other Southern communities.

c - That in addition to transportation, as rapidly as resources are available, the questions of health, education, and other fields where the "separate but equal" practices prevail will be covered.

d - That the Executives be instructed to draw up, as rapidly as possible, a plan for the implementation and extension of this study to other cities, with the idea of getting funds to carry out the program.

Mrs. E. G. Mackay asked that the words "practices prevail" in No. 3 be changed to "theories exist."

After discussion and on motion, duly seconded-

10. IT WAS VOTED that the recommendation be approved, with the substitution of the words "theories exist" for "practices prevail" in No. 3.

Mrs. Hamilton said that she would like to ask three questions: "(1) Do I understand that there are now funds which can be designated to carry out No. 1? (2) Is the question of extending the work dependent upon securing additional funds? (3) By supporting this vote, then, we really are saying that we urge that that will be the major item which will be used as a basis for securing additional support immediately, are we not?"

Dr. Odum replied that the Executive Committee at any time, on recommendation of the Executives, can vote money for specific phases of this study within budget limitations.

The Board of Directors recommends, further-

(9) That when members of the Board are elected to the staff their membership on the Board be declared vacant by reason of election to the staff.

After discussion and on motion, duly seconded-

11. IT WAS VOTED that the recommendation be amended to read,

That when members of the Board are elected to the staff, with the exception of the Executive Director and the Associate Executive Director, their membership on the Board be declared vacant by reason of election to the staff.

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The recommendations of the Nominating Committee for membership on the Board of Directors were read by the Chairman, Msgr. McNamara, as follows:

That the following whose terms expire at this time be elected to succeed themselves: Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Rufus E. Clement, Ernest Delpit, Leonard Haas, E. A. McDowell, L. D. Milton, F. D. Patterson, J. G. Pollard, Jr., G. D. Rogers, and Forrester B. Washington.

On motion, duly seconded-

12. IT WAS VOTED that the persons nominated be elected to the Board of Directors for a four-year term.

Dr. Washington said that he had been "very much impressed and happy" to hear the emphasis upon action all through this meeting. The question of whether this Council is an organization for action or for research has been raised during the past year or two, he said, and to clear up any misunderstanding he offered the following motion, which was duly seconded:

The Southern Regional Council was originally organized as an action agency in the field of southern economic and social problems involving all the people. In line with that original purpose, the members here assembled reaffirm this "action principle" as the policy of the Council and instruct the executive officers to follow this policy and engage in only so much research as is necessary for the development of action based upon adequate facts.

Mr. R. P. Daniel, speaking to the motion, said that he had received a great deal of inspiration from this meeting and would take back to Florida a renewed confidence in the work and a renewed inspiration to carry out the program which has been planned in Florida. He felt that the motion was unnecessary and stated that he proposed to vote against it.

13. IT WAS VOTED that the motion be approved.

Msgr. McNamara said that, inasmuch as the by-laws require that the Executive Director, Associate Executive Director, Secretary, and Treasurer be elected by the Board of Directors, the Nominating Committee proposed the following amendment to the by-laws:

> That in Article VI, Section 1, concerning Executive Officers, a sentence reading, "The Executive Director and the Associate Executive Director, Secretary-Treasurer, and Counsel shall be elected by vote of the Executive Committee upon the recommendations of a committee whose function shall be the selection and nomination of these officers," be inserted immediately following the sentence which reads, "The President and the Vice Presidents shall be chosen from among the members of the corporation," and
>
> That the portion of this Section 1, which reads,
>
> "The executive officers shall be elected annually by the Board of Directors at its first meeting following the annual meeting of members, and each such officer shall hold office until the corresponding meeting in the next year and until his successor shall have been fully chosen and qualified..."
>
> be amended to read,
>
> "The President and Vice Presidents shall be elected annually by the Board of Directors at its first meeting following the annual meeting of members. The Executive Director and Associate Executive Director, Secretary-Treasurer, and Counsel shall be confirmed annually by the Board of Directors, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee. Officers shall hold office until the corresponding meeting in the next year, and until their successors shall have been fully chosen and qualified..."
>
> On motion, duly seconded-

14. IT WAS VOTED that the amendment be adopted.

Mr. Jaffe reported that, as there had not been sufficient time for the Resolutions Committee to pass on all the resolutions submitted to them, it was decided to present first those upon which the Committee had taken action and to report without recommendation those which they had not been able to review.

The Committee recommended that the following resolutions (Nos. 1 through 4) be adopted:

> (1) WHEREAS, the House of Representatives has passed the bill to abolish the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in federal elections, and
>
> WHEREAS, a majority of the senators have committed themselves in writing to vote for this bill when it comes before the senate,

and

WHEREAS, there is now no question about the desire of Congress to pass the bill, but merely one of whether democracy in this country will be frustrated by a filibuster, we are, therefore,

RESOLVED to urge upon President Truman, Senator Barkley, and all our elected representatives in Congress to prove to the people of this country and to the world that democracy can work in this country by holding HR 7 before the Senate until the Senate has had a chance to vote upon it.

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The question of whether the Council could support a bill and legally remain a tax-exempt organization was raised. It was pointed out that the resolution does not call for the passage of HR 7, but asks only that democracy be allowed to function.

After discussion and on motion, duly seconded-

15. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

(2) WHEREAS, the U. S. Supreme Court on April 3, 1944, declared unconstitutional the Democratic White Primary because it excluded Negroes solely on the grounds of race; and

WHEREAS, the U. S. Federal District Court at Macon, Georgia, on October 12, 1945, declared the Georgia White Primary in violation of the 14th, 15th, and 17th Amendments to the Federal Constitution; and

WHEREAS, Negroes are voting in the Democratic Primary in several Southern states without interracial friction, and

WHEREAS, the Primary election in Georgia is the only time a citizen can effectively express a choice between those who are to hold public office, and

WHEREAS, we believe the right to vote is basic and fundamental to American democracy,

BE IT RESOLVED that we heartily praise the decision of Judge Davis in the Georgia case and urge that no attempts be made by responsible officials to circumvent this decision and continue to deny qualified Negroes the right to vote in the Primary elections.

On motion, duly seconded-

16. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

(3) The members of the Southern Regional Council, having noticed that in comparatively few places and agencies are Negro personnel used in interviewing and advising returning veterans, and

Believing that many Negro veterans would be best served by Negro interviewers and officials,

Do urge that every effort be made throughout the South to have agencies serving veterans include a due proportion of trained Negro personnel.

On motion, duly seconded-

17. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

(4) WHEREAS, the Southern Regional Council recognizes that the attainment of "equal opportunity for all people in the South" requires measures which will encourage and promote full and fair employment in every Southern community,

THEREFORE, we urge the uncompromising support of legislation, appropriation, and programs which have the following purposes:

a - To promote fair employment practices of the Federal Government, firms engaged in interstate commerce, and trade unions affecting interstate commerce;

b - To assist in the attainment of full employment;

c - To develop an adequate program of public work based on community needs during periods of economic slack;

d - To insure a maximum of at least $25.00 per week as Unemployment Compensation;

e - To insure a basic minimum wage of 65 cents per hour.

BE IT RESOLVED, that we authorize and direct the executive staff of the Southern Regional Council to initiate and cooperate in the effort to achieve support of these ends.

It was moved and seconded that this resolution be adopted. After discussion a substitute motion was made and seconded, and

18. IT WAS VOTED that the ideas presented in this resolution be endorsed and turned over to the Executive Committee, with instructions to work out a program if and when deemed advisable for suitable implementation and action.

The question was asked as to whether the executive officers could send resolutions or telegrams with respect to such things as the FEPC without instructions from the Executive Committee. It was Dr. Clement's opinion that the Executive Directors should do nothing of this nature that they have not been instructed to do.

The following resolutions (Nos. 5 through 7) which had not been considered by the Resolutions Committee were reported without recommendation:

(5) WHEREAS, The Southern Regional Council is aware of the serious deficiencies revealed by the war in the provisions for the educational opportunities for Negroes; of the abuses in the administration of Federal funds for the technical training for Negroes, when separate schools exist; of the sub-standard quality of education throughout the entire Southern Region, and of the educational needs of the returning veteran;

THEREFORE, we urge support of legislation designed to equalize educational opportunity throughout the nation. We further urge that safeguards be established to guarantee the benefit of any and all such programs equally to persons without regard to race, color, or creed.

We urge, further, that surplus war property be distributed in such manner as to increase the facilities available for the technical education of Negroes, particularly throughout the Southern Region.

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After discussion and on motion, duly seconded-

19. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

(6) WHEREAS, the Southern Regional Council appreciates the importance to full and fair employment in the Southern Region of maintaining a national employment service during the period of reconversion,

RESOLVED, that we, thereby, support the Murray Bill which amends the Wagner-Peyser Act and provides that the United States Employment Service will be retained with the Federal Government until June, 1947; and which specifies that, when the employment service is subsequently returned to the various states, war service employees will be taken over by the states, and that qualifying examinations must be given by the states to employees within twelve months after the employment service is returned to them,

RESOLVED, that we urge that the Dirksen Rider to the Senate Appropriations Bill, which calls for the return of United States Employment Service to the states within thirty days after passage of the Bill, be amended to bring it in agreement with the Murray Bill (S. 1510);

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we authorize the communication of this action of the Southern Regional Council to President Truman, to the Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, and to the Chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor.

We authorize the executive staff to initiate and cooperate in efforts to achieve these ends.

It was moved and seconded that the resolution be adopted. Dr. Clement then offered a substitute motion, which was duly seconded, after which

20. IT WAS VOTED that it is the sense of this body that the United States Employment Service should remain in the control of the Federal Government.

(7) WHEREAS, the Southern Regional Council recognizes the inequalities, inequities, and inadequacies which prevail throughout the Southern Region in public school facilities for white and Negro children, we recognize the opportunity offered in many southern communities, by proposals and plans for the postwar improvement of public schools, to remove existing differentials.

THEREFORE, we urge that any and all plans for improvement of educational opportunity throughout the Southern Region include funds for the improvement of the Negro schools proportionate to the existing need, in order that prevailing discrepancies in public school facilities provided for white and Negro children be removed.

BE IT RESOLVED, that we authorize the executive staff of the Southern Regional Council to cooperate in efforts to realize this objective.

Dr. Guy Johnson pointed out that a very similar resolution was passed at the annual meeting last year and, upon request, he read it. (See SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 1945.) He doubted whether the Council would help itself it if made a practice of passing the same resolutions year after year. In the discussion which followed, it was pointed out that the situation in regard to education is still the same and that the SRC should reiterate the action taken last year. On motion, duly seconded-

21. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

In concluding the report of the Resolutions Committee, Mr. Jaffe offered the following resolutions:

(1) That the Executive Director prepare a resolution expressing regret on the retirement of Dr. Ira De A. Reid as Associate Director and thanks to him for the fine report he has prepared on the Segregation Study; also expressing the hope that he will continue to work with the Council in some capacity.

(2) That a resolution be prepared expressing the thanks of this body to Atlanta University for its hospitality and for the fine luncheon today.

On motion, duly seconded-

22. IT WAS VOTED that the resolutions be adopted.

Mr. Jaffe offered the following motion, which was seconded-

That, as a matter of future practice, the President of the Southern Regional Council appoint a Committee on Resolutions, immediately upon the convening of this body, to entertain resolutions at the opening session of the conference, and that a special meeting be held at which

all resolutions will be introduced.

A substitute motion was made and seconded, and

23. IT WAS VOTED that the President of the Southern Regional Council appoint a Resolutions Committee which will be a standing committee.

On motion, duly seconded-

24. IT WAS VOTED that the President appoint a Nominating Committee which will be a standing committee.

Mrs. Hamilton suggested that in planning future annual meetings adequate time be allowed for the consideration of program matters. She pointed out that during this meeting the consideration of several important matters was delayed until the end of the meeting when it was not possible to give sufficient thought to them.

Mr. Wm. H. Bell called attention to the fact that there are three minority groups in Texas -- Negroes, Indians, and Mexicans -- and urged that the Council inform itself concerning the Mexicans and Indians so that they might be included in the organization's program.

On motion, duly seconded-

25. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution concerning the poll tax be sent to President Truman, with a copy to Senator Barkley, and that it be given to the press.

The meeting adjourned at 5 o'clock.

EMILY H. CLAY, SECRETARY

EHC:JTM

AD:183

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Board of Directors

The meeting of the Board of Directors was called to order by Dr. Howard W. Odum at 5:15 P. M. Wednesday November 14, 1945, immediately following the adjournment of the member meeting. The following were present: Will W. Alexander, Rufus E. Clement, Virginius Dabney, A. W. Dent, Clark Foreman, C. H. Gillman, Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Gordon B. Hancock, Louis I. Jaffe, Guy B. Johnson, Charles S. Johnson, T. James McNamara, Benjamin E. Mays, N. C. Newbold, Howard W. Odum, John G. Pollard, Jr., Ira De A. Reid, Philip Shulhafer, Forrester B. Washington, Josephine Wilkins, Emily H. Clay, Secretary, Ray Warwick, Director of Public Relations, and Mrs. Inez B. Tillison, Office Manager. At the invitation of Dr. Odum, Mrs. Henry Havens, George S. Mitchell, and Mrs. M. E. Tilly sat in the meeting.

Msgr. McNamara, reporting for the Nominating Committee of which he was Chairman, read the following nominations for officers for the coming year.

President	- Paul D. Williams, Richmond, Virginia
First Vice President	- P. B. Young, Norfolk, Virginia
Second Vice President	- C. F. Palmer, Atlanta, Georgia
Third Vice President	- Carter Wesley, Houston, Texas
Secretary-Treasurer	- Emily H. Clay
Counsel	- Leonard Haas
Executive Director	- Guy B. Johnson
Associate Executive Director	- Harold L. Trigg

In response to inquiries, Dr. Odum, Mr. Dabney, and Dr. Hancock spoke of the excellent qualifications of Mr. Williams for the office of President and, on motion, duly seconded-

1. IT WAS VOTED that Mr. Paul D. Williams be elected President of the Southern Regional Council.

Miss Wilkins nominated Commander Frank W. Spencer, of Savannah, Georgia, for the office of Second Vice President. After discussion and on motion, duly seconded-

2. IT WAS VOTED that Commander Spencer be elected Second Vice President.

Dr. Clement moved, and it was seconded, that Dr. Gordon B. Hancock be nominated as First Vice President. Dr. Hancock expressed appreciation for the nomination, but said that he could not accept and that he wanted to see Mr. Young reelected as First Vice President of the Council. The motion was lost.

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Dr. Clement moved, and it was seconded, that President A. W. Dent be nominated as Third Vice President. Mr. Dent said that he would like to decline the nomination, as he thought there was a distinct advantage in having Mr. Wesley continue in office, because of the tremendous influence he wields through the chain of newspapers he owns in Texas. The motion was, therefore, withdrawn by Dr. Clement.

On motion, duly seconded-

3. IT WAS VOTED that the slate as amended from the floor be declared elected.

Dr. Guy Johnson explained that it was desirable to have an Assistant Secretary-Treasurer and on motion, duly seconded-

4. IT WAS VOTED that Mrs. Inez B. Tillison, Office Manager, be elected Assistant Secretary-Treasurer.

Msgr. McNamara presented the following nominations from the Nominating Committee to fill vacancies on the Board of Directors:

Ira DeA. Reid, Georgia, to succeed Harold L. Trigg, who will become an ex officio member;
Howard W. Odum, North Carolina, to succeed James L. Robb, who resigned because of ill health;
David D. Jones, North Carolina, to succeed Horace M. Bond, who has moved outside the Region.

On motion, duly seconded-

5. IT WAS VOTED that Ira DeA. Reid, Howard W. Odum, and David D. Jones, be elected to fill the unexpired terms of Harold L. Trigg, James L. Robb, and Horace M. Bond, respectively.

Msgr. McNamara reported that the Nominating Committee recommended that the Board be enlarged and that the following be nominated for election as new members of the Board:

Barry Bingham, Kentucky
Stanley Brav, Mississippi
Hodding Carter, Mississippi
R. P. Daniel, Florida
P. H. Easom, Mississippi
Gordon Gray, North Carolina
John A. Griffin, Georgia
J. R. Henderson, Georgia
Watts Hill, North Carolina
Maynard Jackson, Georgia
Armand May, Georgia
Alfred Mynders, Tennessee
C. H. Parrish, Jr., Kentucky
E. A. Penick, North Carolina
J. W. Seabrook, North Carolina
Mrs. Eugene H. Spearman, South Carolina
J. M. Tydings, Kentucky
Aubrey Williams, Alabama
Marion A. Wright, South Carolina
Mrs. Warren Zeuch, Florida

6. IT WAS VOTED that the persons nominated as new members be elected to the Board of Directors for a four-year term.

The question was raised as to whether the nomination for Associate Executive Director was on the slate which was adopted. Msgr. McNamara stated that the name of Dr. Harold L. Trigg was included. In order to provide opportunity for discussion of Dr. Trigg's qualifications, on motion, duly seconded-

7. IT WAS VOTED that the nomination of Dr. Trigg be reconsidered.

Dr. Newbold commented on the high qualifications of Dr. Trigg for the position. Dr. Clement, speaking as a member of the Executive Committee, stated that for the past year the Committee had been aware of the need for a full-time Associate Executive Director. As Dr. Reid could not serve on a full-time basis, the Committee had considered several possibilities and had finally voted to offer the position to Dr. Trigg as the best man available.

On motion, duly seconded-

8. IT WAS VOTED that Dr. Trigg's election as full-time Associate Executive Director be confirmed.

Mrs. Hamilton asked that our Counsel, Mr. Leonard Haas, be requested to determine from the Income Tax Division of the Department of Internal Revenue within what limits an organization of this sort can take action in regard to legislation and retain its tax exempt status.

The meeting adjourned at 6:15 P. M.

EMILY H. CLAY, SECRETARY

EHC:JTM

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Executive Committee

The first quarterly meeting of the Executive Committee was held in the SRC Conference Room at 10 A. M. Wednesday February 27, 1946. The following were present: Rufus E. Clement, C. H. Gillman, Leonard Haas, T. James McNamara, Paul D. Williams, Guy B. Johnson, H. L. Trigg, Emily H. Clay, Secretary, and Mrs. Henry Havens of the field staff. Thomas C. Allen, Director of the Virginia Commission on Interracial Cooperation, who was visiting the SRC, was asked to sit with the Committee.

ADFISO

The meeting was called to order by Guy B. Johnson in the absence of the Chairman, Charles S. Johnson, who is enroute to Japan as a member of the educational mission to advise General MacArthur on the organization and administration of a democratic system of education in that country. Mr. Williams, the new President of the Council, was introduced and on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

1. IT WAS VOTED that Mr. Williams be asked to preside over the meeting.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

2. IT WAS VOTED to dispense with the reading of the minutes of the November meeting, inasmuch as copies were mailed to the members.

Mr. Williams said that he was very glad to have this opportunity to meet with "the official family of the Southern Regional Council and to express gratitude for being elected to the presidency of the organization." He paid tribute to Dr. Howard W. Odum, the Council's first president, and said that he felt very humble to follow in his footsteps.

On a recent trip to Chicago Mr. Williams was invited by Dr. Will W. Alexander to meet with him, Mr. Edwin R. Embree, and Dr. Charles S. Johnson at the Julius Rosenwald Fund, where he had an excellent opportunity to talk with them about the problems of the SRC. Dr. Alexander later told Mr. Williams that the discussion had clarified some questions in Mr. Embree's mind and that he thought Mr. Embree was convinced of the part the Council is to play "in the upsurge of the South."

After these introductory remarks, other items on the agenda were taken up as follows:

PERSONNEL

Mr. Williams said that when he first visited the Council office before Christmas he was convinced that at least one additional staff member was needed to take some of the load off the Executive Directors. It was his opinion that Mr. Warwick would have to devote more and more time to the preparation of NEW SOUTH, particularly the special quarterly issues, and to other Council publications. Dr. Johnson said he agreed with Mr. Williams that another mature, well-qualified person is needed to help with the program. He told the Committee that he had conferred with a very able young man, a native of Louisiana now living in Washington, D. C., who was highly recommended to us, and who was considering the possibility of coming on our staff. If he does, Dr. Johnson said, he will serve first as a financial promoter to develop support particularly in the South and will be assigned later to other projects for which he has special qualifications.

VETERANS SERVICE

Dr. Johnson explained that Dr. George S. Mitchell had planned to be present to report in person on the activities of the Veterans Service Division of the Council. It was thought wise, however, to send someone to Columbia, Tennessee, to investigate the race riot which was reported there the day before the meeting and, as he was especially interested in the fact that returned veterans were involved in the disturbance, Dr. Mitchell went to look into the situation while it was fresh. Dr. Johnson, therefore, read a brief statement prepared recently by Dr. Mitchell with reference to the Veterans Service program. (See attached.) The Committee also had an opportunity to see photographs, taken at the request of Dr. Mitchell, showing veterans participating in on-the-job training in the vicinity of Atlanta and elsewhere in the region.

Dr. Clement reported that he had been conferring with the Veterans Administration with a view to opening a Veterans Guidance Center at Atlanta University.

He said it looked now as though a center might be established there.

Mr. Allen called attention to the fact that in on-the-job training it is necessary for the veterans to find their own jobs before they can apply for training. He suggested that this is one point at which they should be given help.

Dr. Johnson told of interesting reports which have been received from Mr. Harry Wright, of the Veterans Service staff, and suggested that copies might be sent to members of the Executive Committee. (See attached.) He said he felt that congratulations should be extended to Dr. Mitchell and other members of the Veterans Service staff for the progress which they have made.

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TRANSPORTATION STUDY

Dr. Johnson reminded the Committee that this was the study which was reported tentatively at the annual meeting in November. He said that "we are now at the point of seeing such people as the managers of the railway stations, officials of the Georgia Power Company, the health department, the mayor, and others to lay before them the findings of the study." As there are a few places in which improvement in the transportation situation has already been made, Dr. Johnson said that he and Dr. Trigg felt that it was very important for us to check further so as not to be caught in the position of going to these people to report situations which have been improved.

Dr. Johnson reported that, following instructions of the annual meeting that an effort be made to find money for extending this kind of service to other communities, he and Dr. Reid went to New York where they had a good interview with Mr. John Dollard of the Carnegie Corporation. Mr. Dollard felt that he could not recommend a grant for the project just as a survey, but said that he would like to wait to find what concrete results come out of the Atlanta study. It was Dr. Johnson's opinion that funds might be secured if we can show that improvement is made as a result of the survey. Mr. Williams thought that we should know within the next six months what these results are, and that if this necessitates the employment of extra help we should endeavor to find the money "to push it along as

rapidly as possible."

JACKSONVILLE SURVEY

Dr. Johnson recalled that at the annual meeting it was announced that the Council had been asked by a committee in Jacksonville, Florida, to assist with a survey of Negro community life in that city. He said that he and Dr. Trigg had made three or four trips to Jacksonville to advise with those who are conducting the survey. At his suggestion, Mrs. Havens told something of the background of the project. She explained that a group of Jacksonville citizens who had been very much interested in a survey of the Negro community in Miami finally decided to make a similar study in Jacksonville and to invite the SRC to act as consultants. Mrs. Havens said she thought that the success of the survey, which is being financed by a grant from the Community Fund, is due to the fact that the actual work is being done by Florida people. Other Florida communities, she said, have asked for similar help from the Council, and it was her opinion that perhaps the greatest advantage to the SRC in assisting with this Jacksonville survey is that is it setting a pattern for the improvement of community life.

Mr. Williams thought that it would be well to have a report of the bare essentials of the completed survey prepared so that not only the Executive Committee but the Board of Directors might see it. Dr. Johnson replied that the Jacksonville committee plans to publish the report in full and that he thought the Council might prepare a leaflet or pamphlet to send out with the report, explaining the technique and telling of the results of the survey. The topics covered by the survey, he said, are: housing, health and medical care, education, industry and employment, transportation, law enforcement and civil rights, recreation and culture, and welfare agencies.

Mr. Williams asked whether the report might be put in the hands of some journalist. Mrs. Havens replied that Jacksonville is in a fortunate position just

now, since Mr. Ed Ray, the new Chairman of the Florida Division of the Council, is Editor of The Tampa Times and President of the State Editors' Association.

ALLATOONA RECREATIONAL PROJECT

Dr. Johnson told the Committee that in January a letter was received from a white lawyer in Cartersville, Georgia, who is a member of the Council, with regard to the possibility of getting a recreational project for Negroes at the new Allatoona dam, thirty or forty miles northwest of Atlanta. This lawyer wondered whether the Council might send a representative to assist in the preparation of a plan to be presented to the Army engineers in support of a request for a project for Negroes. Dr. Trigg, who went to Cartersville, reported that the Allatoona project is one of the services that the U. S. Army Engineers planned for the development of hydro-electric power and flood control, and the U. S. Park Service, he said, proposes to develop recreational areas. He explained that they are setting aside about four or five hundred acres for recreational purposes along the lake that is being formed. It was Dr. Trigg's opinion that one objective of the Council should be to get the white and Negro leaders of a community to form the habit of getting together on projects that concern both. He said that he had "asked the Federal people to let us in on all their projects in any state in the South in which they work." The Federal Park Service selects the site for a recreational center, Dr. Trigg explained, and the State Park Service is responsible for its development, so that "if there is any problem, it will be with the State Service." Dr. Trigg thought it would be dirable for a group of Atlanta Negroes to go to see the State Park Commissioner concerning provisions for Negroes in the State parks.

NEGRO POLICE

Dr. Johnson reported that we are cooperating in the effort to have Negro police appointed in Southern communities. He said that Asheville, North Carolina, recently voted to add Negroes to their police force. As was stated at the annual

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meeting in November, Negro police have also been added to the force in Norfolk, Virginia, largely as a result of the effort of a local Woman's Interracial Committee. Dr. Johnson told the Committee that although we have not yet been able to make much headway in Atlanta we are continuing our efforts. He reported that Mrs. M. E. Tilly, of our field staff, had worked with a number of women's organizations and that some of them had gone on record as favoring the use of Negro police. He said, further, that we had cooperated recently with the Atlanta Association of University Women who have had two programs on the subject this winter, and that we secured Mr. Henry Yancey, City Manager of Greensboro, North Carolina, as the speaker for one of the meetings.

Dr. Johnson reported that the Council had supplied a petition which a group of Negro citizens had circulated and which they had presented to the City Council, asking that Negroes be added to the Atlanta police force.

Msgr. McNamara suggested that some inquiry might be made into the use of the auxiliary police who were used during the war.

STATE DIVISIONS OF SRC

Dr. Johnson reminded the members that we are committed to the development of state divisions of the Council wherever possible and that we now have two divisions: Florida and Mississippi. Florida is getting under way with Mr. Ed Ray, Editor of The Tampa Times, serving as Chairman. A meeting of the Florida Division will he held in the new broadcasting studio of the Times within the next two months, Dr. Johnson said. The Mississippi Committee on Interracial Cooperation, at its meeting on February 8, voted to become a State Division of the Council, and we are now in the process of finding a chairman.

Dr. Johnson reported that the Kentucky Committee would like to become a division of the Council. As they are very much interested in active legislative work at the present time, however, it is doubtful that they will come in as a State division just now. Since the Council and its divisions cannot

participate in legislative matters under its charter, it was thought that the Kentucky Committee should become an affiliate of the Council rather than a state division. This would leave it free to pursue its legislative program.

We now have plans for organizing State divisions in Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee, Dr. Johnson said. In North Carolina the State Committee has been in an unsettled state, but Dr. N. C. Newbold is trying to revitalize the organization and perhaps to combine it with the Division on Cooperation in Education and Race Relations. The Virginia Committee is a cooperating organization, he said.

ABELSO

PUBLICATIONS

Mr. Williams congratulated Mr. Warwick on the first two issues of NEW SOUTH, which he thought had a much more attractive format than the former monthly paper. He suggested that it might be helpful if we could get a newspaper man to prepare a series of articles concerning the SRC -- "its objectives, its democratic processes, its Christian ideals, its personnel." Mr. Warwick said that Mr. Caldwell of the Associated Press had said that he wanted to send to his member papers very soon a special article on the SRC.

Mr. Williams also suggested that for one of the quarterly issues of NEW SOUTH we have "the finest, most courageous leaders of the three major faiths to prepare articles which would be a kind of appeal to the conscience of their respective religious bodies for a different attitude toward our Negro brethren."

Mrs. Havens said that when she and Dr. Johnson visited the Episcopal Theological Seminary at Sewanee, Tennessee, last year, the Dean expressed the opinion that not enough information concerning this work was getting into the theological schools of the South. He urged that more help be given the young men who are studying in these schools.

MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN

Dr. Johnson reported that we had recently sent out between five and ten

thousand cultivation leaflets as a part of the system which has been developed for cultivating prospective members. Mr. Williams asked that we consider the advisability of having a small membership card printed.

FELLOWS

Mr. Williams said it had occurred to him that if we could bring the SRC Fellows to Atlanta for a sort of clinic of one or two days they would feel that they were an active part of the Council family and would be able to do a much better job in the field. He asked whether the Committee would approve of holding such a clinic.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

3. IT WAS VOTED that a clinic be held for the Fellows provided funds can be found to cover the expense.

SURVEY OF POLICE SYSTEMS

Dr. Johnson reported that the Council is committed to make a study of police systems provided additional funds and a suitable person for the work can be secured.

MISCELLANEOUS

Mr. Williams said that in reading past minutes of the Council he had noticed that provision was made for a National Advisory Board to act as a co-operating agency, but that nothing had been done toward setting up such a Board. It was his feeling that "if we had a National Advisory Board which would meet not more than once a year with a group of officers and members of the SRC we would be complementing certain organizations that are doing over-all, national jobs for the Negro and for the South and certain individuals who stand for forthright leadership nationally and, therefore, are interested in the type of work we are doing." Mr. Williams told the Committee that he had talked unofficially with several friends about this and found them most interested in what the Council is trying to do in the South. He felt that if we could judiciously select people

who have good contacts and would be capable of giving us guidance this would answer the complaints of people who think we are an ineffective Southern group. He was convinced that such a Board would be a great asset to the Council.

After discussion and on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

4. IT WAS VOTED that, in compliance with the by-laws authorizing the appointment of a National Advisory Board, we recommend to the Board of Directors that such a Board be appointed at the earliest possible moment.

Dr. Johnson suggested that we begin immediately to make up a list of suitable people to be submitted to the next meeting of the Board of Directors.

Mr. Williams asked Dr. Johnson to prepare "a message of felicitation and good wishes to be sent to Dr. Charles S. Johnson in Japan."

Mr. Warwick told the Committee that following the annual meeting of the Council last November Mr. Caldwell of the Associated Press said he had always been interested in the SRC and thought that its meetings should be open to the press. It was his opinion that when meetings are closed people are inclined to be suspicious. Mr. Warwick said he would like to see us open our meetings to the press, for when they send their own representatives to get the story they give much more attention and more space to it.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

5. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee recommend that the annual meetings, with the exception of business sessions, be open to the press.

Dr. Johnson said that just as a reminder he wanted to say that at the annual meeting it was voted that the Resolutions Committee and the Nominating Committee be standing committees,and that they be appointed by the President. Mr. Williams replied that he would give this matter attention.

Mr. Williams told the Committee that it had been a pleasure to preside over this meeting and "to note the spirit of willing cooperation which exists." He expressed appreciation to the members who had come from a distance.

Following a prayer by Msgr. McNamara, the meeting adjourned at 1:30 P. M.

EMILY H. CLAY, SECRETARY

ABE160

REPORT OF VETERANS SERVICE DIVISION

George S. Mitchell

This is by way of a report on work so far of the Veterans Services Division of the Southern Regional Council.

I took the job on June 18, 1945. The first six months were spent in reading up on veterans' needs and benefits and on administration of services to veterans. Several trips were made in Louisiana, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Washington. Gradually a program took shape involving two main lines of work:

(1) A survey of the administration of veterans services in the Southern states.

(2) Stimulus to vocational education, particularly job training and on-the-farm training.

The survey is about completed in Louisiana and Virginia and partially done in North Carolina. Alabama is now being looked at by Mr. W. B. Twitty. A forthcoming article by me in the New South for February gives the general background of services to veterans. It is intended in later issues to provide details state by state. The survey is really a means of finding out what the situation is and making acquaintance of the officials and of local interested groups who are dealing with the problems. So far as it has gone, it has turned up the following things which are needed.

(1) Much more Negro personnel in local offices serving veterans.

(2) Statistical reports in such offices showing their services by race.

(3) Improvement of USES on Negro placement in skilled and semi-skilled jobs.

(4) More participation by Negroes in the work of Selective Service Boards as reemployment committeemen.

(5) Opening of the American Legion to Negro posts in South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and Louisiana. More Negro posts in states which already permit the chartering of Negro posts would be helpful.

(6) Some linkage of the many mushrooming Negro veterans organizations which are springing up.

(7) Much more vocational education to be made available to Negroes and old-timey courses to be replaced by training in new skills.

(8) Greatly improved police administration.

Job training offers great prospects, but needs much improvement. Few veterans know about it, and communities in general know less. If the program could be expanded and improved, it would not only do a lot to better the prospects

of Negro and white veterans in the Southern states; it would be the means of establishing in the South a well-rounded and effective pattern of technical education for all who would want it. Present bottlenecks are the matter of getting employers to take on trainees and the completely inadequate staff assigned by the State Departments of Education to the program. I hear that important efforts are being made to arrange for the U. S. Office of Education to subsidize the State Departments of Education in order that these latter may put on enough people to do the job. That means people to inspect places where training is being done and people to find new training opportunities. The administrative procedure is new,and a lot of work will have to be done to tighten it.

In an effort to speed all this I am trying to get far more veterans to apply for job training and its companion, farm training. At about the turn of the year five veterans were employed as field agents to do this. These men are Harry Wright, Ibra January, Horace A. Bohannon, W. E. Dixon, (Negroes), and W. B. Twitty (white).

Mr. January has northern Louisiana, and Mr. Dixon has southern Louisiana. Mr. Harry Wright has Mississippi. Mr. Twitty is in Alabama, and Mr. Bohannon is in Georgia.

Another Negro veteran, Mr. John W. Merkerson, has already been trained for this work during a recent lengthy furlough and is expected to be out of the Army and at work within ten days or so. He will probably be sent to Florida and perhaps to South Carolina.

Salaries of these men range from $200.00 to $275.00 a month, plus travel expense, which is heavy.

Their procedure is to travel to towns and cities with a proportionately large Negro population. They first interview officials in charge of job training or farm training. They then reach the more influential Negro leaders and some white leaders and point out the possibilities involved in trade training for veterans. In a good many cases the leaders whom these veterans have talked with have of their own accord set up informal organizations to follow through, but no special effort is made to get going a chain of local organizations. What is attempted is to get the word out that trade training is available to veterans and is a good bet.

Thus far, job training has been explained in four or five towns in north-central Louisiana. The south Louisiana man has only just arrived in New Orleans and has begun there. In Mississippi, good work has been done at Jackson, Clarksdale, Greenville, and at a number of rural points in the Delta area. In Alabama, Twitty is both looking into administrative services and pushing job training. He has been to Tuscaloosa, Birmingham, Tuscumbia, Montgomery, and Mobile. In Georgia, Mr. Bohannon has worked with Negro state officials in charge of vocational agriculture at Fort Valley and Waynesboro, and has begun to push job training in Augusta, He has had to do a certain amount of individual training placement work for Negro veterans in Atlanta. Actually, he has gotten eight men into training opportunities, although he spends only an odd couple of days in Atlanta now and then.

A few other specific things of less importance have been done. We had a hand in working out a two-day meeting about services to Negro veterans in Virginia and a one-day meeting in Jackson, Mississippi. I have attended similar meetings

at Fort Valley, Georgia, and Columbia, South Carolina. This office has also handled perhaps a dozen individual Negro veteran cases for small services about claims and jobs. Several of the Atlanta veterans servicing agencies now call this office once or twice a week with a special case they have not been able to unravel and ask our help. I do not encourage this, but when we get one we do what we can.

Names and addresses of influential local people whom I or the field agents meet are made available to the Southern Regional Council, which gives them a free trial subscription (three months) to the New South.

You will see that great areas of the South have scarcely been touched. Nothing has been done in Tennessee, hardly anything in South Carolina, nothing in Florida, and nothing in Texas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas. It would of course be well if I could put on people to handle each of these states. The months passing just now are critical months. Several of the field agents now assigned can be pulled out of the states they are presently working in and put elsewhere, but this should not happen for at least two months. Present expenditure is at a rate of roughly $3,000 a month, which neatly fills the budget available until June 30.

I would welcome your comments on what is being done, and on ways to make the best use of time and effort and money.

Atlanta
February 12, 1946

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19 January, 1946

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Director of Veterans Services
Room 424, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I have just returned to Jackson from a visit to Natchez and Alcorn College.

I mentioned in my last letter to you that Mr. P. H. Easom, State Agent for Negro Education, had given me an appointment in order that I could meet the other State Officials concerned with the problems lf veterans. Mr. Easom introduced me to Mr. A. P. Fatherree, State Supervisor of Vocational Agriculture.

After I had explained my mission, Mr. Fatherree gave me a complete layout of the whole agricultural set-up in respect to veterans. I am sending you a copy of the "Mississippi Plan." Frankly, not one thing is actually being done now, but I have respect for their "sincere" feelings toward their plan for veterans in agriculture. Mr. A. D. Fobbs, Negro State Teacher Trainer, will supervise

the Negro Vocational Agriculture Teachers. I am making an effort to arrange a conference with him when he's in this area again. Mr. Fatherree and a few others with whom I talked are concerned about Mississippi being so late in getting the contract for their plan approved. I think that I'll be able to slip in a suggestion here and there since the "ground floor" is just being layed.

After leaving the State Capitol, I went by to get acquainted with the American Legion and the VFW people. In the American Legion office, I met Mr. Robert D. Morrow, State Adjutant of the American Legion. Mr. Morrow is one of those sort of persons who earn your respect right away just by his bearing. I explained the interest of my organization in veterans and asked him what interest was his organization taking in Negro veterans. He explained that the American Legion was working on plans to establish a department for Negroes in Mississippi, and that this plan had the support of most of the Legion Posts in Mississippi. He offered to give me an introduction in any part of Mississippi in which I planned to travel.

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Mr. W. J. McCoy, State Commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, was in charge of the Jackson office. In introducing myself I said that my office was in Atlanta -- he was born in Atlanta; knew about the SRC, so my program was sold to him right off. He explained that the reason why Negroes weren't admitted to the VFW posts or permitted to organize posts of their own was because the VFW feared criticism from the other veterans organizations. Plans are now under way to organize posts for Negroes. The VFW people are planning to write all the leading churchmen in Mississippi asking their opinion on the admission of Negroes; if their opinions are favorable then when or if criticism ever comes they can point to the advice received from these good citizens. Quite a clever idea. I have made some very good contacts with other sections of the state through Mr. McCoy. He has asked me to go by to meet some of the VFW fellows wherever I travel in Mississippi. I am going to his office Monday to pick up some addresses of VFW members in North Mississippi.

Before leaving for Natchez on Tuesday, I visited the office of the Secretary of the Mississippi Colored Teachers Association, Professor W. W. Blackburn. Mr. Blackburn is one of the best informed Negroes on the problems of education in Mississippi; he is employed by the State Department of Education as Mr. P. H. Easom's assistant. Mr. Blackburn was able to give me a lead on the situation of Negroes in Natchez as he has worked in all the communities of Mississippi for the past thirty- five years.

I arrived in Natchez Tuesday afternoon. Through one of my old college roommates I arranged to stay at one of the very fine homes in the community. I made my approach in Natchez just as I had done in Jackson -- that I was just getting around to get acquainted with the good citizens, both white and colored, who could help the Colored Veterans get "out of the pool rooms" and off the (principal street for Negroes) and get settled down to becoming good citizens. I first met a few of the Negro leaders whom Professor Blackburn had mentioned and asked who would be some of the other people that I should meet. I made my way down to the local office of the Veterans Administration and met the Veterans Contact officer, Mr. Jimmy Clinton, a native of Natchez, cordial, easy going, friendly, and down-to-earth sort of fellow. We discussed all the usual problems. He said that as of 31 December, 1945, 1291 men from the Natchez Area had been discharged from the service; 645 of these were Negroes. Natchez had twenty men on Job Training -- five of these are Negroes. Mr. Clinton was interested in increasing the number of men on his Job Training Program, and as I was talking about "beating the bushes" for Job Training Veterans, I was one of his "fair haired" boys.

He said that I had his whole hearted cooperation in this sort of program and he suggested that I get a group of the leading Colored Citizens together before I left and that he would come around in the Colored Section and explain the opportunities for veterans. Naturally I was very pleased with this idea of his. He asked me to go by to meet some of the White Citizens who were interested in the Negroes. I went by to meet Mr. Joseph Dixon, a staunch American Legion man. Owner of the Dixon Novelty Shop; Mr. Dixon stuck out his hand and gave me a hearty hand shake when I mentioned that I had met Mr. Robert Morrow, State Adjutant of the American Legion, Mississippi. He said, "When you mention Bob Morrow's name among American Legion men in the South, you talk about a real man." He told me the whole history of race relations in Natchez, and pledged his cooperation to any kind of project like ours.

Mr. Clinton also asked me to go by to meet Mr. Robert Walcott, Justice of the Peace; I wasn't able to find Mr. Walcott in his office -- Justice of the Peace Walcott has the goodwill of most of the Negroes whom I met in the community.

I visited the local high school and was invited to speak at the assembly. A Miss Sadie V. Thompson is the principal of this school. Miss Thompson is an old woman who seems set in her old ideas and the school reflects her attitude. This is a handicap to the community of which the veterans are a definite part.

While in Natchez, Mr. Easom asked me to meet Mr. W. H. Braden, Superintendent of Natchez Public Schools. Professor Braden gave me a warm reception after I had explained my mission to Natchez. At the Negro High School, I had noticed a fairly well equipped shop and some of the cabinet work of Professor Jennings, so I hit on the idea of interesting Mr. Braden in working out some kind of training program for veterans in this shop; he felt that this was a worthwhile idea and when I left Natchez I found that he had approached the Veterans Administration with such an idea. Professor Braden said that if I should ever come back to Natchez that he would arrange for me to meet with the Chamber of Commerce.

Thursday night, I had one of the leading Negro businessmen, Mr. Marchant Dumas, druggist, to invite a group of the representative Negroes in the community to a meeting in his drug store to discuss opportunities for Negro veterans; I invited Mr. Jimmy Clinton, the Veterans Officer, to come down to give them all of the information they desired. There were about ten leaders present. We scheduled the meeting for one hour; it lasted two and a half hours. Everyone fell into the spirit of getting the correct information to pass on to veterans. After the meeting was finished some few of the leaders were left talking to the Veterans Officer on the outside of the building.

I made no effort to try to organize a permanent committee. I felt it would have been a mistake at that time. Mr. Dumas promised to keep me informed on matters, and I felt if the thing just grew because of the seed of interest I had planted, it would be a more successful project. I'll see. The situation at Natchez fitted into the general pattern of the Veterans' situation in Mississippi that I described to you last week.

I went next down to Alcorn College. I wish every Mississippian could visit Alcorn. The neglect of State officials in not providing facilities for the education of Negroes at Alcorn College is a most serious mistake. I under-

stand that the munition plant at Flora, Mississippi, was to have been an extension of Alcorn College; everyone, including the Governor, had approved of this project. But a few words of objection from a few White People who lived in the community killed the whole works and as a result thousands of colored lads who braved the fury of the enemy all over the world are denied an opportunity to learn how to better earn a living. We have a long way to go yet.

Only thirty veterans are enrolled at Alcorn. Mr. William P. Robinson is chairman of the Veterans Committee at Alcorn College. Mr. Robinson is both able and willing to see that the veterans program at Alcorn is of real service to the fellows but the college is without both equipment and funds. President Pipes is most anxious for the fellows to get the most out of their program but he feels that without equipment and funds, Alcorn is not doing a successful job with veterans. There is hope for some funds by July, 1946, but in the meantime, I wonder just what will happen. This munition plant deal is something that should have the attention of someone who could work out some solution; this deal is most unfortunate.

I have arrived back in Jackson for a conference with Mr. Easom, Mr. Reddix, and veterans organization commanders; then I plan a two weeks trip through North Mississippi. I hope these reports are giving you the information you desire. Remember to let me know how I can improve my work over here. Please say hello to all of the SRC family for me.

Your friend,

(signed)
HARRY L. WRIGHT

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Executive Committee

May 22, 1946

The quarterly meeting of the Executive Committee was held in the SRC Conference Room at 10 o'clock Wednesday morning May 22, 1946. Dr. Guy Johnson reported that the Chairman, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, who only recently returned from Japan, was unable to attend the meeting because of pressure of regular duties. Therefore, on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

1. IT WAS VOTED that Mr. Paul D. Williams be elected to serve as Chairman of the session.

The following were present: Rufus E. Clement, Leonard Haas, Gordon B. Hancock, T. James McNamara, Frank Spencer, Josephine Wilkins, Paul D. Williams, P. B. Young, Guy B. Johnson, Harold L. Trigg, Emily H. Clay, Secretary, Mrs. Henry Havens, and Ray Warwick.

As the minutes of the February 22 meeting were mailed to the members, on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

2. IT WAS VOTED to dispense with the reading of the minutes.

Mr. Williams, after welcoming the members of the Committee and commenting on the large attendance, said it was his impression that "in the office of the Southern Regional Council, at least, we have real democracy in action," with well-trained members of both groups working together. He expressed the opinion that if the Council is to go forward the portion of its program which deals with "social justice in relation to our Negro brother must receive a large part of our attention." Mr. Williams called attention to a new book, A Negro's Faith in America, by Spencer Logan, from which he read the following quotation: "I am a Negro American. All my life I have wanted to be an American." In his closing remarks, Mr. Williams expressed pride in the selection of Mrs. Emma C. Clement, one of our Council members and the mother of a distinguished member of this Committee, as American Mother of 1946.

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MEMBERSHIP AND FINANCE

Miss Clay reported that the Council now has a membership of about 1400 and that new members are being added each day. She said that Dr. Johnson had requested her to make a statement concerning our income since January 1. This she did as follows:

General Education Board	$ 6,000.00
Julius Rosenwald Fund	
To General Budget	5,000.00
To Veterans Service Division Budget	20,000.00
Phelps-Stlkes Fund	200.00
Division of Home Missions and Church Extension, Board of Missions and Church Extension, The Methodist Church	1,000.00
Woman's Division of Christian Service, Board of Missions and Church Extension, The Methodist Church	1,000.00
Board of Home Missions, Congregational and Christian Churches, American Missionary Association Division	750.00
SRC Membership Dues	771.00
Contributions	405.00
Miscellaneous Literature	512.00
New South and Mailing List Subscriptions	383.00

Miss Clay explained that the membership dues and contributions here reported were received mostly from new members and that notices of 1946 dues would be sent out on May 23.

VETERANS PROJECT

At the request of Dr. Mitchell, who was in Buffalo attending a meeting of the National Conference of Social Work, Dr. Guy Johnson told briefly of the work of the Veterans Service Division. Dr. Johnson read some excerpts from a confidential statement prepared by Dr. Mitchell from reports of members of the Veterans Division field staff:

> January 16- Wednesday morning found me making the rounds of the various veterans organizations. The first was the State Veterans Office headed by a fellow named ----. I talked with Mr. ----who is in charge in the absence of the former. He assured me that his office would act with fairness to any and all veterans who came in. Strangely enough, however, his office has absolutely nothing to do with the certification of firms for training. The authority is vested in the --------- Vocational School which will be discussed later. He gave me

a list of schools (and of the trades taught; both very limited) in the city and I picked one at random and visited it. I don't know what I expected but I found: an old dilapidated building with virtually no doors or windows, a very poor heating system, and, most despairing of all, poor teachers and worse subject matter. However, here veterans are taught along with 7th, 8th, and 9th grade pupils. Conditions are really deplorable at ----.

February 22- In ----, the first thing I did was to call on the local State Veterans Service Officer. I was ushered in in the usual manner to see a Mr. ----. He told me of a very sad state of affairs in----as far as job training is concerned. He said that few or no white shops admitted Negro workers (he blamed this on the unions.) He also said that in cases where Negroes were in white shops they were only being exploited. He cited an example of a veteran in a furnitre shop, supposedly taking upholstering. However, a visit to the shop proved that the boy was unloading and uncrating furniture. He said that the Negro businesses were not trying to help. He said that most of them were trying to see what they could get out of the program.

On the subject of vocational training he brightened " a thousand watts." He seemed very proud to relate that the School at ----State College is giving Negro veterans training in shoe repair, auto mechanics, brickmasonry, and sheet metal work, while the vocational school in ----(white) gave diesel engineering, electrical appliance repair, electric motor rewinding, radio repair, etc.

Dr. Johnson told the Committee that he thought the Veterans Division staff was doing a fine job of checking up on what is being done for the veterans. He said that Dr. Mitchell had asked him to report, further, that he had just added to his staff a young man in Texas and that he has released one full-time man and employed two part-time workers in Louisiana. He also is contemplating the employment of a white Antioch College student to work in Virginia and North Carolina during the summer.

It is Dr. Mitchell's opinion, Dr. Johnson stated, that his division can be reduced by the end of the year to his secretary and himself, as he feels that the state and federal agencies will be doing a much better job by that time. Already five Negro coordinators have been added to the state pay roll in Alabama, several in Tennessee, and several in Florida. He believes that the

the work which his staff members have been doing is partially responsible for these changes. Dr. Mitchell reports that the national Veterans Administration "has opened up some," though in a segregated way, by putting in some Negro Guidance Centers. One is being established at Atlanta University and there are a number of others in the South, he said. Dr. Mitchell has expressed some concern over what is coming to be called "52-20 Clubs" among the veterans; that is, unemployed veterans who will draw $20 a week for fifty-two weeks. He thinks that the expansion of on-the-job training might help to overcome this.

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After further discussion and on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

3. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee feels highly encouraged by the report of Dr. Mitchell and commends him and his associates for the splendid work they are doing.

Dr. Johnson told the Committee that Dr. Mitchell had sent to the Negro press mats of pictures which he had had made of on-the-job training and that these had been used rather widely. He also called attention to two articles written by Dr. Mitchell- "On the Job Instruction Offered GIs", in the Norfolk Journal and Guide, and "Veteran in Search of a Peacetime Future," in the magazine Pulse - and to the booklet Post War Planning for Negro Veterans, a report of a meeting in Jackson, Mississippi, in which the Veterans Division participated.

Dr. Hancock asked what success Dr. Mitchell had had in getting this material to the white press. Mr. Warwick explained that Dr. Mitchell was particularly interested in getting it to the Negro press in order to acquaint the reader with on-the-job training. He said, however, that it was rather difficult to get the white papers to carry such news. Dr. Hancock suggested that so far as possible " we get a closer contact with the white press of the South."

JACKSONVILLE SURVEY

Dr. Johnson told the Committee that the survey of the Negro community in Jacksonville, with which the Council staff has cooperated in an advisory capacity,

has been completed and that he and Dr. Trigg and one of the local advisers from Jacksonville spent several days in the office this month editing the report and preparing it for publication. The finished report will be available in the near future and the Council will have at least one hundred copies. We plan, Dr. Johnson said, "to boil the study down and popularize it for a quarterly issue of New South, perhaps in September, "by which time we hope to begin to see tangible results." It is expected that out of the study will come a local continuing committee to see that action is taken on the recommendations, and the local people have asked Dr. Johnson and Dr. Trigg to meet with them next week to advise them on the kind of committee to set up. Dr. Johnson said that the Council had gained several hundred friends in Jacksonville as a result of the survey, which he hopes will become a pattern for community study. He reported that inquiries concerning similar studies have come from several other places and that he had replied that the Council would be glad to cooperate in such studies, but that a larger amount of money should be made available for the study inasmuch as it will not be possible hereafter for us to bear the expense of sending staff members to assist in planning and conducting the study. It was his feeling that at least $5,000 should be provided for a community survey. (Jacksonville had only $2,000.) Dr. Johnson said that he would like to have the advice of the Executive Committee concerning our future participation in such studies.

Mr. Williams expressed the conviction that our cooperation in the Jacksonville survey is one of the most significant things that the Council has done. At his request Mrs. Havens commented on the background of the survey and said that in her opinion one of the greatest results is the fact that through their own participation in the survey the Jacksonville people have become acquainted with conditions and, therefore, have a greater interest in improving the local situation.

After general discussion, Dr. Johnson offered the following recommendation from the staff:

That we be authorized to encourage similar surveys in other communities and to take a direct part in them when asked to do so, provided we have the time and provided the local communities have sufficient funds to reimburse the Council for expense incurred.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

4. IT WAS VOTED that the recommendation be adopted.

Mr. Haas asked whether it would be practical to solicit independent funds to assist the communities in making studies. During the discussion which followed, Mrs. Havens said it was the opinion of the committee in Jacksonville that there is a distinct advantage in having the study financed by the community; the local people then feel that it belongs to them and are, therefore, more obligated to see that the recommendations are carried out.

Mr. Williams expressed the hope that we might get someone to do an article for a national magazine on the survey.

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COLUMBIA, TENNESSEE, INVESTIGATION

Dr. Johnson told the Committee that SRC began investigating the Columbia incident the day after it happened and had continued to check up on the situation. Late in March we got in touch with the Department of Justice and suggested a Federal Grand Jury investigation. At their request a copy of a confidential report of our investigation was mailed to the Department of Justice on April 6, and Dr. Johnson had a long conference in Washington with the Chief of the Civil Rights Section on April 8. The report has since been revised and will appear in the May issue of New South.

Dr. Johnson said that as a result of his interview at the Department of Justice, at which time the white primary and the Ku Klux Klan were also discussed, we have a good working relationship with the Department, and we have promised to send them any reports or observations on any confidential material which we may have on such subjects.

NEGRO POLICE AND POLICE TRAINING

It was reported that Richmond, Virginia, is making some progress toward getting Negro police. Two Negro officers are on probationary status at present and are not in uniform. Negroes have been added recently to the police force in Port Arthur, Texas, and in Ahoskie, North Carolina. Dr. Johnson said that we do not want to be too quick to claim credit, but that members in various places have told us that it was work started by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and continued by the Council which was largely responsible for getting Negro police in their communities.

Dr. Johnson reported that some work has been done on a manual for the training of police officers similar to A Guide to Race Relations for Police Officers, prepared by the American Council on Race Relations for use in California. We propose to contact the Southern Governors Conference, Dr. Johnson said, in the hope of persuading them to get their various state departments of justice, state highway patrols, etc., to sponsor training courses based on the manual which we are preparing. We now have a list of police officers and sheriffs in the South who have shown some interest in the California manual, Dr. Johnson stated.

FELLOWS

At our February meeting the advisability of bringing the SRC Fellows to Atlanta for a sort of clinic was discussed and it was decided to hold such a clinic provided special funds for this purpose could be found. Mr. Williams reported that on a recent visit to New York he conferred with Dr. Jackson Davis of the General Education Board concerning the possibility of our securing a grant from the Board. Dr. Davis was interested, Mr. Williams said, and had since asked for more specific information to be presented to his Executive Committee in June, at which time consideration will be given to our request for funds to finance the clinic.

STATE DIVISIONS

Dr. Johnson reported that a meeting in Jackson on March 21 the Mississippi Interracial Council completed its merger with the SRC and formed the Mississippi Division. The South Carolina Committee already had an affiliated status, but at a meeting in Columbia on March 28 the Committee voted officially to become a State Division of the Southern Regional Council. The Florida Division held its first meeting in Tampa on April 26, at which time it was decided to center attention on a study of education in Florida. The members

present at that meeting also passed a strong resolution condemning the Ku Klux Klan. Dr. Johnson and Mrs. Havens reported that the meeting received excellent publicity throughout the State and in some papers outside Florida.

We are still working on the organization of a division in Louisiana, Dr. Johnson said, the Texas Interracial Commission is now showing more interest in becoming a State Division of SRC, and plans for the organization of Tennessee members into a State Division later in the year are in the making. Dr. Johnson pointed out that our chief need as we organize state divisions is for more staff to help with their programs or for enough money in each state to enable them to have at least part-time executives to carry on their work.

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TRANSPORTATION STUDY

Dr. Johnson reported that the transportation study in Atlanta had been "put largely on Mrs. Tilly's shoulders." He read the following report from Mrs. Tilly:

RACIAL SEPARATION IN TRANSPORTATION STUDY

The Study of Racial Separation in Transportation has been presented at the annual meetings of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation, to the Augusta Interracial Committee, to the Georgia Council of Church Women, and to the Jurisdiction Committee on Christian Social Relations of the Methodist Church.

A committee of the Fulton-DeKalb Interracial Committee has been formed here in Atlanta and is appointing sub-committees to formulate action on the various sections of the study.

(a) Health aspects of the Study. A sub-committee will take the pictures showing the conditions of the restrooms at the bus and Terminal stations to the city health authorities.

(b) Public relations aspects of the Study. A sub-committee has been twice to see Mr. Mitchell of the Georgia Power Company about the handling of passengers on busses and street cars within metropolitan Atlanta. Two members of the Georgia Power Company staff appeared before the Fulton-DeKalb Interracial Committee and listened to the facts presented to them. They agreed to work with the Committee in the elimination of the trouble.

A sub-committee has been to see the solicitor about the impossibility of getting any conviction of drivers of the busses and street cars for rough handling of passengers. The committee is preparing facts to present to the Grand Jury.

The Study is to be integrated into the course of study which all Southern church women will make this summer on Christians and Race. It will be featured at the summer assemblies of church women this year.

MISCELLANEOUS

Commander Spencer referred to the recommendation in the minutes of the February meeting concerning a statement of church leaders and expressed the feeling that this is one of the most important things which the Council might do.

Mr. Williams read a letter, which came by special delivery during the meeting, from Mr. Philip Randolph, expressing appreciation for a telegram concerning FEPC received from the Council at the time of the Madison Square Garden meeting.

Dr. Johnson told of a request which we had received to sponsor performances of "Carmen Jones" at the City Auditorium. It was the consensus that this would not be advisable.

Mr. Williams recalled that at the February meeting it was voted to recommend to the Board of Directors the appointment of a National Advisory Board, in compliance with the by-laws. He asked Mr. Haas, our Counsel, whether this could be done through correspondence. Mr. Haas expressed the opinion that such action would require a meeting of the Board.

After expressing appreciation for the presence of the members attending the meeting, Mr. Williams asked that Dr. Young and Dr. Hancock "say a word." Dr. Hancock suggested that Dr. Young speak for both of them.

Dr. Young assured Mr. Williams that both he and Dr. Hancock were delighted when he was chosen as President of the Southern Regional Council. He gave a brief review of the background of the Council and expressed the opinion that "all of us feel that we have in the Council a group of people who have dedicated themselves to the task of achieving social justice, not only for Negroes but for the white people and for other racial groups who may reside in the

region." Dr. Young recalled a recent statement of the Governor of Virginia, who said that the white people of the South cannot prosper and be happy unless the colored people prosper and are happy, and the colored people cannot prosper and be happy unless the white people prosper and are happy. He was convinced that this is the general sentiment of all members of the Southern Regional Council, who want to work along broad, constructive lines on problems that may be solved probably not today or tomorrow, but in the years or months to come. Dr. Young said that the program covered by the agenda for this meeting furnished the basis for "remarkable action." He expressed the hope that the Council might examine the situation pertaining to crime in the South, particularly in Virginia, where he felt that there was "a sort of tradition to bend over backward to be lenient with Negroes who commit crimes against other Negroes." He suggested that it would be helpful if the SRC Fellows could make a study of crime in the South.

Mr. Williams thanked Dr. Young for his remarks and requested Msgr. McNamara to offer a closing prayer, after which the meeting adjourned.

EMILY H. CLAY, SECRETARY

ABE150

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Executive Committee

October 9, 1946

The third quarterly meeting of the Executive Committee, postponed from August 28, was held in the SRC Conference Room at 10:30 o'clock Wednesday morning, October 9, 1946. The meeting was called to order by the Chairman, with the following present: Charles S. Johnson, Chairman, Leonard Haas, T. James McNamara, Carter Wesley, Guy B. Johnson, H. L. Trigg, Emily H. Clay, Secretary, and George S. Mitchell of the Veterans Division staff. Dr. Rufus E. Clement came in later, having just returned from an out-of-town engagement.

Since all members had received mimeographed copies of the minutes of the second quarterly meeting, on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

1. IT WAS VOTED to dispense with the reading of the minutes of the May 22 meeting.

In commenting on the SRC personnel Dr. Guy Johnson said that only one change had taken place since the previous meeting: Miss Jane Martin of the stenographic staff married and moved to Syracuse, New York, in September. Dr. Johnson expressed appreciation of Miss Martin's efficiency and said that we regretted very much losing her. He reported that she had not yet been replaced, but that we are trying to find another woman for the position.

Dr. Johnson told the Committee that "The Council is about to suffer an irreparable loss because Miss Clay will be leaving the Council soon after the annual meeting to make her home in Florida." He said that "Miss Clay's contribution to the work has been such that no one person can replace her ." Her resignation will be presented for formal action at the November meeting of the Board.

On motion of Mr. Haas, seconded by Mr. Wesley-

2. IT WAS VOTED that a resolution be passed, expressing the unanimous opinion

of the Committee, commending Miss Clay for her efficient and courageous work throughout the years she has been identified with the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and the Council, and wishing her well in her new home.

Dr. Mitchell told the Committee that the field staff of the Veterans Division had decreased from eight or nine full-time people in the early summer to two now, with one who would be full-time except for illness. Two former members of the staff -- one who is teaching in the Atlanta public schools and the other who has entered Morehouse College -- are now working during week-ends at $8.00 a day. A young woman has been engaged for temporary work, Dr. Mitchell said, to see whether a pamphlet can be prepared on the basis of reports of the field staff.

Dr. Guy Johnson reported that on September 15 we had a membership of 1483 and that 115 members have been added since that time, making a total of 1598.

Msgr. McNamara asked whether the Council's printed materials were used extensively to cultivate new members. He expressed the opinion that it would be helpful, with the pamphlets which lend themselves to study groups, if there could be appended a "break-down looking to their use by such groups," and that this perhaps would also stimulate a greater interest in the literature.

The Chairman asked what the relationship is between the SRC and the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation, and also between the SRC and the organization work which is being done in Tennessee by Miss Ella P. Mims. Dr. Guy Johnson explained that the Georgia Committee, which was a part of the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation and was a "going" organization at the time this Council was set up, is now affiliated with the Council. During the summer, he said, Miss Mims has visited a number of places in Tennessee, including Columbia, and is now organizing a Nashville division of the Council. It is our plan to call the Tennessee SRC members together a little later, Dr. Johnson stated for the purpose of organizing a State Division of the Council.

Mr. Wesley asked what should be done in Texas to get a division set up,

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since Dr. Porterfield, who recently offered his resignation as Chairman of the Texas Commission on Interracial Cooperation, is no longer active in the work. It was suggested that Mr. Wesley get in touch with one or two influential members of the state group upon his return to Texas to find out whether the Texas Commission on Interracial Cooperation would be interested in merging with the Council, or whether they wish to remain an affiliate. It was agreed that the most desirable arrangement from the Council's standpoint would be to have them become a state division.

Msgr. McNamara asked why the Georgia Committee had not become a division of the Council. Dr. Guy Johnson said that a strong state organization, which is able to raise a budget of some three or four thousand dollars a year, feels that it might suffer a financial loss by becoming a state division of the Council. In response to a question from the Chairman, Dr. Guy Johnson replied that Dr. R. L. Russell, a retired Methodist minister who is Executive Secretary of the Georgia Committee and a member of the Council's Board of Directors, "carries on a work which not everyone could do; he knows how to talk to local groups and how to get their interest." As a result he has been successful in setting up a number of local interracial committees over the State. Dr. Johnson said that if we could have three or four good full-time field people on the Council's staff he was convinced that we could work out satisfactory arrangements with the state interracial groups.

Mr. Wesley said he thought that we should encourage the Georgia Committee to merge with the Council, and that Dr. Russell's leadership would be a distinct asset to the Council.

In reporting the financial status of the Council at the present time, Miss Clay called attention to the fact that an additional amount of $4,000 would be needed in order to balance the budget for the year. The total amount of appropriations for 1946, she said, has been less than was anticipated at the beginning of the year. She called attention to the fact that we have hoped to

have a renewal of the appropriation from the American Missionary Association Division of the Congregational and Christian Churches, but have not yet received notice of it. Dr. Charles Johnson, who directs the interracial program of the AMA, explained that when the Association set aside $1,000 a year for the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and later for the Council, it had no definite program on interracial activities. Since then, however, it has set up such a program, with only a modest budget, and is no longer in a position to make a contribution to the Council's budget. It was suggested, however, that an effort be made through Mr. Charles Dollard to get an appropriation from the Carnegie Corporation to balance the budget for the current year.

Dr. Mitchell gave a brief report of the Veterans Division activities. He mentioned the printed reports on the work in Alabama and Arkansas and stated that a report for Louisiana was about ready for the printer. Negro veterans are beginning to organize fairly rapidly now, he said, and a Council of Negro Veterans has been set up by the Veterans Division of SRC for the purpose of drawing together for periodic meetings heads of Negro posts active in veterans' organizations. A committee is selected from the Veterans Council, he said, to call on the head of the State Veterans Administration, the state superintendent of schools, and other officials to press for more Negro personnel and fairer administration of services. Such Councils are now in existence in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, and we hope to have one soon in South Carolina and perhaps in Florida. Dr. Mitchell said that one purpose of the field representatives has been to agitate for the addition of Negroes to the payrolls in the states. So far the Veterans Administration has done nothing more than put a few men in Negro educational institutions as guidance officers. The states, however, are "beginning to give," Dr. Mitchell said. Florida now has five or six state or county Negro employees, Louisiana has one employed by the State Department of Education as a vocational agricultural teacher on farm training

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for Negro veterans, and Oklahoma has a few Negro employees. Alabama has done the best job, however, with twelve Negro coordinators.

Mr. Haas said that he would like to express his personal admiration for the fine work Dr. Mitchell has been doing and that he felt proud to be a member of the organization. This was the unanimous opinion of the Committee.

In speaking of the Jacksonville Survey, with which the Council cooperated earlier in the year, Dr. Trigg said that a Continuing Committee had been organized to see that the recommendations based on the survey are carried out. All the objectives are being considered, he said, and things are being done which the survey committee had not even planned to do. The Continuing Committee met in September, Dr. Trigg reported, to select the objectives which need immediate action and they are being pushed now. Dr. Trigg feels that the significant thing about the Survey is that the local committee made their own recommendations, which were accepted and approved by the local group before they were included in the report. Dr. Trigg said that the Jacksonville survey sets an example for Southern communities, because it uses the initiative of the local people and brings together the leaders of both races to work out their own problems. It is his hope that the Council can start two or three surveys in each of the thirteen states during the coming year.

Dr. Guy Johnson reported that the Council received a grant of $1500 from the General Education Board which will enable us to bring the SRC Fellows together for the first time. A two-day conference will, therefore, be held November 14-15, following the annual meeting. Dr. Johnson expressed the hope that some of the Board members would be able to attend the Fellows Conference to help with plans for the coming year.

In speaking of the police problems, particularly here in Atlanta, Dr. Johnson expressed the opinion that "things seem to be getting worse." He said, however, that in view of the fact that the Atlanta Police Committee has recommended enlargement of the police force we are trying to organize some pressure

to see that Negro police are employed. Dr. Johnson also spoke of the recent killing of Negroes on street cars and busses in Atlanta. Dr. Charles Johnson suggested that some of these cases might qualify for action by the Department of Justice. He thought that we would be justified in making a deliberate approach to the Attorney General.

Dr. Guy Johnson reported that following the Monroe, Georgia, lynchings we wrote the Department of Justice and Governor Arnall and posted a reward of $1,000. The situation is somewhat discouraging at present, he said, as the FBI have been on the case over two months and have not yet been able to find sufficient evidence to warrant the making of arrests by state or local officials.

Mr. Wesley said that because of antagonism against an anti-lynching bill many actual lynchings during recent years have not been reported in the daily press; as a result, the Tuskegee report, which is based on information secured from the daily press, does not include these lynchings. He expressed the opinion that "we need to be aware of the fact that there seems to be a distinct conspiracy among the news-gathering agencies that these things are not reported as lynchings."

Dr. Guy Johnson told the Committee that in September, Mrs. Tilly brought together in Atlanta a group of Georgia women to discuss reorganizing the Georgia Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching which was a part of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. The group will meet again soon to report actions taken by the various boards which they represent and to make further plans. They have already renewed the sort of pledges against lynching and mob violence which they formerly used, Dr. Johnson said, and the Methodist and Presbyterian women have begun circulating the pledges over the Southern states. Dr. Johnson expressed the hope that other similar groups would be set up within the next few months.

Dr. Guy Johnson raised the question of the Council's taking action in support of anti-lynching legislation and asked for an expression from Mr.

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Haas as to whether we would be allowed to work for specific legislation under our charter. Mr. Haas replied that such action by the Council would make it a non-tax-free organization. It appeared, from the discussion, that the Committee was of the opinion that at the present time the Council should not support any specific legislation.

Inasmuch as Dr. Clement arrived after the meeting was in session and said that he would be compelled to leave before adjournment, on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

3. IT WAS VOTED that the Committee ratify any actions taken prior to Dr. Clement's arrival.

In speaking of the Council's printed materials, Dr. Johnson said that he thought it might be necessary to cut down the size of the quarterly issues of NEW SOUTH to reduce the cost. He reported that a police manual is still in the process of preparation and that we are working, also, on a pamphlet which we think will be called SEPARATE BUT EQUAL, dealing with such problems as education and transportation. This would review the separation laws and would include an outline for use by study groups. The Methodist women's study groups, Dr. Johnson said, have indicated that they could use 10,000 copies of such a pamphlet among their women.

By common consent it was agreed that a message should be sent to Dr. R. L. Russell who is now in the hospital recuperating from an operation.

All business having been completed, the meeting adjourned.

EMILY H. CLAY, SECRETARY

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Executive Committee

November 12, 1946

The Executive Committee met in the SRC Conference Room at 10 A.M. on November 12, 1946. The following were present: Rufus E. Clement, Leonard Haas, Gordon B. Hancock, T. James McNamara, Josephine Wilkins, Paul D. Williams, Guy B. Johnson, Harold L. Trigg; Mrs. Inez B. Tillison, Asst. Secretary-Treasurer, and Mrs. Henry Havens, of the field staff. Mrs. Warren Zeuch, J. M. Tydings, Dr. F. D. Patterson and Dr. R. B. Atwood, members of the Board of Directors, were also present.

In the absence of Dr. Charles Johnson, Chairman of the Executive Committee, who had just left for Europe on a special mission for United Nations, the meeting was called to order by Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director. On motion made by Mr. Haas, duly seconded, and unanimously carried,

1. IT WAS VOTED that Mr. Williams serve as temporary chairman.

On motion made by Dr. Hancock and duly seconded-

2. IT WAS VOTED that the minutes of the meeting of October 9 be dispensed with, inasmuch as copies had been sent to all members. Motion carried.

RESIGNATION OF MISS CLAY

Dr. Johnson told the committee that it was with a great deal of regret that he had to present the formal resignation of Miss Clay. He read her letter of resignation to the committee, after which there were words of praise from members of the committee and from visiting board members for Miss Clay's splendid service during her 20 years with the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and 3 years with the Southern Regional Council as it's Secretary-Treasurer. Dr. Johnson stated that it would be hard to find any two people who could take her place. It was the desire of the committee that a token of appreciation from the board and staff be presented to Miss Clay for devoted service, at the annual meeting. It was decided that Mrs. Havens, Miss Wilkins, and Dr. Clement serve as a committee to approach the board and staff for contributions toward the gift; that

Mrs. Havens and Miss Wilkins purchase the gift; and that Msgr. McNamara present the gift at the annual meeting. On motion duly seconded and carried,

3. IT WAS VOTED that the resignation of Miss Emily Clay, Secretary-Treasurer, be accepted with regret.

Dr. Johnson told the Executive Committee that Miss Clay's name was being suggested to the Nominating Committee for board membership.

FINANCES

Dr. Johnson briefly gave the committee some general information concerning the status of the Budget of SRC. A complete report was not available, he stated, as the books were at the auditor's and had not yet been returned. He stated that the Council will have spent by the end of December between $62,000 and $64,000, and has received about $60,000. This will mean that there will be a deficit at the end of the year between $2,000 and $3,000. He stated that he had written Dr. Will Alexander, Chairman of the Finance Committee, about this, and he has advised that we not ask the Rosenwald Fund to make up the deficit. Dr. Alexander also said in his letter that he did not think it wise to approach the Carnegie Corporation, to underwrite a deficit, but that it would be in order to approach them for an appropriation next year; that it would be best for us to ask the General Education Board to underwrite the deficit as soon as we know what it will be.

In discussing the finances and the deficit for the year, members of the committee suggested that some private individuals might be asked to contribute toward a fund to wipe out the deficit. Dr. Clement stated he felt that the board members and members of SRC would be glad to give more to the Council's work if approached to make contributions. The point was made that a large proportion of income should come from members and small contributors. Dr. Johnson stated that the first year the Council was organized, 90% of the budget was foundation grants, but that now 2/5 of the income is from members, church groups, etc. Miss Wilkins suggested that she felt it would be a good idea if there were a frank discussion of finances at the meeting of members. On motion duly seconded and carried,

4. IT WAS VOTED that Dr. F. D. Patterson present the financial picture concerning the Council's budget and lead discussion at the membership meeting on November 13. It was decided that the logical time for this presentation was right after Miss Clay's financial report.

Since the Finance Committee, composed of Dr. Alexander, Chairman, Mr. L. S. Milton, Mr. Wilson M. Brown, and Dr. Odum, has not functioned - only one meeting having been held since the organization of the Council - suggestion was made that the present Finance Committee hold a meeting, or a new committee be appointed.

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STAFF RECOMMENDATIONS

Joint Memberships

Dr. Johnson stated that requests had been received from couples who wished joint membership in the Council and that the staff would like to suggest that the by-laws be amended to permit joint memberships of husband and wife at $3.00 annual dues. On motion, duly seconded and carried,

5. IT WAS VOTED to recommend to the annual meeting that joint memberships in the Southern Regional Council be established hereafter for husband and wife (provided that one mailing address is used) and that dues for such memberships be $3.00 a year.

Fellows

Dr. Johnson told the committee that according to the By-laws, the Fellows in the Council serve for two-year appointments, and stated he would like to recommend that those Fellows who are willing to serve further be reapponted for another two years. On motion duly seconded,

6. IT WAS VOTED that all Honorary Fellows, whose terms expire this year, be reappointed to serve for another two years.

Mr. Williams told the Committee that he had felt very strongly the need of having a conference of the Honorary Fellows of the Council, and that he went to see Dr. Jackson Davis of the General Education Board, which had appropriated the funds to make such a meeting possible. Such a conference, he announced, is to be held on November 14-15 right after the annual meeting at Atlanta University. He stated that he felt this group, which numbers 42, should be increased to at

least 100 alert young people.

Program for Coming Year

Dr. Johnson outlined the program for the coming year and asked authorization that major emphasis be put on the following: (1) Law enforcement, (2)police training, and (3) prevention of violence.

He stated that under this plan, the Georgia women's group on prevention of lynching has already been revived and work has been started on a manual for training of policemen in dealing with minorities, which can be ready in the next couple of months. The plan is to get it into the hands of the police departments; hold three or four institutes over the South on law enforcement, bringing in some of the sheriffs, police chiefs, FBI, etc.

In the discussion which followed concerning this proposed program, it was brought out that the Council, in order to carry on an expanded program, should have three or four full time field workers.

Dr. Patterson expressed the need for good practical education on the effects of the extension of the franchise and the desire that the Council in working through its State Committees accept that as one of its major responsibilities for 1947. After discussion, on motion, seconded and carried,

7. IT WAS VOTED that a pamphlet be developed and published by the Council which would discuss voting in the Southern States and the effect of extending the franchise to various groups, and that such a pamphlet include statements of prominent people, newspaper editorials, and signatures of responsible citizens for the purpose of allaying the fears which many people have concerning voting by Negroes.

On motion, duly seconded and carried,

8. IT WAS VOTED that the Council urge the state units and affiliates to make the matter of suffrage one of their major activities for the coming year.

In the discussion concerning the program of the Council for 1947, the question was raised as to whether the Veterans Project would be continued. Dr. Mitchell stated that he had not asked for more money to continue that program because it seemed to him that the job is, in a good measure, done. Suggestion

was made that it would be wise to develop a statistical article on the status of Negro veterans, showing how many went into the Army, the number released, number receiving educational benefits, college training, farm training, etc. and put it into the hands of various groups. Dr. Hancock stated that he felt that the Veterans project should not be discontinued entirely. Dr. Clement made the motion, which was duly seconded and carried,

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9. IT WAS VOTED that in the program for the coming year major emphasis be placed on the following fields: (1) law enforcement, (2) police training, and (3) prevention of violence--with the understanding that the Veterans Program might also be continued, depending upon the decision reached by a Committee, composed of the President, the Executive Director, and Dr. Mitchell.

Dr. Johnson announced that Mr. Turner Smith, Chief of the Civil Rights Section of the U. S. Department of Justice, has been asked to speak at the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council on "The Federal Government and Civil Rights." There had been no publicity, he stated, in connection with this, as the matter had to be cleared with the Attorney General, and final word had not been received. The Chairman stated that the executive is to be commended for securing such a person to speak.

Sample copies of the pamphlet Let's Pull Together, Kentuckians! were given to the Committee members. This report is a condensation of the report of the Kentucky Commission on Negro Affairs, of which Mr. Tydings was chairman. Suggestion was made that these pamphlets be sent to all the Southern governors. Mr. Tydings told the group that copies of the original report were sent to all the governors by Governor Willis of Kentucky, and that probably Governor Willis would also send this report to them.

Continuing with staff recommendations, Dr. Johnson announced that the name of Mrs. Inez B. Tillison was being suggested as a nominee for Secretary-Treasurer, replacing Miss Clay and that the office of Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, be left vacant for the time being, until we can line up a suitable person to take that place.

DR. JOHNSON'S ANNOUNCEMENT

Dr. Johnson told the Committee he wished to make an announcement which would be confidential until the Committee decided what action to take, namely, that he had decided to go back to Chapel Hill and would be leaving the Council sometime during 1947. He stated that when he accepted the position of Executive Director of the Council he felt that he was filling an emergency, since no one else had been found for the job. He felt that his main job was to get the Council going, and now that the work was going smoothly he believed it was time to step aside and let someone else carry on. He added that the work is very strenuous for a person who is not gifted with abundant energy and that he had a selfish motive in part, in wanting to return to a less strenuous occupation. Mr. Williams said he was willing to overlook the small shortcomings Dr. Johnson feels he has in favor of the very fine qualities which everyone knows him to have--patience, kindness, loyalty, etc. He said he felt that Dr. Johnson's work would have more permanency and eventual good than another person who was spectacular and flashy, and that he had hoped he would consider remaining indefinitely. Dr. Johnson said that the decision to return to the University of North Carolina was so recent that the exact date of his leaving had not been settled, but that he would not leave earlier than March 1. As soon as the date was arranged he would let the Executive Committee know, but in the meantime he wanted the Committee to know of his decision.

Members of the Committee commented on how fine an executive Dr. Johnson is, his tremendous range of memory and knowledge of the field, and his perseverance.

The suggestion was made that Dr. Johnson's announcement not be considered a resignation, as Dr. Johnson does not know the exact date on which he may leave, but that the Executive Committee recommend that the Board renominate him to serve for another year, with the understanding that if he does leave during 1947 he would notify the board in time to find a successor.

Attention was called to the Section in the By-laws which reads: ".... Executive Director and Associate Executive Director, Secretary-Treasurer, and Counsel shall be confirmed annually by the Board of Directors, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee..." There was discussion as to whether it would be better not to pass the information on to the Board and members about the possibility of Dr. Johnson's leaving the Council next year. It seemed to be the concensus of opinion that there might be some criticism of the committee if the information were not conveyed to the Board and members.

On motion made by Miss Wilkins, duly seconded and carried,

10. IT WAS VOTED that recommendation be made to the Board that Dr. Guy B. Johnson serve as Executive Director for the ensuing year, Dr. Harold Trigg, as Associate Executive Director, Mr. Leonard Haas as Counsel, and Mrs. Inez B. Tillison as Secretary-Treasurer (with the understanding that Dr. Johnson may withdraw sometime during the year.)

On motion made by Msgr. McNamara and seconded by Mr. Haas, and unanimously carried,

11. IT WAS VOTED that on the occasion of the withdrawal of Miss Clay and Dr. Johnson from their offices with the Southern Regional Council the Resolutions Committee draw up suitable resolutions for the minutes.

MEETING ADJOURNED.

Respectfully submitted,

Inez B. Tillison

(Mrs.) Inez B. Tillison
Secretary-Treasurer

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Meeting of the Board of Directors
November 12, 1946

The meeting of the Board of Directors was called to order by Mr. Paul D. Williams, President, at 2:00 P. M. on November 12 in the Conference Room at Atlanta University. Dr. E. A. McDowell was asked to lead in prayer, after which Miss Clay called the roll. The following were present:

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
R. B. Atwood
Stanley Brav
Rufus Clement
Virginius Dabney
Clark Foreman
John A. Griffin
Leonard Haas
Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton
Gordon B. Hancock
Guy B. Johnson
E. A. McDowell
T. James McNamara
Alfred Mynders
N. C. Newbold
C. H. Parrish
F. D. Patterson
John G. Pollard, Jr.
G. D. Rogers
J. W. Seabrook
Philip H. Shulhafer
Mrs. Eugene H. Spearman
Harold L. Trigg
J. M. Tydings
John H. Wheeler
Josephine Wilkins
Aubrey Williams
Paul D. Williams
Marion A. Wright
Mrs. Warren Zeuch

Emily H. Clay, Secretary, Mrs. Inez B. Tillison, Assistant Secretary, and Ray Warwick, Director of Public Relations, were also present.

Mr. Williams opened the meeting with some remarks in which he expressed appreciation to the Board for electing him to serve as president, and stated he felt it an honor to be chairman of SRC, which is alligned against reactionary forces in the South.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried,

1. IT WAS VOTED that the reading of the minutes of the last meeting of the Board be dispensed with, as copies had been sent to all members.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS

Dr. Clement was asked to bring the recommendations of the Executive Committee to the Board of Directors. They were as follows:

(1) That Dr. Patterson present the financial picture concerning the Council's budget, and lead discussion at the membership meeting, right after Miss Clay gives the financial report. On motion made by Dr. Clement, seconded, and carried,

2. IT WAS VOTED that this recommendation be adopted.

(2) That joint memberships in the Council be established for husband and wife, and that dues for such memberships be $3.00 a year.

Dr. Clement explained to the Board that some Executive Committee members had been under the impression that an amendment to the By-laws was necessary for action on this recommendation, but this is something which can be done by the Board or members meeting.

3. IT WAS VOTED that the above recommendation be adopted.

(3) That all Honorary Fellows, whose terms expire this year, be reappointed to serve for another two years.

On motion made by Mr. Dabney, and seconded by Dr. Hancock,

4. IT WAS VOTED that the above recommendation be adopted.

In the discussion concerning this recommendation, Mr. Williams announced that a grant had been received from the General Education Board which makes it possible for us to hold a Conference of Fellows on the 14th and 15th, and he invited the members of the Board to attend.

(4) That the following projects be undertaken in the Council program for the coming year.

(a) That major emphasis be placed in the following fields: Law enforcement, police training, and prevention of violence--with the understanding that the Veterans Project might be continued, depending upon the decision reached by a committee composed of the President, the Executive Director, and Dr. Mitchell.

On motion made by Dr. Parrish, and duly seconded,

5. IT WAS VOTED that the above recommendation be adopted.

(b) That a pamphlet be issued by the Council which would discuss voting in the Southern States and the effect of extending the franchise to various groups; this pamphlet to include statements of prominent people, newspaper editorials, and signatures of responsible citizens for the purpose of allaying the fears which many people have concerning voting by Negroes.

On motion made by Dr. Parrish, and duly seconded,

6. IT WAS VOTED that this recommendation be adopted.

(c) That the Council urge the State units and affiliates to make the matter of suffrage one of their major activities for the coming year.

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Dr. Foreman moved, motion was seconded and

7. IT WAS VOTED that this recommendation be adopted.

(5) That since Miss Emily H. Clay has tendered her resignation as Secretary-Treasurer, her resignation be accepted with regret.

Dr. Johnson and other members of the Board expressed regret that Miss Clay is moving away from the state, and all expressed appreciation for her fine service of twenty years with the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and three years with the Council.

On motion made by Mr. Dabney and seconded by Dr. Foreman,

8. IT WAS VOTED that Miss Clay's resignation be accepted with regret, and that appropriate resolutions of regret be drawn up by the Resolutions Committee and spread upon the minutes of the Council.

(6) That Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Dr. Harold L. Trigg, Mr. Leonard Haas and Mrs. Inez B. Tillison be appointed to serve respectively as Executive Director, Associate Executive Director, Counsel and Secretary-Treasurer.

In this connection, Dr. Johnson explained that he had told the Executive Committee that he would be leaving the Council sometime during 1947. He told the Board that when he came to the Council it was with the feeling that he was undertaking an emergency job, and that he had always felt that after the work got under way with a good staff he should go back to Chapel Hill. He stated he had recently promised the University of North Carolina to return and that as soon as the details were completed he would submit a formal resignation. He wanted the Board to know this in voting on the above recommendation.

9. IT WAS VOTED that the above recommendation be adopted with the understanding that Dr. Johnson may withdraw sometime in 1947.

ANNUAL MEETING

Announcement was made by Dr. Johnson that Turner Smith, Chief of Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, would speak at the annual meeting of members of the following day on "The Government and Civil Rights." Dr. Johnson outlined the program of the annual meeting, stating that the meeting would open with a statement by Mr. Williams, followed by a report of the years work by the

Executive Director, Dr. Trigg would speak next on the work ahead, followed by reports by Dr. Mitchell, Mr. Harry Wright, Mrs. Havens and Mrs. Tilly. After luncheon the order of business would be: The Treasurer's report, Dr. Patterson's presentation of the financial picture, Mr. Turner Smith's address, the recommendations of the Board, and reports of the Committee on Nominations and Resolutions.

He also announced that the Resolutions Committee (Mr. Marion A. Wright, Chairman) and the Nominating Committee (Dr. Rufus Clement, Chairman) would meet at 8 o'clock that night at Council headquarters. Miss Wilkins made the suggestion that the reports of these two committees be read sometime during the morning session of the annual meeting, so that members may have time to think about them before voting on them.

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TREASURER'S REPORT

Miss Emily Clay, Secretary-Treasurer, made the Treasurer's report as follows:

Regular Account

Balance brought forward January 1		$9,484.42
Income: January 1-October 31	$47,260.03	
Estimated Nov. and Dec.	1,889.04	
Total Income		49,149.07
		58,633.49
Expense: January 1-October 31	49,217.00	
Estimated Nov. and Dec.	12,000.00	
Total Expense		61,217.00
Apparent Deficit		$ 2,583.51

Veterans Service

Balance brought forward January 1		$ 611.13
Income: January 1 - October 31	39,750.00	
Estimated Nov. and Dec.	4,000.00	
Total Income		43,750.00
		44,361.13
Expense: January 1 - October 31	35,225.61	
Estimated Nov. and Dec.	7,778.46	
Total Expense		43,004.07
Possible Surplus		$ 1,357.06

On motion made by Mrs. Hamilton and seconded,

10. IT WAS VOTED that the Treasurer's report be accepted.

In the discussion, the question was raised by Dr. Clement as to whether the balance in the Veterans account could be used for any other purpose. Dr. Johnson stated that under the terms of the grant there are no strings but that any transfer of funds should not be done unless the Rosenwald Fund approved. Suggestion was made that the matter of finances should be referred to a committee, and it was stated that the Council has had a Finance Committee, which has held only one meeting since its appointment in 1944. Dr. Will Alexander, Chairman of that Committee, could not be present today due to another engagement, and Dr. Charles Johnson, one of its members, had gone to Europe on a United Nations mission. It was the concensus of opinion of those present that the Finance Committee should study this matter, and it was left with the president either to use the old committee or to appoint another one.

11. IT WAS VOTED that the present financial condition of the Council be referred to a Finance Committee for study, the decision to be left with the President as to whether a new Finance Committee should be appointed.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Mr. Williams told the Board that the Executive Committee in February, 1946, had voted: "That, in compliance with the By-laws authorizing the appointment of a National Advisory Committee, we recommend to the Board of Directors that such a Committee be appointed at the earliest possible moment." Such a committee, he stated, would sit in with representatives of the SRC from time to time in an advisory capacity. After discussion, motion was made by Dr. Foreman, duly seconded, and

12. IT WAS VOTED that the matter of selecting a National Advisory Committee be referred to the Executive Committee, with the power to act, and that the members of the Board of Directors be asked to make suggestions to the Executive Committee concerning personnel for the Committee.

Some of the points brought out in the discussion were: Such a

committee will indicate our willingness to receive enlightenment and guidance wherever we can find it; we may find other sources of income; we will be strengthened in other parts of the country; Executive Committee should make recommendation to the Board concerning qualifications for personnel of the Committee, including residence, if this is to be a factor; election should come after approval of the personnel by the Board.

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KENTUCKY PAMPHLET

Dr. Johnson called attendion to the pamphlet recently published by SRC and the Kentucky Interracial Council, LET'S PULL TOGETHER, KENTUCKIANS, and copies were given to the members.

Meeting adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,
Inez B. Tillison
Inez B. Tillison
Secretary-Treasurer

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
Annual Meeting
November 13, 1946

The annual meeting of members of the Southern Regional Council was held in the Exhibition Room of the Atlanta University Library at 10:00 A. M., Wednesday, November 13, 1946. Meeting was called to order by the President, Mr. Paul D. Williams, who asked Rabbi Stanley Brav to give the invocation.

The following members attended:

1. Mrs. Jessie D. Ames
2. R. B. Atwood
3. Mrs. L. M. Awtrey
4. W. Barton Beatty, Jr.
5. A. D. Beittel
6. Moses S. Belton
7. J. E. Blanton
8. Harry Boyte
9. Stanley R. Brav
10. T. Ruth Brett
11. J. Henry Brown
12. Mrs. W. C. Burns
13. Walter R. Chivers
14. Emily H. Clay
15. Frank W. Clelland
16. Rufus E. Clement
17. Virginius Dabney
18. Mrs. Annie Lee Davis
19. E. W. Dixon
20. Witherspoon Dodge
21. Kenneth Douty
22. Mrs. F. P. Drake
23. S. E. Duncan
24. Mrs. Mary Kate Duskin
25. R. B. Eleazer
26. John R. Ewbank
27. Margaret Fisher
28. Margaret Fletcher
29. Clark Foreman
30. Sam F. Freeman, Jr.
31. Mrs. Harry M. Gershon
32. Charles G. Gomillion
33. C. G. Gresham
34. John A. Griffin
35. Mrs. Jessie P. Gusman
36. Leonard Haas
37. Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
38. Josephine Hamilton
39. Gordon B. Hancock
40. Mrs. A. A. Hardy
41. Mrs. Henry Havens
42. Jacob R. Henderson
43. P. W. Hill
44. W. Hardin Hughes
45. M. H. Jackson
46. Annie Tait Jenkins
47. Cyrus M. Johnson
48. Guy B. Johnson
49. Mrs. Guion G. Johnson
50. Stetson Kennedy
51. Flemmie P. Kittrell
52. John R. Larkins
53. Lucy R. Mason
54. Benjamin E. Mays
55. Frank McCallister
56. E. A. McDowell
57. Marjorie McLachlan
58. T. James McNamara
59. Mildred R. Mell
60. Mrs. Mary Raoul Millis
61. George S. Mitchell
62. Alfred Mynders
63. M. Mae Neptune
64. N. C. Newbold
65. C. H. Parrish
66. F. D. Patterson
67. J. G. Pollard, Jr.
68. Margaret Price
69. W. R. Ragland
70. Florence M. Read
71. Rebecca Reid
72. Allyn P. Robinson
73. G. D. Rogers
74. Lester Rumble
75. Charles D. Saxon
76. C. A. Scott
77. J. W. Seabrook
78. Mrs. Philip E. Shulhafer
79. James O. Slade
80. Mrs. W. B. Suddeth
81. Jewel M. Tatum
82. Mrs. A. Louise Taylor
83. L. E. Terrell
84. A. L. Thompson
85. Mrs. Inez B. Tillison
86. Mrs. M. E. Tilly

87. L. M. Tobin
88. Harold L. Trigg
89. Mrs. Lee Turman
90. J. M. Tydings
91. Wilma van Dusseldorp
92. Mrs. C. A. Ver Nooy
93. Mrs. Anna Warwick
94. Ray Warwick
95. Josephine Wilkins
96. Edward B. Williams
97. Paul D. Williams
98. G. D. Wilson
99. Harry L. Wright
100. M. A. Wright
101. Mrs. Warren T. Zeuch

Others present:

1. Mrs. J. E. Blanton
2. John K. DeLoach
3. John Wesley Dobbs
4. Mrs. Kenneth Douty
5. Mrs. Mabel Faulkner
6. Mrs. John C. Hart
7. M. C. Hill
8. William S. Howland
9. Laurence C. Jones
10. A. F. Miller
11. Mrs. George S. Mitchell
12. Mrs. Marie F. Saxon
13. Turner L. Smith, Chief Civil Rights Section, Dept. Of Justice, Washington, D. C. (Guest Speaker)
14. Mary Jane Willett

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After welcoming the members, Mr. Williams reported that a committee composed of Msgr. T. James McNamara, Mr. Louis I. Jaffe, and Dr. Rufus E. Clement, had reviewed the minutes and had notified the Secretary that the minutes are accurate. On motion, duly seconded,

1. IT WAS VOTED that the minutes of the annual meeting of November 14, 1945 be approved.

Mr. Williams told the group that at the annual meeting November 1945, there had been discussion concerning the presentation of resolutions. It was the consensus of the meeting that resolutions were presented too late in the day to allow proper consideration before the vote was taken and that a standing committee on resolutions should receive resolutions in time to consider them properly. In keeping with this policy, he stated, it was suggested by the Board of Directors in its meeting November 12, 1946, that the members would be asked to submit written resolutions to the Committee not later than the close of the morning session. He announced that Mr. M. A. Wright, Chairman of the Resolutions Committee would accept resolutions before luncheon but that none would be accepted after that time.

Mr. Williams gave report of the President's activities during the past year,

listing many speaking engagements and attendance at committee meetings nationally. He stated that two of the most important trips he made were visits to the Julius Rosenwald Fund and the General Education Board, the two chief foundations which make the work of the SRC possible. He stated that his business is in the educational field with a publishing company, which allows for an expense account, and that all trips were made at no expense to the Council.

The President talked for a few moments on "The Tactics of Progress," bringing out several questions on the philosophy and methods of the activities of the SRC. He stated that there are two major approaches to the problem involved in human relations (1) pressure from the outside, or (2) acting as a leaven from within. Some of the questions which arise are whether or not the Council should act as a leaven or utilize outside pressure, or both, and in what ratio; to what extent are we duplicating methods and procedures of other organizations; how much and what kind of publicity should we seek; how much direct action should the central office staff take and how much left to the local leaders? He stated some of these questions would be clarified in the reports of staff members. He expressed the need for more financial support so that more field staff can be employed. As SRC strives to advance in age, grace and wisdom, he stated, it is well to remember our primary purpose: To help in transforming sectional isolationism into regional cooperation, racial friction into bi-racial understanding and helpfulness, religious prejudice into rivalry only in doing good.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director, gave a review of the year's work. He stated that the present trend is discouraging with the reelection of Senator Bilbo and the comeback of Talmadge, but stated that we must accept the challenge and work all the harder for those things which we know are right. He reported highlights of accomplishments during the past year, among them: The Jacksonville Survey of its Negro community; progress on the separate-but-equal transportation study; Columbia, Tennessee, investigation and report; investigation of Walton County lynchings; several cases involving legal rights; Negro police; voting;

veterans project; state divisions; publications, etc. He stated that the Council has 1,650 members, a gain of over 100% for the year. (A full report of Dr. Johnson's and Mr. Williams' remarks will be found in the December, 1946, issue of New South.)

After Dr. Johnson's report, he told the members that he had come to a decision to leave the work next year and return to the University of North Carolina. He stated that he was proud to have had a part in the work of the Council, that he believed his greatest contribution could be made by returning to Chapel Hill, and that someone else could direct the Council better from here on. His final decision to leave SRC had been so recent, he stated, that certain details remain to be worked out. He had discussed the matter with the Executive Committee and they agreed that the membership should know about it now. As soon as details are arranged, he said, he would submit his resignation, and there would be ample time to chose a successor. He stated that his decision to leave sometime during 1947 would not mean that there would be any let-down in the work.

Mr. Williams commended Dr. Johnson for the fine work he has done as Executive Director, and stated he had found him to be a scholar and a man of courage, integrity and patience.

Dr. Harold L. Trigg, Associate Executive Director, talked on "Looking Ahead." He pointed out that the future of SRC is interwoven with the regional movement to bring a more satisfying living to all of the South's 40 million people by giving aid to the trend toward a balanced economy and to the problems incident to the change from the old to the new. He pointed up the South's natural resources and human resources, and stated that the lack of balance in the development of these resources manifests an unhealthy symptom---poverty. He stated that the regional problem in the South is not race but the plight of all men who live so close to poverty and tragedy that their restricted effort is meaningless and nonproductive. The solution, he stated, is not simply to dethrone the demagogue,

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but to reach his followers with a more forceful argument and a sounder program for their betterment. (See New South for December, for a complete transcript of Dr. Trigg's talk.)

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Field Secretary, reported on field work in Georgia and Mississippi. She told of the work in Georgia by Dr. R. L. Russell, Director of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation, (who was unable to attend the meeting because of illness) before the gubernatorial campaign, how he called on all the district attorneys and attended many hearings in the courts when the purge of the registered voters was going on. She told of the work in Mississippi and of sending out letters to ministers over the South about the Ku Klux Klan. She also reported on action which has been taken by women's church groups on the Segregation Study made by the Council in 1945. (For a detailed report of this, see December New South.) Mrs. Tilly told the group that back of all the work done by the field secretaries was the guidance and direction of Dr. Johnson.

Mrs. Henry Havens, Field Secretary, reported concerning the work in Florida and the Eastern Seaboard, with the exception of Georgia. She told of the great pride which the mayor and citizens of Jacksonville take in the Jacksonville Survey, which was made under the supervision of the Council. She stated that in making this study, the thought and effort of citizens of both races were used all the way through. The Committee, headed by Mr. R. P. Daniel, completed the report, "Jacksonville Looks at Its Negro Community," and a continuing committee was appointed to see that the recommendations were carried out. There were results, she stated almost before the survey was finished. She announced that Florida Division had its first annual meeting the 30th of October, and plans are now being made for a membership campaign. Efforts are being made to build up strength in the local communities against putting Florida primaries back in the party control. She told of trips to North Carolina and to Virginia, and stated that the Norfolk Interracial group wants the Council to help with a survey similar to the Jacksonville Survey.

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director of Veterans Services, told of the work of the Veterans Service Division. He told of the surveys of services to Negro veterans made by the Field Agents over the South. He said that quiet persuasion was used in small towns to build a bridge between the official services and the Negro veterans, and generally the agents talked with a great many Negro veterans and encouraged them to apply for benefits, job training or education. He told of the growth over all of the South of new trade training schools for Negro veterans and of the Veterans Administration in the various state departments employing Negro personnel. (For a complete account of Dr. Mitchell's talk, see December, New South.)

Mr. Marion A. Wright, Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, read several resolutions which were to come up for action at the afternoon session.

Dr. Rufus Clement, Chairman of the Committee on Nominations, read the list of nominations which were to be considered in the afternoon.

Meeting adjourned for lunch at 12:45.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. Harry Wright, one of the Field Agents of the Veterans Service Division, told of his work in Mississippi, Arkansas and Oklahoma. At the time of his first visit to Natchez, Mississippi, there were no veterans on job training, and three months later they had more than 100 Negro veterans on job training. In one city, he said, he learned that there were some 88 white veterans on job training and only one Negro veteran in the same town receiving the benefits. Mr. Wright, who is a former marine, told of an experience he had in Oklahoma City when he attended the organizational meeting of the veteran Marines in that area. He stated that he and one other man were the only Negroes present, and there was a little embarrassment when the membership forms were passed out. He asked whether, if he joined there, his membership could be transferred to his home state. The Chairman suggested that the Negro members form their own organization. There was some

discussion, and finally a woman ex-marine told the group that she would resign unless something was done about the matter on an equal basis.

Dr. Johnson introduced Mr. Turner Smith, a native Georgian and Chief of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, Washington. He said that there has been very close cooperation between the SRC and the Civil Rights Division in everything the Council, has done in the field of civil rights.

Mr. Smith talked informally on the problems of civil rights, and discussed the government's progress in obtaining justice in recent violations of civil rights in the South. Mr. Smith emphasized that present Federal civil rights law was primarily designed to protect the individual from oppression by the government, either Federal or state, and not to protect one individual from another. Answering questions about the Federal government's role in a case like the Monroe lynchings, Mr. Smith pointed out that the Department of Justice could prosecute only if the state, through any official, was a party to the crime, and could even then obtain conviction only if it could be proved that such an official had wilfully deprived the citizen of his civil rights. He told the members that the Civil Rights Division received more than 30,000 letters, telegrams and other communications from people all over the nation demanding that the perpetrators of the Monroe lynching be brought to justice.

Miss Emily Clay, Secretary-Treasurer, read the Treasurer's report for the first ten months of 1947, and estimated expenditures for November and December. The report showed an estimated deficit at the end of the year of $2,583.51, for the regular budget, and a possible surplus of $1,357.06 in the Veterans Service Account. (See reports on file.) On motion made and seconded,

2. IT WAS VOTED that the treasurer's report be accepted.

Dr. F. D. Patterson talked for a few moments concerning the financial condition of the Council. He stated that the demand for service has been indicated by the types of reports which have been given, and that more funds are

needed to go ahead with the expanded program in the future. The membership of the Council, he said, will increase as evidenced by the 100 per cent increase in 1946, and some support can be expected from members. But success, he stated, will require more funds than can be secured from memberships. He stressed the importance of more small gifts and fewer substantial grants, and asked that every member recognize an obligation to make personal appeals for financial aid for SRC whenever he can.

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Mr. Clelland and Dr. McDowell suggested that there be established special student memberships and a membership campaign be undertaken to enlist every student possible. Mrs. Ames suggested that members make pledges to make a contribution between now and January 1st to liquidate the deficit.

Dr. Clement reported the following recommendations from the Board of Directors:

(1) That joint memberships in the Southern Regional Council be established for husband and wife, and that dues for such memberships be $3.00 a year (one set of literature to be sent to one address.)

(2) That all Honorary Fellows, whose terms expire this year, be reappointed to serve for another two years.

(3) That in the program for the ensuing year, major emphasis be placed in the following fields: Law enforcement, police training and prevention of violence.

(4) That a pamphlet be issued by the Council which would discuss voting in the Southern States and the effect of extending the franchise to various groups; this pamphlet to include statements of prominent people, newspaper editorials, and signatures of responsible citizens for the purpose of allaying the fears which many people have concerning voting by Negroes.

(5) That the Council urge the State Divisions and affiliates to make the matter of suffrage one of their major activities for the coming year.

(6) That the matter of selecting a National Advisory Committee be referred to the Executive Committee, with the power to act, and that the members of the Board of Directors be asked to make suggestions to the Executive Committee concerning personnel for the Committee.

(7) That the Council accept with regrets the resignation of Miss Emily Clay, Secretary-Treasurer, who is moving to another state.

On motion, duly seconded,

3. IT WAS VOTED that the recommendations of the Board of Directors be approved.

At this point in the meeting, Msgr. McNamara rose and paid tribute to Miss Clay for her 23 years of consecrated service to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and to the Council. He commended her for the excellent work she has done, praised her quiet efficient manner, and stated that her consecration to the work will well serve as an example to everyone in achieving the goal of the SRC. He presented here with an inscribed silver platter from the Board and staff.

The recommendations of the Nominating Committee were read by Dr. Rufus Clement, Chairman. He submitted the following names of board members whose terms expire in 1946 for reelection for four-year terms.

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
Rufus B. Atwood
Louis E. Burnham
William E. Cole
Luther P. Jackson
Louis I. Jaffee
David D. Jones
Gerald P. O'Hara
Raymond Paty
Ira De A. Reid
Philip H. Shulhafer
Goodrick C. White
Josephine Wilkins

In addition to the above, the following names were submitted as new board members to serve four-year terms.*

Felton Clark, Southern University, Louisiana
Jennings Perry, Nashville, Tennessee
Edgar Ray, Tampa Daily Times, Tampa, Florida
Emily H. Clay, Atlanta, Georgia
D. V. Jemison, Selma, Alabama

On motion made and duly seconded,

4. IT WAS VOTED that the persons nominated be elected to the Board of Directors for four-year terms.

On request of one of the members present, Dr. Clement read the complete list of the Board of Directors and the date of expiration of terms. (See list in file.)

Mr. Marion A. Wright, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, reported

*All these have accepted except Mr. Jennings Perry

the resolutions which had been approved by the Committee. After discussion and acceptance of certain revisions, the first resolution read as follows:

> The Southern Regional Council, Inc., wishes to record its considered judgment that the cause of better understanding and good will between the races in the South has made steady advancement in the last two decades. A more enlightened press, churches and other organizations concerned with the application of genuine religion to human affairs, liberal educators and progressive laymen of both races have shown courage and statesmanship in creating in the South conditions conducive to normal, happy and successful living by all of its citizens.
>
> The Council regrets that the results of such consecrated effort should have been to some extent counter-balanced in the post war period by a handful of bigots and assassins. The resurgence of organized intolerance and mob action culminating in the foul slaying of innocent men and women draws upon the South the scorn and contempt of civilized men everywhere.
>
> The most disturbing feature of the situation has been the failure of officers of the law to protect their prisoners, to prevent organized murder and to apprehend and punish the guilty. The apparent immunity of lynchers constitutes the most serious indictment of states in which lynching occurs. Official utterances have not always been too reassuring as to the degree or extent of effort to detect.
>
> It is, therefore
>
> RESOLVED: 1. That the Council adopts as one of its principal objectives for the ensuing year the enforcement of all laws designed to thwart or punish mob violence.
>
> 2. That it summon to its aid all religious, civic and social institutions and all citizens of the South in creating a sound public opinion deeply antagonistic to organized bigotry and mob violence.

On motion, duly seconded,

5. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

Mr. Wright then read the following resolution:

> RESOLVED: That the Southern Regional Council, Inc. hereby expresses the sincere regret which it feels at the resignation of Miss Emily Clay as Secretary and Treasurer of this organization; its sense of obligation for capable and devoted services rendered by her to it for three years and to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation for twenty years in that official capacity, and its conviction that her skill and zeal have greatly advanced the cause of understanding, tolerance and good will throughout the South.

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On motion, duly seconded,

6. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

Mr. Wright read the following resolution which was submitted by Mr. Alex Miller after the close of the morning session, the deadline which had been set for sending in resolutions for consideration of the resolutions committee.

> In view of the alarming state of tension which has developed in certain areas of Atlanta caused by friction in the housing situation, and
>
> In view of the growth of a hate organization called theColumbians who by their actions have aggravated this situation to a degree in which a race riot is a strong possibility,
>
> Therefore, be it resolved
>
> That the Southern Regional Council request Mayor Hartsfield of Atlanta to call immediately a conference of civic, business, welfare and community leaders to consider this alarming situation and prepare a housing program not only to ameliorate the present frictions but also to plan for an adequate program on a long-term basis.

There was some discussion concerning this resolution, in which it was pointed out that the Columbians have had considerable amount of publicity, and any action taken by SRC would mean further publicity for them. Dr. Mays stated that conferences had already been held with the Mayor and with his secretary on the housing situation. Another member pointed out that this resolution was submitted after the deadline set by the Board, and the chair ruled that the resolution could not be considered. Suggestion was made that the matter be referred to the Executive Committee for action.

Dr. Foreman stated he hoped there would be continued cooperation between the Council and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and announced that the biennial conference of that organization would be held in New Orleans on Thanksgiving weekend.

Mr. Williams expressed appreciation to the host, Dr. Rufus Clement, for allowing the Council to hold its meeting at Atlanta University, and expressed

gratitude to all members for attending the meeting.

There being no further business, meeting adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

Inez B. Tillison

Inez B. Tillison

Secretary-Treasurer

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Meeting of Board of Directors

The meeting of the Board of Directors was called to order by the President, Mr. Paul D. Williams, Wednesday afternoon, November 13, 1946, at 4:30 o'clock, in the Exhibition Room of the Atlanta University Library immediately following the annual meeting of members. The following members were present:

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
R. B. Atwood
Rufus E. Clement
Virginius Dabney
John A. Griffin
Leonard Haas
Gordon B. Hancock
Guy B. Johnson
Benjamin E. Mays
T. James McNamara
N. C. Newbold
C. H. Parrish
F. D. Patterson
John G. Pollard, Jr.
G. D. Rogers
Mrs. Eugene H. Spearman
Harold L. Trigg
J. M. Tydings
Josephine Wilkins
Paul D. Williams
Marion A. Wright
Mrs. Warren Zeuch

From the SRC staff: Ray Warwick, Mrs. Henry Havens, Miss Emily Clay and Mrs. Inez B. Tillison.

At Mr. Williams' request, Dr. Patterson presided over the meeting. Dr. Clement, reporting for the Nominating Committee, of which he was chairman, read the following nominations for officers for the coming year:

Paul D. Williams, Richmond, Virginia - President
P. B. Young, Norfolk, Virginia - First Vice-president
Frank W. Spencer, Savannah, Georgia - Second Vice-president
Carter Wesley, Houston, Texas - Third Vice-president

On motion duly seconded and carried,

1. IT WAS VOTED that the report of the Nominating Committee be accepted as read.

Question was asked whether these officers had been contacted to determine whether they would be willing to serve, as none of the vice-presidents had attended the annual meeting. It was stated that the Nominating Committee had assumed these men would continue to serve, as all of them have shown interest in the work and have attended meetings during the year even though not present today.

BUDGET FOR 1947

Dr. Johnson read to the Board a Tentative Budget for 1947 as drawn up by the staff.

After some discussion concerning the Budget, on motion duly seconded and carried,

2. IT WAS VOTED that the Board of Directors accept the information regarding the 1947 Budget; and that it be submitted to the Finance Committee to make recommendations to the Executive Committee for action.

On motion made by Dr. Clement, duly seconded and carried,

3. IT WAS VOTED that the Board of Directors express appreciation for the work of all the staff of SRC and for the leadership of Mr. Paul Williams as president during the past year.

MEETING ADJOURNED.

Respectfully submitted,
Inez B. Tillison
Inez B. Tillison, Secretary

ESTIMATED BUDGET 1947

1. Based on Present Staff and Activities

Salaries	$40,000.00	
Travel - Entertainment (including Board of Directors and Executive Committee)	7,500.00	
Rent	1,560.00	
Research and Special Services	2,500.00	
Telephone and Telegraph	660.00	
Supplies and Equipment	3,500.00	
Printing - Literature	6,300.00	
Subscriptions and Clippings	200.00	
Postage - Express	2,000.00	
Miscellaneous	500.00	
TOTAL		$64,720.00

2. Additional Needs for Expanded Program

Conference Council Fellows 1947			$ 1,500.00	
Conference State Committee Directors			1,000.00	
Additional Staff			18,800.00	
3 field workers at	$3000	$9000		
2 Stenographers at	2400	4800		
Travel	5000	5000		
Additional Travel for Present Staff			2,500.00	
Anti-lynching Campaign			2,000.00	
Police Institutes			3,000.00	
TOTAL ADDITIONAL NEEDS				28,800.00
GRAND TOTAL				$92,520.00

ESTIMATED INCOME FOR 1947

Foundation Grants	$37,300.00
Church Agencies	5,000.00
Dues	4,000.00
Contributions	5,000.00
Mailing List	1,000.00
Literature	2,000.00
TOTAL	$54,300.00

Estimated Budget Based on Present Staff and Activities	$64,720.00
Income for 1947 (Estimated)	54,300.00
Needed to Balance Minimum Budget	$10,420.00

Estimated Budget Based on Expanded Program	$92,520.00
Income for 1947 (Estimated)	54,300.00
Needed to Balance Expanded Budget	$38,220.00

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Executive Committee

February 26, 1947

The Executive Committee met at its regular quarterly session February 26, 1947, at 10 A. M., in the Council Conference Room. Meeting was called to order by Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Chairman, who asked Msgr. McNamara to lead in prayer. Roll was called by the Secretary. The following were present:

Rufus E. Clement	Charles S. Johnson	Harold L. Trigg
Leonard Haas	Guy B. Johnson	Josephine Wilkins
Gordon B. Hancock	T. James McNamara	Carter Wesley

Regrets were received from P. B. Young, C. H. Gillman and Frank Spencer. The president, Paul D. Williams, had planned to come, but just as the meeting opened, Mr. Williams informed the Committee that an emergency operation on his daughter prevented his attending. Staff members present: George S. Mitchell, Mrs. Henry Havens, Mrs. Inez B. Tillison.

On motion made and seconded,

1. IT WAS VOTED that since copies of the minutes of the last meeting of the Executive Committee, November 12, 1946, had been sent to each member, the reading of the minutes be dispensed with and approved as distributed.

Mrs. Tillison reported to the Committee concerning membership and finance. She stated that since the annual meeting there have been 200 new members enrolled, bringing the total SRC membership up to 1800. She stated that following the establishment, on vote at the annual meeting, of joint membership for husband and wife, we have had between 40 and 50 such memberships.

Mrs. Tillison stated that at the time of the annual meeting it was estimated that the deficit for the year 1946 would be approximately $2,000, but that by holding down supplies, travel, etc. and by borrowing $1,000 on the advice of Mr. Haas, on December 31 there was a small cash balance of $538.58 in the bank, and an actual deficit for the year of $461.42. She gave the finance report covering the six weeks' period, January 1--February 15, 1947. (See report filed) The

report showed a cash balance on hand of $412.59, and after accounts payable were taken into consideration, a deficit February 15 of $2,274.64.

Report for the Veterans Service Division showed a balance on hand February 15 of $961.57. (See report on file).

Question was asked as to how much in other appropriations are expected during the year. Dr. Johnson told the Committee that $4,000 is due from the General Education Board and some other small appropriations from churches. Question was also asked whether the General Education Board would not send the remainder of the appropriation at this time instead of July 1 when it is due. Dr. Clement stated he was of the opinion that they would sent it whenever we asked for it.

Dr. Johnson told the Executive Committee that those present would remember that at the last meeting of the Committee he told the group that he planned to leave the Council and go back to the University of North Carolina, and the Committee voted to take that as information which would be passed on to the Board and annual meeting. About a month after the annual meeting, he stated, his negotiations with the University were finished and it was arranged that he would return to the University September 1. On December 12 he stated letters were written to Dr. Embree and Dr. Alexander concerning the Julius Rosenwald Fund appropriation for 1947. Dr. Alexander replied in part as follows:

> "As you know, the appropriation of the Rosenwald Fund for the Southern Regional Council covered a three-year period which expires at the end of this month. It would not be wise for me to go to the Trustees for an appropriation covering an additional period of years with the leadership of the Council in a state of uncertainty. Nor would it be possible to ask them to make an appropriation covering a short period, or an indefinite period, pending the final settlement of the future leadership of the Council. I am, therefore, not taking up with the Trustees the matter of further appropriations and shall not do so until the question indicated above is settled. I am sure that under the circumstances our Trustees would not act favorably. I thought you and the others ought to know this. I am sending a copy of this letter to both Mr. Williams and Dr. Odum. I shall be glad to have word when definite decisions have been reached."

Dr. Johnson stated he wrote Dr. Alexander that he had been reelected Executive Director, that he planned to stay until September 1, that if a new Director had not been lined up by that time he would arrange to stay on the entire year, and that he hoped this would clear up the matter of the stability of the Council for the present year. He stated that Dr. Alexander and the Rosenwald Fund, however, seemed firmly committed to the position that the Council's directorship must be settled first. Dr. Johnson said he hoped that there might be a special meeting of the Executive Committee called to take up this matter, but that was not possible, and so it had to wait until this regular February meeting of the Committee. In the meantime, he stated, he had submitted his formal resignation in a letter to the president and members of the Executive Committee, asking that it become effective August 31, 1947.

In reply to a question concerning the Rosenwald Fund's attitude, Dr. Charles Johnson stated that the Rosenwald Fund is winding up its operations, is scrutinizing very carefully the last grants, and is limiting those grants to programs which are stabilized. The Executive Committee of the Rosenwald Fund wants assurance of the stabilization of the program of SRC, especially in view of the fact that Dr. Johnson's resignation is pending and there is no indication as to who will follow, he stated. The Fund, he said, in making its grants now out of remaining funds will want to make as long a provision as the funds will permit, and it has not felt that under the circumstances it could allocate two or three year's grant to a situation that is obviously unsettled with no indication of which direction it would be going. Even with full confidence in the Council Board, he stated, that there could be other claims for those funds which might block the Council if it does not act promptly. He stated that the Rosenwald Fund does not expect any new funds to be granted after this year. He pointed out that the Rosenwald Fund Board meets on March 5.

Dr. Clement suggested (1) that the Committee try immediately to settle the situation as to a Director, (2) that another request be made to the Rosenwald Fund

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for a larger grant covering several years, and (3) that other foundations be approached for funds.

Mr. Wesley stated that he was impressed with the urgency of the situation and suggested that the Committee go into the question of a new Executive at once.

The Chairman said that in accordance with the By-Laws a Special Committee, consisting of Mr. Leonard Haas, Chairman, Dr. Rufus Clement, and Miss Josephine Wilkins, had been appointed by the president on February 13 to select an Executive Director. Mr. Haas suggested that members of the staff present, with the exception of Dr. Johnson, be excused and that the Special Committee's report be considered. Mr. Haas told of the deliberations of the Special Committee and reported that certain contingencies made it impossible to present a final report at this time. After prolonged discussion, on motion made and duly seconded,

2. IT WAS VOTED unanimously that the Executive Committee hereby empowers and instructs the Special Committee to make a selection of an Executive Director by Wednesday, March 5, from the names approved today by the Executive Committee, such selection to constitute action by the Executive Committee.

In view of the lateness of the hour and the fact that several members of the Committee would have to leave shortly, it was suggested that staff reports be postponed except for a brief coverage of important items. The staff members were asked to return to the room.

The Executive Director reported briefly on the following subjects:

1. Police Manual. Emory University is probably going to cooperate in working out a manual for police officers. This is desirable, Dr. Johnson said, because they would have much better chance of getting it used by the police than SRC.

2. An approach has been made by Mrs. Havens which we hope will result in Mr. Ed Ray, Chairman of the Florida Division, receiving an invitation to speak on the police and human relations at the Southeastern Sheriff's Association in Tampa next month.

3. Progress has been made in cooperation with the Florida Governor's Citizens Committee on Education -- an official committee to survey public schools and bring far-reaching recommendations. Some of SRC people are on the Committee. Dr. Gray of Florida A & M has attended all the meetings of the Committee, and Florida Division of SRC has extended its cooperation.

4. Mr. Ed Ray recently called a special meeting of representatives of the press, both white and Negro, and of the Citizens Committee on Education mentioned above. State officials attended and discussed how to publicize the report and get action on it. Dr. Guy Johnson spent two days in Tallahassee in January conferring with state officials, on invitation from the Department of Education.

5. The man-on-the-street poll. Mr. Slade of the SRC staff made a survey the latter part of 1946, asking questions on what the man-on-the-street thought about the present situation in regard to race relations, whether conditions were better or worse than they were before the war, etc. About 400 Negroes in Atlanta were interviewed. A young man from Emory is now interviewing white people, and the final results of this poll will be useful in certain local action phases of our work.

Dr. George S. Mitchell reported briefly on a successful effort to get the Veterans Administration to set up its statistical procedures so that data according to race would be recorded. Dr. Trigg and Mrs. Havens also made brief comments. Mrs. Havens reported that the Florida and South Carolina Divisions have both employed field workers recently and have set goals of 1,000 and 800 new members respectively for 1947. Attention was called to the fact that the Kentucky Interracial Council has become a state division of the SRC.

Msgr. McNamara suggested that the Council issue a statement on the White Primary legislation which has just been passed by the General Assembly of Georgia. On motion made and duly seconded,

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3. IT WAS VOTED that a statement expressing our regret over the passage of the Georgis White Primary law and reaffirming our policy on this moral issue be prepared by the Executive Director and given to the press.

Dr. Johnson pointed out that there was not enough money in the Treasury to cover the pay roll on Friday, February 28, and that he would like to have a recommendation from the Executive Committee concerning this. On motion made by Mr. Wesley and seconded by Miss Wilkins,

4. IT WAS VOTED that the officers charged with the responsibility of carrying on the office be empowered to borrow $1,500 to cover this emergency and such other funds, not to exceed $4,000, to carry on the work until we can secure the contributions which we now anticipate, or until the next meeting of this committee, whichever is earlier.

Dr. Guy Johnson stated that for the last two years a meeting of the Directors of the State Committees had been held the latter part of February, but due to the lack of funds one has not been called this year. He stated that it is important that a meeting of the SRC state division heads, at least, be held sometime soon so that uniform procedures can be worked out. Mr. Wesley stated he felt it was important to include also those states where there was not affiliation. Dr. Johnson told him that these had been included in the meetings held in 1945 and 1946 and that if funds are available they will be included again this year.

A written report prepared by Mrs. M. E. Tilly, who was representing the SRC at the meeting of the Mississippi Division, was not read because of lack of time.

Meeting Adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

Inez B. Tillison

Inez B. Tillison
Secretary-Treasurer

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Executive Committee

May 28, 1947

The Executive Committee met in the Conference Room of the Council on Wednesday, May 28, 1947, and was called to order at 10:30 A. M. by the President, Mr. Paul D. Williams, in the absence of Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Chairman.

In addition to the President, the following were present: Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, Msgr. T. James McNamara, Miss Josephine Wilkins, Mr. Leonard Haas, Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Dr. George S. Mitchell, Mr. Ray Warwick, and Mrs. Agnes McKoy. Mrs. M. E. Tilly sat in on the latter portion of the meeting. Mrs. McKoy was introduced to the group as the incoming Secretary-Treasurer of the Council, to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Mrs. Inez B. Tillison.

At the request of Mr. Williams, Dr. Hancock opened the meeting with prayer.

Mr. Williams and Dr. Hancock told the group, briefly, the story of Westwood, a Negro community located within the city limits of Richmond, which has been in existence for the past eighty years, the property passing on within the respective families from generation to generation. The story of how this community was "saved" for the Negro property owners there will be carried in a forthcoming issue of New South. One of those instrumental in the Westwood project was Mr. Walter Cravey of Richmond, who was proposed for membership in the Council by both Mr. Williams and Dr. Hancock.

Minutes of the February 26 meeting had been sent to all members and upon motion of Mr. Haas, seconded by Dr. Hancock,

1. IT WAS VOTED to dispense with the reading of the minutes of the February 26 meeting.

No minutes were kept of the March 5 meeting of the special committee appointed to select an Executive Director to succeed Dr. Guy B. Johnson and Dr. Mitchell requested that official action be taken for recording in the minutes

of this, the May 28 meeting. After discussion and upon motion of Miss Wilkins, therefore,

2. IT WAS VOTED that the following statement regarding the action taken by the special committee in selecting a successor to Dr. Johnson be incorporated in these minutes of the May 28 meeting:

> The Special Committee of the Executive Committee met on March 5, 1947, and in conformity with the directions given it by the Executive Committee, Dr. George S. Mitchell was chosen as the successor to Dr. Guy B. Johnson. Dr. Mitchell accepted the appointment, to take office on April 1.
>
> At the request of the Special Committee, Dr. Johnson agreed to continue with the Council, serving as a consultant with Dr. Mitchell, until August 1, at which time he would begin thirty days annual leave, his resignation becoming effective on August 31.

Report on Membership

A mimeographed report had been prepared on the membership of SRC as of May 19, 1947. Dr. Mitchell commented briefly on this, pointing out that building up the membership, while something of an expensive process in view of budgetary limitations, is a necessary part of the Council's program, both for the showing in spread of membership, when approaching foundations for funds, and in expanding the program to reach as many areas of Southern life as possible.

Largest increases were noted in Florida and South Carolina, both of which are State Divisions of the Council and in recent months have been fortunate enough to have employed a parttime temporary field worker. (See report attached) Miss Margaret Price, Research Assistant on the staff, has been designated by Dr. Mitchell to act as Membership Secretary, with the responsibility of assisting the state groups in anyway possible and of carrying on extensive cultivation of prospective members by mail from Council headquarters.

The Georgia Committee at its meeting in April obtained around 40 members, Dr. Mitchell reported.

In reply to Mr. Williams' question as to what SRC Members are called

upon to do, Dr. Mitchell explained that most of them are members of some state or local committee, in whose activities they participate, and that the Council always feels free to call upon them in an emergency. In reply to Dr. Hancock's question as to what goal, if any, had been set as the desirable minimum membership, Dr. Mitchell said that Council headquarters feels that an increase up to 5,000 would be excellent.

There was considerable discussion as to ways and means of increasing the present membership, in view of the restricted budget under which the Council operates. Mr. Williams wondered if some present member of the staff might very well spend some time on this in the field. Dr. Mitchell expressed the opinion that this would be somewhat expensive. Mr. Williams then suggested the possibility of asking each member of the Board of Directors to put forth a real effort in behalf of obtaining new members. Specifically, he thought each Board member might be asked to obtain ten new members. Dr. Hancock suggested extending this request also to the Honorary Fellows and possibly to other members of the Council. Mr. Williams thought it advisable to send each Board member sufficient copies of some specially pertinent pamphlet for sending to his or her prospects, together with a like number of printed formal invitations.

Mr. Williams' suggestion was received most favorably by the Committee, and after thorough discussion and upon motion of Dr. Hancock,

3. IT WAS VOTED that Council headquarters proceed to draft a letter to members of the Board of Directors, requesting that each member attempt to obtain new members for the Council; this letter to go out over the signature of the President, Mr. Williams. Later, if thought advisable, this idea will be extended to the Honorary Fellows, and possibly to other members of SRC.

Discussing further possibilities for increasing the membership and obtaining additional financial support, Msgr. McNamara wondered whether it would be advantageous to make a very direct appeal to religious and fraternal organizations, by communication with the leaders in these various groups whose names would be submitted to Council headquarters by the Executive Committee

members. He explained that his idea would be using individually typed letters, over the signature of the Committee member who submitted the name, enlisting the support of these leaders on the basis of the urgent need for united effort by leaders in Judeaism, Catholicism, and Protestantism, in carrying forward the aims and purposes of the Council's program.

After thorough discussion and upon motion of Msgr. McNamara, seconded by Dr. Hancock,

4. IT WAS VOTED that a letter be formulated, in which there would be a direct appeal to Judeaism, Catholicism, and Protestantism, to unite in this southwide regional program; that these leaders as individuals be invited to membership on the Council; and that they be urged to bring the Council's program to the attention of their respective followings. These letters to be individually typed, with a formal printed invitation enclosed carrying the list of the Officers and Board members of the Council. Each member of the Executive Committee to be asked to furnish Council headquarters with a list of those to receive such a letter over his or her signature.

Dr. Mitchell showed the group a copy of the present printed formal invitation, the stock of which is now exhausted. There was discussion as to the advisability of adding each member's official connection or occupation following his name. There was general agreement that this might be advisable now, but that the idea should be presented to each individual Board member for his approval or disapproval. Upon motion by Msgr. McNamara, seconded by Dr. Hancock,

5. IT WAS VOTED that each Board member be contacted as to his or her feeling on the use of titles, occupations, or official connections in the listing of names of Board members on the printed formal invitations. If Board members approve, Council headquarters will proceed with the new printing of these invitations.

Financial Report

At the request of Dr. Mitchell, Mrs. Anna Warwick, Acting Secretary-Treasurer, gave a report of the present financial condition of the Council. She explained that the General Education Board had been requested to advance its contribution of $4,000 immediately rather than on July 1. If this is done, it is felt that the Council will be able to get along until the new instalment of

the Rosenwald money, which is due July 1. However, without the early receipt of GEB's grant, the Council will be unable to meet its payroll during the month of June. Dr. Mitchell pointed out that the $1500.00 loan with the Citizens Trust Company had been renewed until July 1. He outlined what he belived to be, roughly, the general expenses of the Council for the rest of 1947, and pointed out that, even with the strictest economy and operating only along the limited lines as at present, the deficit by December 1 will amount to something over $3,000.

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Members of the Committee expressed considerable concern over the Council's financial condition and the effect it is having on the program. It was suggested that direct approaches be made to those denominational groups not now contributing to the work, and Dr. Mitchell said that he had planned to do this soon. He told how, almost immediately following the Conference on Human Rights and World Order, one Methodist Conference group had sent in a contribution of $25.00, as the result of an appeal from one of their women leaders who had attended the Conference. It is expected that some of the other 16 Conferences will also follow the suggestion of their leader.

Dr. Mitchell reported also that a leader in the Council of Jewish Women, who attended this Conference, had expressed considerable interest in the Council's program and had requested detailed information. This has been sent to her, for relaying on to her group. Mrs. Tilly pointed out that, although the Council was not promoted in any way in connection with the Conference, there were numerous expressions to the Council of appreciation for its financial support of the meeting and results since then have shown that, actually, the Council received a full measure of credit for its assistance in putting the Conference on.

Discussion of What Constitutes "Political Activity"
in connection with the Council's Program.

Msgr. McNamara asked whether the group thought the Council should

have a clear definition of exactly what constitutes political activity. Mr. Haas said that he had, himself, run into a little difficulty in this respect when approaching two organizations requesting grants for the Council.

In the lengthy discussion which followed there was considerable expression from the members as to exactly what might be construed as "political activity." It was pointed out that the Council as an organization most purposefully has always refrained from active participation of any sort in political campaigns.

Msgr. McNamara pointed out that, certainly, there were social welfare areas in which oftimes legislation had been considered which had Council support, but, he felt convinced, this was purely human welfare work and could not be considered at all in the realm of political activity.

Other members of the Committee expressed similar views, pointing out that the churches themselves do not fear to take a definite stand on what they consider to be social legislation. Msgr. McNamara pointed out, with regard to the Council's condemnation of the white primary, that in an instance of this kind the Council is merely supporting the law of the land - not lending its support to any particular candidate for public office.

Mr. Williams expressed the opinion that the Council's chances for grants and contributions from many sources are hampered by this lack of a definite, authoritiative statement that such donations are tax exempt. He felt that the Executive Committee should face the problem, now.

On motion of Msgr. McNamara, seconded by Dr. Hancock,

6. IT WAS VOTED that the SRC make application, through the proper Government agency, for a formal ruling on its being a tax exempt organization.

It was agreed that, once this ruling is obtained, a more concerted effort must be made to obtain funds not only from foundations and religious bodies, but that large business corporations should be approached.

Possible Grant from GEB as a Memorial
to Dr. Jackson Davis

Mr. Williams presented briefly a plan which he, Dr. Trigg, and Dr. Hancock had discussed together recently in Richmond. They wondered if the GEB could be interested in memorializing Dr. Jackson Davis through a special grant to the SRC on the basis of some special projects which the organization would undertake with the funds. In making the approach, it was Dr. Trigg's idea that the emphasis be shifted entirely from the question of race, and placed instead on the Council's philosophy of the regional approach to the South's problems, stressing the importance of utilizing all this section's resources, both human and natural..Dr. Hancock felt that there was some reason for encouragement in presenting the idea to GEB, since something of a similar nature had been done in establishing and naming Dillard University for Dr. J. H. Dillard, whose life's work had been along the same lines as Dr. Davis'.

It was agreed that this idea is well worth exploring and Mr. Williams, Dr. Hancock, and Dr. Trigg were authorized to go ahead with their plans. Mr. Williams stated he hoped something definite could be done during the month of June.

State Committees and Divisions

At its meeting on April 19, Dr. Mitchell reported, the South Carolina Committee enrolled something like 45 new members. The Georgia Committee is forging steadily ahead all the time and at a general meeting in May enrolled between 35 and 40 new members. Recently, a local committee has been set up in the Fulton-DeKalb area. The North Carolina Commission will hold its Executive Committee meeting on June 13. The Texas group is active but as yet has not become affiliated with the Council. Individuals from each of these state groups, as well as representatives from those states which do not have an official set-up, will be brought into Atlanta on June 17 and 18 for a two-day session on increased activity, especially as regards membership, police administration, and expanded secondary education for veterans.

Mrs. Tilly reported that one of the chief activities on which the Georgia Committee is concentrating at this time is the matter of combatting political campaigns where the racial issue is raised by candidates for office. She distributed a mimeographed statement, which is being widely circulated in Georgia, and is daily gaining new endorsers. Also, a Macon attorney who is a member of the Georgia Committee is now preparing a leaflet on the white primary which is to be given wide circulation. In working against the injection of the racial issue in political campaigns, the Negro members of the Committee will do their part by approaching the white ministers in their respective communities, enlisting their full support and that of their members.

Report of Dr. Guy B. Johnson

It so happened that a year after the Council's report on the Columbia, Tennessee, trouble, Dr. Johnson reported, he was invited to speak before three separate groups there, in three separate meetings: the Lions, the Kiwanis, and the Rotary Clubs. He did not talk about the race riot of a year ago, but met with a small group later to try to plan for a permanent interracial committee.

Dr. Johnson also reported that he had, in compliance with a request from the President's Committee on Civil Rights, prepared a memorandum on the Council's

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findings touching on civil rights in the South and incorporating some suggestions as to what areas the Committee might direct its activities. Later, he was requested, on very short notice, to appear before the committee in person. Dr. Johnson stated that he would have liked to have presented in advance to members of the Executive Committee his prepared statement, but that time did not permit. Since his statement was released to the press by the Civil Rights Committee, however, both he and Mrs. Tilly felt that it should be given to Executive Committee members and members of the Board of Directors. Dr. Johnson emphasized that, in appearing before the committee, he had made it quite plain that he appeared as an individual only and not as the official representative of the Southern Regional Council. The problems he touched on were: lynching, police protection, suffrage, separate but equal facilities, and hate organizations.

Recently, Dr. Johnson reported, he has been working with Ray Warwick, Public Relations Director of the Council, on the proposed radio forums. It is planned to broadcast these forums, somewhat in the nature of the Chicago Round Table or the Town Hall Meeting of the Air programs, over WSB in Atlanta, Very little prepared script would be required, the main problems being the lining up of speakers and getting the project financed.

Also, Dr. Johnson said, he is now attempting to do the police manual which, some months ago, it appeared Dr. Stubbs of Emory University might be available for preparing. He hopes this will be completed before he leaves the Council August 1. Reports on the new Chief of Police in Atlanta are most favorable, he said, and it seems that the chances now are better than a year ago for getting the idea tried out here in this city.

Report of Dr. Harold L. Trigg

Dr. Mitchell explained that Dr. Trigg had gone to fill a long-standing engagement at Voorhees Institute and had asked him to present his written report. (See attached.)

Also, Dr. Mitchell reported, Dr. Trigg has accepted the Presidency of St. Augustine's College in Raleigh and asked that his formal resignation be presented to the Executive Committee, to become effective on August 31.

There were many expressions of deep regret from the group at Dr. Trigg's going, and also many commendatory remarks about the type of job he has done with the Council, and the members asked that Dr. Trigg be told by Dr. Mitchell that he has their sincerest best wishes for every success in the new job.

Mr. Williams said: "We are glad that we will have him as a stalwart to lean on for advice and stimulation.... in North Carolina, where Dr. Trigg has many friends." Dr. Johnson stated that he did not know of any one person who could do just what Dr. Trigg has done since coming with the Council, in just the way he has done it. Mrs. Tilly mentioned Dr. Trigg's speaking at Wesleyan College recently, the first Negro ever to appear before the student body, and of the very fine reception he received and the excellent impression he made there.

As to a successor to Dr. Trigg, upon motion by Dr. Hancock, seconded by Msgr. McNamara,

7. IT WAS VOTED (1) That Dr. Trigg's resignation be accepted with regret; and (2) That a subcommittee be appointed by the President with power to act in selecting an Associate Director.

Report of Mrs. M. E. Tilly

Last Friday, Mrs. Tilly reported, she received a call from the President's Committee on Civil Rights, asking that she go into North Carolina to see Governor Cherry about the reported lynching, and then to go on down to Jackson. Since it developed by the next day that the intended victim had escaped, she did not go, however.

Mrs. Tilly also reported on the Conference on Human Rights and World Order, which was held in Atlanta on May 8 and 9, sponsored jointly by the Council, the Georgia Council of Church Women, and the Southeastern Jurisdiction of the Woman's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church. Approximately 200 persons registered; thirteen States were represented, as well as 67 organizations and 13 denominations. The findings growing out of the three workshops conducted during the conference are now being mimeographed and will be given wide circulation.

As has been reported by Dr. Mitchell in connection with the discussion on finances, Mrs. Tilly mentioned also the $25.00 contribution which SRC received from one Methodist Conference, almost immediately following this meeting and of the anticipated contributions from 16 other Methodist Conferences. She quoted excerpts from a number of letters she had received from persons in attendance, expressing their appreciation and gratitude that the Council helped financially to make their attendance at the conference possible.

Report of Dr. George S. Mitchell

Dr. Mitchell presented a list of the SRC employees, their positions, and their salaries. He stressed the need for enlarging the staff of research assistants by at least two, and, in addition, he said that he felt keenly the need of one employee who would devote his full-time to the matter of police protection and law enforcement. At the present time Mr. J. O. Slade is the only employee spending his full time on research, with Miss Price carrying on part-time, in addition to her heavy workload as Membership Secretary.

At the suggestion of Mr. Ray Warwick, an Associate Press reporter has spent several days in the Council office, going over material on lynching and preparing a feature story for the Sunday newspapers, which it is believed will be sent out over the AP wires from New York.

Dr. Mitchell reported, further, that Mr. Luther Jackson of Petersburg, Virginia, had been engaged to write the pamphlet on Negro Participation in voting in the South.

Rather than attempting the "measurement reports" for each State, which Dr. Mitchell sometime ago had recommended, he told the Committee that now he believes breaking those reports down into the various phases of welfare will be much more effective. As a start, he said, Mr. Slade is presently gathering data

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on the care of the feeble minded. Later, SRC might cover such areas as housing, farm ownership, cooperatives, migration, costs of county government, etc. The data thus gathered would be put together in quarterly pamphlets.

Dr. Mitchell stated that he felt that the Council with its present finances and staff will be able to get out, in addition to the suffrage pamphlet, a pamphlet on lynching, one on veterans education, and the police manual. Also, he emphasized every effort is being put forward to complete preparations for the radio forums.

The Committee expressed keen interest in and approval of Dr. Mitchell's plans but, again, expressed concern over the Council's financial condition.

Reduction in Number of
Meetings of Executives Committee

Dr. Mitchell proposed to the group that Executive Committee meetings now be reduced to three yearly, rather than four as at present. He stated that in the Council's first years he saw the necessity for meeting more often but now he wondered if three would be sufficient. Should a special matter come up between times requiring the immediate attention of the members, the group of course could be called together for an emergency meeting.

Some concern was expressed by several members as to whether the staff would feel the need of advice and counsel from the Committee in making plans for the annual meeting in November. Mention was made of the proposal, made some months ago, that staff members prepare and mail out their reports before the annual meeting; and it was agreed that this should be done this year.

There was, also, a suggestion that a Program Committee be appointed to assist the staff with their plans, and there was general agreement that such a committee should be composed of the Atlanta members of the Executive Committee, with those outside the city being invited to assist if they found it convenient.

Upon motion by Dr. Hancock, seconded by Mr. Haas,

8. IT WAS VOTED that regularly scheduled meetings of the Executive Committee hereafter be restricted to three yearly, this action to become effective at the next meeting of the Executive Committee in November, preceding the general annual meeting of the Council.

Retirement Plan for Council Staff

Dr. Mitchell told the Committee that he had been exploring the possibilities of getting at least the professional staff of the Council under some sort of retirement plan, and asked the reaction of the group to such a plan.

There was general approval of the suggestion, and upon motion of Msgr. McNamara, seconded by Miss Wilkins,

9. IT WAS VOTED that Dr. Mitchell be given the Committee's approval for going ahead with his plans for obtaining specific information for initiating a retirement plan for the staff of the Council; that this information, together with his recommendations, be presented to the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

National Advisory Committee

Mr. Williams reminded the group that it had been charged specifically with the responsibility for setting up a National Advisory Committee and that, to date, no definite steps had been taken in this respect. He had mentioned it to Dr. Jackson Davis the last time he saw him and Dr. Davis had been most sympathetic with the idea.

Upon notion by Miss Wilkins, seconded by Msgr. McNamara,

10. IT WAS VOTED that the staff of the Council should proceed to prepare a proposed list of persons who should compose a National Advisory Committee, this list to be presented for consideration at the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

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Personnel Matters

Dr. Mitchell asked that the Committee take formal action on the resignation of Mrs. Inez B. Tillison as Secretary-Treasurer.

Upon motion by Msgr. McNamara, seconded by Miss Wilkins,

11. IT WAS VOTED that Mrs. Tillison's resignation be accepted with profound regrets and that she be extended the very best wishes of the Committee for success in her new undertaking.

Dr. Mitchell then requested official action on the appointment of Mrs. Agnes McKoy, to succeed Mrs. Tillison as Secretary-Treasurer.

Upon motion by Mr. Haas, seconded by Miss Wilkins,

12. IT WAS VOTED that Mrs. McKoy's appointment as Secretary-Treasurer be approved by the Committee.

Dr. Johnson said that, since this was his last meeting with the Executive Committee, he wanted to tell them that he had enjoyed tremendously his work with the Council; that, even though there had been some "downs", there had been many more "ups"; that the spirit of the Executive Committee and of the staff had been one of the finest things about his work with the Council; and that he feels that the Council is in good hands and will move forward.

Committee members expressed their regret at Dr. Johnson's going and were most commendatory in their remarks as to the fruitfulness of Dr. Johnson's efforts in getting the Council organized and laying a firm foundation of prestige and respect.

Adjournment 3:30.

Rubye C. Ramos
Recording Secretary
June 4, 1947

Southern Regional Council
May 20, 1947

REPORT ON SRC MEMBERSHIP

State	Number members since Nov. 1, 1946	Total number members to May 19, 1947
TOTAL	524	1,903
TOTAL IN 13 S. STATES*	497	1,778
TOTAL OUTSIDE SOUTH**	27	125
Alabama	9	76
Arkansas	3	21
Florida	220	364
Georgia	35	247
Kentucky	57	94
Louisiana	7	77
Mississippi	23	114
North Carolina	32	210
Oklahoma	0	11
South Carolina	55	156
Tennessee	19	135
Texas	17	91
Virginia	20	182
California	2	8
Connecticut	0	2
Delaware	0	1
Illinois	3	17
Iowa	0	1
Kansas	2	2
Maryland	2	6
Massachusetts	1	5
Michigan	0	2
Minnesota	0	1
Missouri	1	6
Nebraska	0	1
New Jersey	3	7
New York	6	34
Ohio	2	3
Pennsylvania	3	10
Washington, D. C.	0	12
West Virginia	1	4
Wisconsin	0	2
Liberia	0	1

*Full Members
**Associate Members

In addition, 430 members of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation pay SRC $1.00 a year and receive New South.

There are 298 "individual subscribers" to New South - not SRC members.
104 people and organizations receive complimentary issues of New South each month.
374 people and organizations are on our mailing list.

May 28, 1947

Report of Harold L. Trigg, Associate Executive Director

to

The Executive Committee

The phases of the Council's work which have absorbed most of my time during the past 5 months are in the main three:

1. Vocational Education for Negro Veterans

Under Dr. George Mitchell's direction SRC's Veterans Services Division was instrumental in establishing contact between the Negro Veteran and Federal, state and local agencies in the 13 states of the Region. The Veteran learned of the services available to him, and the agencies learned that the Veterans wanted the services. The two attained a workable interrelation.

Since April 1, 1947, and as one of our 1947 objectives, I have been visiting states of the region to study the availability of Trades and Industrial education (other than agriculture) on the secondary level in institutions, public and private.

In North Carolina the work is well established. In Virginia it is expanding. In both states, regional vocational schools are in the planning. Cooperation between Regional Veterans' Administration officials and State Departments of education is the crux of the problem. North Carolina has it, Virginia is beginning to make the adjustment.

Difficulty in securing data on programs for Negro veterans has been a serious handicap. Dr. Mitchell succeeded in getting VA in Washington to revise the Hollerith tabulation cards so as to show breakdown by race. The information will now be available.

The Council continues to assist the Bi-Racial Committee of Jacksonville, Florida in the implementation of the Survey completed May 1946. A branch of the National Urban League has been approved and other objectives are being achieved.

A major function of the Council is to interpret the regional approach to southern problems. In the performance of this function, I have spoken to the following groups:

1. Young Peoples Fellowship, All Saints Episcopal Church, Atlanta. (mostly Georgia Tech students)
2. "Fireside Chats", Jackson, Tennessee, Negro Agricultural officials.
3. N. C. Interracial Commission, Eastern Division, Raleigh, Western Division, Asheville, North Carolina.
4. Booker T. Washington High Night School, Atlanta.
5. Wesleyan College, Macon, Two classes in Sociology and the College Assembly.
6. Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Assembly.
7. Bishop Payne Divinity School, Petersburg, Virginia, Commencement.

I also attended the meeting of the advisory council to the Committee on Southern Regional Studies, May 24.

The purpose of SRC is now boiled down to one brief statement: To render maximum aid to the Southern Region in the transition from emphasis on race to emphasis on the full use of regional resources--natural, social, human. Southern people like this. It is concrete, hopeful and attainable.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Executive Committee

September 17, 1947

The Executive Committee met for its regular quarterly session on September 17th, 1947, at 10:00 A. M., in the Conference Room of the Council. The following members were present:

Paul Williams — Josephine Wilkins

Leonard Haas — Charles Gillman

George S. Mitchell

Staff members attending were Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Mrs. Agnes McKoy, and Harold C. Fleming. Dr. R. L. Russell, Director of the Georgia Interracial Committee, attended the morning session by invitation.

Since fewer than a quorum of the regular members were present

1. IT WAS VOTED that the subsequent meeting of the Executive Committee would be asked to confirm any action taken by the meeting of September 17th.

Mrs. Tilly was called upon to make her report first as she was going out of town at noon. She described her work with State church groups which culminated in the strong stand taken by these bodies and the statements which they issued against injecting the question of race into any political campaign. She also told of her work with the President's Committee on Civil Rights, and of pending plans for presenting the report to him. She expressed great concern for the hate sheets which were currently appearing in such numbers, and told of a trip she had recently made to Columbus, Georgia, with Mr. George Harrison in an effort to combat them. In describing the fall meetings that had been planned, Mrs. Tilly said that she had great hopes of organizing the Alabama Committee on Interracial Cooperation into a State Division of the Council.

Problems Involved in Organizing State Divisions

Some discussion followed as to various problems involved in organizing other States into Divisions. Dr. Mitchell explained that while there was good

possibility of getting Alabama in as a Division, Tennessee had only local groups now, around Knoxville, Nashville, and Memphis; that Texas, organized in a Committee that is affiliated might someday also be converted.

Mr. Williams said that if the Council could get a network of State organizations all over the South that would be the best selling point in approaching Foundations, etc. Speaking out of her wide experience Mrs. Tilly told the Committee that the best way to start would be with Church groups. Miss Wilkins advanced the idea of a minute man for every County, someone who would have overall responsibility for the County and who would send out communications from time to time to County groups to keep them activated. These groups, she felt, might in time become the nucleus for setting up a State organization.

Dr. Russell thought the idea a good one, but outlined the core of the problem involved for the State Committees in becoming Divisions of the Council. Loss of revenue -- since only one dollar of dues paid in to the Council would come back to them, would make it impossible for the local State Groups to live. He, himself, he said, very much wanted closer affiliation, and hoped that some means could be found to solve the economic problems involved. He felt that a key person could be found in most Counties, if not all, but thought that organization should come through the State, with the State reporting developments back to the regional office.

Dr. Mitchell pointed out that State Divisions were in a continual state of frustration due to lack of funds for carrying out their programs, yet the Council regularly was losing money on working State Divisions. Members at large, he said, paying $2.00 in to the Council were bearing a disproportionate share of costs, and that members who did what they were asked to do -- form a State Division actually got by cheaper than others. The formation of a State Division, he said, usually resulted in greatly increased activity, as well as enlarged membership, and gave South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, and

Kentucky as examples of this. Some States have almost defunct Committees, but Georgia and North Carolina, he pointed out, have vigorous Committees and pretty well like their present arrangement; they can raise enough money on their own name to keep going, and they are not sure they can do it if they come in. The solution, he thought, lay in raising contributions to the Council, and in raising the dues of the general membership, so that the Council would get a little more and more would go to the Division. Now, he said, there was actually a pinch on individuals who belonged to a State group, like the Georgia Committee, and also to the Council. Their dues to the Georgia Committee amount to $3.00 per year, with $1.00 coming to the Council for New South; and for their membership in the Council they must then pay an additional $1.00, so that their interracial interests cost them $4.00 per year. In the days of the Interracial Commission, he said, the Commission put subsidies into the State Committees; when it became the Council, that ceased and the Council has had to have a new basis in its relationships with State Committees ever since.

On motion made and duly seconded,

2. IT WAS VOTED that "A committee be set up to bring in to a later meeting of the Executive Committee a proposed organizational structure anent the work in the States, and that the personnel of this committee be left to the Chair."

Financial Report.

Mrs. McKoy presented a financial report as of current date in which a deficit of approximately $5,000 appeared to be a likely possibility by the end of the year. The Council had expectations, she said, of certain funds which might reduce the deficit by as much as one-half, but they were expectations only and could not be counted at this time.

Mr. Williams asked whether, if given a choice, the Council would prefer a donation of $1,000 from two or three persons, or whether it would choose to have 250 memberships at $2.00 each. Bishop Waters at Raleigh, at his suggestion, had taken out around 100 memberships at $2.00 each, and he planned to suggest to

other Bishops he knew that they do likewise. He thought it quite possible that they would give either the money or the memberships, but did not think they would do both. In the discussion which followed this suggestion Dr. Mitchell said, and the Committee agreed, that it would be better to have the memberships.

Award of the Catholic Committee of the South.

Mr. Williams told the Committee that it was the policy of the Catholic Committee of the South to give an award each year to some distinguished Southerner who had contributed to the welfare of the South. He disclosed that this year the Committee had voted to give the award to Dr. Guy Johnson, in recognition of the work he had done with the Council. Among previous recipients were George Washington Carver, David E. Lilienthal and others. He had not, he explained, made the suggestion himself, but once it had been made, he had seconded it with the utmost enthusiasm. The Executive Committee was unanimous in its expression of pleasure at hearing this news.

Resignation of Captain Spencer.

Mr. Williams next presented a letter from Captain Spencer, dated September 2, 1947 pleading the weight of his duties in Savannah and giving his resignation from the Board of Directors of the Council.

Upon motion duly seconded,

3. IT WAS VOTED that recommendations be made to the Board that Vice President Spencer's resignation be accepted with regrets.

Recommendations to the Board of Directors.

4.- IT WAS FURTHER VOTED that Dr. Guy B. Johnson be recommended to the Board to fill the vacancy thus created, and that Dr. Harold L. Trigg be recommended for election to a fourth Vice-Presidency, so that the wisdom and experience of both might be retained.

5. IT WAS ALSO VOTED that both Dr. Johnson and Dr. Trigg should be invited to attend the annual meeting with expenses paid by the Council.

Appointment of a Publicity Director

Dr. Mitchell brought up for discussion the appointment of a Publicity Director. He told of the work that Mr. Harold Fleming had been doing on a short term bases. He said that Mr. Fleming had done an excellent job and was, he felt, eminently well-suited to the work. The only drawback that he could see was Mr. Fleming's youth and his lack of paid experience, - the latter due to his army service. Mr. Fleming had returned to Harvard at the close of the war, had been elected to Phi Beta Kappa in his Junior year, and had been graduated summa cum laude. Dr. Mitchell then read from the record an impressive report of Mr. Fleming's qualifications and experience. The Committee was unanimous in its agreement that the Council should seek to retain Mr. Fleming permanently if it could, pointing out the well-known ageing and sobering effect of such responsible service with the armed forces as Mr. Fleming had had.

Letter from Mr. Tydings.

Mr. Williams told of a letter which he had received from Mr. Tydings, Chairman of the Kentucky State Division of the Council. Mr. Tydings was disturbed that the invitation to membership in the Council currently in use carried an obsolete listing of executive officers; also he was irked by the invitation's use of the word "liberal." He felt that the word had taken on unpleasant connotations. Mr. Williams said that he had written Mr. Tydings, explaining that the invitation, though obsolete in some listings, continued to be used due to the large supply on hand, the cost of paper and printing which they represented, and the fact that the ensuing annual meeting might again change the listing of officers and of Board members even if new ones had been ordered. He would make the suggestion, he said, that the word "liberal" be deleted and "open minded" be used in its place.

Program for the coming year.

Dr. Mitchell outlined three large, and several smaller projects which he hoped to get money to develop during the coming year.

1. One of these was the police project, with an estimated cost of $37,000 to be spread over about three years. He pointed out that the heaviest expenditure would be in the first two years, and that most of it would have to be spent for putting on special people to do the job, and for their travel, printing, etc. He indicated that various expedients had been used for raising the money, and that he was not unhopeful of getting it.

2. The second project was that of developing a radio forum, probably over WSB. First discussed last spring with the key radio executives, it had had some favorable attention but as yet no decision. The proposal was that the Council, as sponsor of the program, would be given, once a month, the time now allotted to the Chicago Round Table, with the privilege also of selecting the moderator. The Council would also organize the speakers and review their manuscripts.

3. The third large project dealt with the medical aspects of the recent wave of crime involving sex delinquency, much of it across race lines. Study of cases in the Council files, Dr. Mitchell said, cases that by and large ended in lynching, or attempted lynching, and which represented but a narrow segment of such cases, had convinced him that the problem is very largely medical. He felt that the mind of the South could be turned to the real causes of such events, and the people's anger directed, not to doing brutal violence to the individual involved, but toward the constructive work of getting their States and Counties to provide mental health examinations in school, and to provide more social case workers to be attached to institutions. Dr. Mitchell felt that the first approach should be made through Doctors themselves. He felt, too, that if a good project could be developed, the money for it would come.

Another project, which Dr. Mitchell said had already been begun, was

that of a series of pamphlets which would measure the standing of the various Southern States among themselves. Four pamphlets already under way, he said, dealt with suffrage, housing, care of the feeble-minded, and social security benefits.

Plans for the membership meeting.

It was Miss Wilkins' suggestion that the time of the meeting not be taken up with staff reports, but that these reports be printed in New South and go out to the membership so that they could be read before the meeting. With these read and digested beforehand, there would then be time for full discussion by members. There would also be time for full discussion of the proposed program for the coming year.

Upon motion duly seconded,

6. IT WAS VOTED that the above plan be followed.

Miss Wilkins also proposed the general concept of the program for the meeting as one having two parts, -- one, the continuation of present activity, with discussion of that activity; the other, the NEW activity, in which would be discussed the various proposed projects from which the membership could choose the ones they most wanted.

It was decided not to have a speaker from outside, but to give the people, who came with eagerness to talk, opportunity to swap opinions, and to discuss Southern things in general and the program and plans of the Council in particular. In making this decision the Committee were sensible of the responsibility devolving on them to make the meeting as brisk and interesting as possible.

In the discussion concerning the Resolutions Committee, it was the consensus of opinion that Mr. Haas should serve on the committee, since resolutions would thus clear automatically through the legal Counsel before being brought to the floor.

7. IT WAS VOTED that the following rules governing the membership meeting be presented to the Board of Directors for approval:

a. No member may speak more than two minutes until all wishing to be heard have spoken, unless so authorized by majority vote of the body.

b. Speakers must state name and State.

c. All resolutions shall be in the hands of a member of the Resolutions Committee by noon.

After considerable and detailed discussion, the attached program for the meeting was worked out.

Upon completion of its task of planning the program for the membership meeting, the Committee adjourned.

Respectfully Submitted,

SUGGESTED AGENDA FOR 1947 ANNUAL MEETING
of the
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Exhibition Room, the Library of Atlanta University
November 12, 1947

9:30 - 10:00	Registration
10:00 -	Invocation
10:05 - 10:07	Adoption of Order of Business
10:07 - 10:10	Adoption of Rules
10:10 - 10:12	Minutes of Meeting of November 13, 1946
10:12 - 10:17	Announcements of Committees a. Resolutions b. Nominations
10:17 - 10:45	Opening Remarks by President Williams
10:45 - 11:05	Activity Reports a. Membership. Miss Margaret Price 2. min. b. Publications. Mr. Harold Fleming 5. min. c. Conference of State Representatives 5. min. d. Fellows. Mr. Robert A. Thompson 3. min. e. National Advisory Committee Mr. V. Dabney 5. min.
11:05 - 11:10	Finance - Mrs. Agnes McKoy, Secretary-Treasurer a. Report on 1947 b. Action on Report c. Presentation of budget for 1948
11:10 - 11:40	Discussion of 1947 Activities. Led by George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
11:40 - 11:45	Interval
11:45 - 12:15	Proposed 1948 Program. George S. Mitchell
12:15 - 12:30	Interval
12:30 - 1:30	Luncheon
1:30 - 2:15	Action on 1948 Program. Led by a member of the Executive Committee
2:15 - 2:45	Action on 1948 Budget. Led by Dr. W. W. Alexander and President F. D. Patterson
2:45 - 3:30	Reading of and Action on Resolutions. Led by Chairman of Resolutions Committee
3:30 - 3:45	Election of Board of Directors. Led by Chairman of Nominations Committee
3:45 - 4:00	Other Business
4:00	Adjournment

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Executive Committee

November 11, 1947

The Executive Committee met in the SRC Conference Room at 10:30 A. M. on November 11, 1947. The following were present:

Dr. Harold L. Trigg	Msgr. T. James McNamara
Mr. Paul D. Williams	Dr. Gordon Hancock
Mr. Leonard Haas	Miss Josephine Wilkins
Dr. Rufus E. Clement	Dr. George S. Mitchell

Mrs. Henry Havens and Mrs. Agnes McKoy also attended the meeting.

In the absence of Dr. Charles Johnson, Chairman of the Executive Committee, the meeting was called to order by Mr. Paul D. Williams. Dr. Gordon B. Hancock gave the invocation.

On motion made by Mr. Leonard Haas and duly seconded,

1. IT WAS VOTED that Mr. Paul D. Williams serve as chairman for the meeting.

MINUTES OF MEETING OF SEPTEMBER 17, 1947

The minutes of the meeting of September 17, 1947, were read by Mrs. Agnes McKoy. Since fewer than a quorum of the regular members were present at that meeting, the following motions which had come up in that group were considered for the purpose of obtaining a quorum vote:

On motion made by Mr. Haas and duly seconded,

2. IT WAS VOTED that 'A Committee be set up to bring in to a later meeting of the Executive Committee a proposed organizational structure anent the work in the States, and that the personnel of this committee be left to the Chair.'

On motion made by Mr. Haas and duly seconded,

3. IT WAS VOTED that the Committee recommend to the Board acceptance of Vice President Spencer's resignation, with regrets; that Dr. Guy B. Johnson be recommended to the Board to fill the vacancy thus created, and that Dr. Harold Trigg be recommended for election to a fourth Vice-Presidency, so that the wisdom and experience of both might be retained.

On motion made by Mr. Haas and duly seconded,

4. IT WAS VOTED that both Dr. Johnson and Dr. Trigg should be invited to attend the annual meeting with expenses paid by the Council.

On motion made by Mr. Haas and duly seconded,

5. IT WAS VOTED that since staff reports are printed in the November issue of New South and can be digested beforehand, the membership meeting should be devoted to discussion by the members of plans for future programs of SRC.

On motion made by Mr. Haas and duly seconded,

6. IT WAS VOTED that the minutes of the September 17 meeting be approved in toto and that all motions voted on at that time be accepted.

There was discussion on the importance of complete minutes. Miss Wilkins felt that only action should be recorded, with a copy of the Secretary's notes on the meeting retained, but without extended summary. It was decided, however, by the Chairman and the members of the Committee, that minutes reviewing discussion were important in keeping the membership informed and conscious of the work that was going on in the SRC.

The Chairman commented on the fact that the reports on progress contained in New South might not have reached members in time to dispense with actual yearly summaries at the annual meeting. He regretted that this information was not in the hands of the membership in time for them to familiarize themselves with the reports; however, it was noted that there would be time for study of this information prior to the Wednesday meeting.

FINDINGS OF CONFERENCE OF STATE REPRESENTATIVES

Dr. Mitchell read the report of the committee appointed to bring in recommendations on relationships of state committees and local groups with the Council. The committee reported that those interracial committees which wish to affiliate with the Council as State Divisions could do so with no greater expense than the payment of subscriptions to the New South for all non-subscribing members. Some danger was seen in giving to local organizations a stated link with

the Council when the Council could forsee for itself only a weak voice in the policy decisions of such bodies.

On motion made by Mr. Haas and duly seconded,

7. IT WAS VOTED that Dr. Mitchell's report be accepted as read.

The Chairman complimented the committee on this report.

FINANCE REPORT, 1947

The Finance Report for 1947 was read by Mrs. Agnes McKoy, indicating a probable operating deficit of almost five thousand dollars by the end of the year. In the resulting discussion various persons and organizations which might help the Council with funds were listed by those present.

On motion made by Mr. Haas and duly seconded,

8. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Director be permitted and authorized to borrow funds at his discretion as they are needed.

Dr. Mitchell stated that he would like to have a full-time research assistant. Mr. Williams said that we want to build up a respectable budget so that we can pay a higher rate to the people who fall in the lower brackets in the SRC staff.

On motion made by Mr. Haas and duly seconded,

9. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Director make proper and suitable increases of salaries at his discretion.

On motion made by Mr. Clement and duly seconded,

10. IT WAS VOTED that the budget for 1948 be approved as read.

REPORT TO THE BOARD FOR AFTERNOON MEETING.

On motion made by Mr. Haas and duly seconded,

11. IT WAS VOTED that Miss Wilkins be assigned the duty of making the report to the Board in the afternoon meeting on the Executive Committee meetings held in 1947.

DATES FOR 1948 MEETINGS OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Dr. Mitchell suggested that the committee meetings be held late in

February, mid-June, and in November. Plans for the annual meeting should be made in June if the plan as used for this year's meeting is successful. If this arrangement does not work out this year, it will be necessary to hold a separate meeting to discuss plans for the 1948 Annual Meeting. Dr. Mitchell stated that since the Council is well established now, three meetings annually would be sufficient to carry on the business of the SRC.

On motion made by Msgr. McNamara and duly seconded,

12. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee meet three times annually.

OTHER BUSINESS

Mr. Williams brought to the attention of the Committee that according to the by-laws, confirmation should be made of the Executive Director, Associate Director, and Secretary-Treasurer.

On motion made by Dr. Clement and duly seconded,

13. IT WAS VOTED that the Committee recommend the confirmation of the present staff to be maintained.

Dr. Clement discussed the appointment of a new Associate Director to replace Dr. Trigg. The previously assigned committee will get together for considerations on this appointment.

The question was raised as to whether the by-laws would have to be amended in order for a fourth vice-President to serve on the Executive Committee. Mr. Haas stated that according to the present by-laws the number of vice-Presidents serving on the Committee was limited to three.

On motion made by Mr. Haas and duly seconded,

14. IT WAS VOTED to recommend amendment of the by-laws by striking out the word "three" in Article 5, Section I, appearing before the words "Vice-Presidents" and substituting the word "the."

On motion made by Dr. Clement and duly seconded,

15. IT WAS VOTED that the following resolution be presented at the Membership Meeting:

"We commend the President for having the foresight to appoint the Civil Rights Commission and the Committee for its fairmindedness and its great effort to get at the facts and present them in an impartial manner. We commend the report to the serious study of each citizen in the South and in the Nation."

Dr. Mitchell read a portion of his report prepared for the Membership Meeting which dealt with political activity by the SRC. The Executive Committee agreed with Dr. Mitchell that the membership should be cautioned against substantial political activity in the name of the SRC.

MEETING ADJOURNED.

Respectfully submitted,

/s/ Agnes McKoy
(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Board of Directors

November 11, 1947

The meeting of the Board of Directors was called to order by Mr. Paul D. Williams, President, at 2:00 P. M., on November 11, in the Conference Room at Atlanta University. Msgr. T. James McNamara was asked to lead in prayer. The following were present:

Dr. Will W. Alexander
Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
Miss Emily H. Clay
Dr. Rufus E. Clement
Dr. Clark B. Foreman
Mr. John A. Griffin
Mr. Leonard Haas
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Mrs. Henry Havens
Mr. J. R. Henderson
Mr. Cyrus M. Johnson
Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Msgr. T. James McNamara
Dr. George S. Mitchell
Dr. N. C. Newbold
Mr. C. H. Parrish, Jr.
Mr. J. G. Pollard, Jr.
Mr. Edgar Ray
Dr. J. W. Seabrook
Mr. Philip Shulhafer
Mrs. Eugene Spearman
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Mr. J. M. Tydings
Miss Josephine Wilkins
Mr. Paul D. Williams
Mr. M. A. Wright
Dr. Forrester B. Washington
Mrs. Warren T. Zeuch

ADOPTION OF AGENDA

The Chairman presented the suggested agenda for the meeting.

On motion made by Mr. Marion A. Wright and duly seconded,

1. IT WAS VOTED that the suggested agenda be adopted.

On motion made by Miss Josephine Wilkins and duly seconded,

2. IT WAS VOTED that the minutes of the last meeting of the Board be approved without being read, as copies had been sent out to all members of the Board.

Miss Josephine Wilkins, taking the place of Dr. Charles S. Johnson, read a consolidation of the minutes of the four meetings of the Executive Committee that had taken place during the past year.

On motion made by Mr. Marion A. Wright and duly seconded,

3. IT WAS VOTED that the Board receive the information given by Miss Wilkins.

Miss Wilkins stated that she felt it advisable to include in the report of the meetings of the Executive Committee such things as attendance at meeting, "feel" of meetings, and list of those in attendance, ~~rather than~~ together with summaries of actions taken. Mr. Williams, commenting on the excellent spirit of the Executive Meetings during the past year, stated that the members had met in dead earnest to carry out the work of the SRC. He remarked that there had been great difficulty in replacing the excellent qualities of those former SRC officers who had resigned.

FINANCES

Mrs. Agnes McKoy, Secretary-Treasurer, read the treasurer's report covering receipts and expenditures for 1947. (See Copy attached)

Mr. Philip Shulhafer raised a question on what had happened to make the salary schedule for 1947 more than that estimated for the 1948 budget. Mrs. McKoy stated that the staff has been cut, which would make up the difference. Mr. Williams mentioned that the matter of raising staff salaries had come up in the Executive Committee meeting. He stated that the Council regrets the low salaries paid to the staff, in the lower income brackets.

Mrs. McKoy stated that in drawing up the budget, an effort was made to estimate the total amount of resources and costs as accurately as possible. Miss Wilkins requested an exact account of outstanding bills.

On motion made by Dr. B. E. Mays and duly seconded,

4. IT WAS VOTED that the treasurer's report be accepted.

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT WILLIAMS

Mr. Williams stated that it had long been the aim of the Council to appoint one-hundred fairly young Southerners to serve as a type of minute men to the SRC. Last year, he said, the Fellows who had been appointed in line with this plan met on the day following the Annual Meeting. That meeting of the Fellows had been

made possible by a special grant from the General Education Board. Mr. Williams told the Board that due to the enthusiasm of this group of Fellows, he felt that this project should be continued and expanded. He expressed a desire to bring the Fellows together in sub-regional meetings so that they might have a chance to exchange ideas which might be taken back to the field where they are working quietly, and thus help to bring about the things that the Council believes in. In reviewing his activities for the year, the President said that he had been working to secure grants of money from major organizations. In line with this, he told the Board that in answer to inquiries regarding the tax status of the Council, The Treasury Department has verified that this organization is entitled to tax exemption. Mr. Williams estimated, for the benefit of his successors, that he had given a total of between four and five weeks' time to the work of the Council during the past year. He said that he had devoted himself to doing positive things rather than making speeches and carrying on routine affairs, and he closed his remarks with the statement: "Even though we are not satisfied with everything we have done to make the SRC go on, we have had a very successful year, and we hope we have made a good average in satisfying everyone with the activities of the officers."

1947 ACTIVITIES

In reviewing the Council's activities for 1947, Dr. Mitchell pointed to a 47 per cent membership gain in 1947, emphasizing, however, that the chief need of the Council is activity and not indiscriminate membership. He reported that Veterans Services had been discontinued early in 1947. The Council publications for the year included two quarterly pamphlets, with four more in process; while publication of the New South had been continued, with a circulation of about 4,500.

Dr. Hancock, referring to the pamphlets published by SRC, wondered what success had been made in getting them into the hands of the people. Dr. Mitchell requested all who were present to try to sell the pamphlets now on hand. He

suggested that members go to college professors and try to get this material fitted into the regular college courses.

There was a feeling of regret in the discussion of the veterans program that the Council was unable to keep someone on the staff to look into the Veterans Administration and the various discriminations against the Negro veteran. Dr. Mitchell reported that there remained much to be done in this regard, but due to the lack of finances, that par t of the Council's activities had to be curtailed. It was brought up that if the Council put the information regarding discriminations into the hands of the press and applied personal pressure to newspaper editors, the matter could be spotlighted and brought before the people.

Further discussion revealed that a regrettable pattern had been set up of not employing Negroes into the Veterans Administration.

Dr. Alexander suggested that a motion be drawn up and presented to the Annual Meeting suggesting that a committee from the Council be appointed to ask for an audience with the President, General Bradley, and the Veterans Administration leaders, outlining the discrimination policies practiced by the Veterans Administration, and that copies of the motion be sent to ranking officials in various fields.

Mr. Williams appointed Mr. Newbold and Mr. Tydings as the committee for drawing up the motion for presentation to the members.

ACTION ON PROPOSED AGENDA AND RULES FOR ANNUAL MEETING

The proposed rules and agenda for the Annual Meeting were presented for the approval of the Board.

On motion made by Miss Josephine Wilkins and duly seconded,

5. IT WAS VOTED that the Board recommend to the members that they accept the proposed agenda as drawn up.

On motion made by Mr. Ray and duly seconded,

6. IT WAS VOTED that the Board recommend to the members adoption of rules as follows, ammended to allow each speaker two minutes.

1. No member may speak more than two minutes until all wishing to be heard have spoken, unless so authorized by majority vote of the body.
2. Speakers to state name and State.
3. All resolutions shall be in the hands of a member of the Resolutions Committee by noon.

ACTION ON PROPOSED 1948 PROGRAM

Mr. Mitchell reviewed the activities which he proposes for the staff in 1948 under the budget before the membership. He recommended continued publication of the Council's magazine, New South; the issuance of pamphlets now nearly completed to measure the standard of the several Southern states in housing, voting, social security benefits, and care of the mentally subnormal. In addition, he stated that the guidance of the membership should be asked as to which two or three further pamphlets should be issued from a list read to the Board and to be read to the membership.

He proposed continued activity in the formation of State Divisions of the Council; and in further recruitment of membership; and commented on the possibility of setting up a radio forum. A regular radio program would greatly assist the Council.

Mr. Forrester Washington said that the basic problem of segregation should not be forgotten, and he also recommended that the pamphlet on police administration, already started, should be completed in the 1948 program.

Mr. Clark Foreman suggested that a follow-up be made on the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, giving it prime emphasis in the ensuing year's program.

Mrs. Spearman thought that a technique of strategy which would outflank the situation was to be favored over a direct assault against segregation. We can gain the victory in a shorter time with less human misery and chaos by emphasizing the common needs of the South and carrying on the work we are doing. We should not hesitate to take a full step whenever possible, she said.

Mr. Washington emphasized that along with the regular program, there should be the anti-discrimination stand always adhered to. He requested the Council to give further publicity to the segregation study by Dr. Reid.

Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton spoke in support of pamphlet material which would focus attention on the segregation problem.

On motion made by Dr. Alexander and duly seconded,

7. IT WAS VOTED that a committee of the Board be appointed to go into the whole matter of segregation and the type of statement that could be made on the costs, injustices, and suggested improvements, with the consultation of Dr. Reid; and that the committee estimate the cost of such a publication.

Dr. Clements read a motion which had been drawn up in the morning session to be presented to the membership meeting.

> "We commend the President for having the foresight to appoint the Civil Rights Commission, and the Committee for its fair-mindedness and its great effort to get at the facts and present them in an impartial manner. We commend the report to a serious study of each citizen in the South and in the Nation."

On motion made by Miss Josephine Wilkins and duly seconded,

8. IT WAS VOTED that the above proposal be approved for presentation to the membership meeting.

On motion made by Miss Josephine Wilkins and duly seconded,

9. IT WAS VOTED that the recommendations of the Executive Committee for confirmation or rejection of executive officers be taken up at the Board Meeting held immediately after the Annual Meeting.

Arrangements were made for the Nominating Committee and the Resolutions Committee to meet immediately after the adjournment of the Board Meeting.

Mr. Williams read a letter dated September 7, 1947, which he had received from Frank W. Spencer asking that the Council accept his resignation as Vice-President.

On motion made by Miss Wilkins and duly seconded,

10. IT WAS VOTED that the resignation of Mr. Spencer be accepted with regrets.

It was decided that the question of the deficit in the budget be brought before the membership. There was discussion as to sources of funds when present grants were no longer available.

Dr. Alexander stated that the discouraging thing is that the Council does not get enough money out of the South, and that the Council should be concerned with how the members can get more money from the South. By doing this, the Council makes it easier for the Finance Committee to get further grants from foundations.

Mr. Williams appointed the Nominating Committee as follows:

Dr. Alexander, Chairman
Dr. Forrester Washington
Msgr. T. James McNamara
Mrs. Warren Zeuch
Dr. Gordon B. Hancock

And the Resolutions Committee as follows:

Mr. J. M. Tydings, Chairman
Mr. Edgar Ray
Mrs. G. T. Hamilton
Mr. J. A. Griffin

Dr. Mitchell stated that a Board Meeting would be held immediately following the Annual Meeting and that this would include the new board members elected by the membership.

Mr. Williams read a motion drawn up in the Executive Committee session which recommended a change in the by-laws in order that an additional vice-president could be appointed and be allowed to serve on the Executive Committee.

"It was voted to recommend the ammendment of the by-laws by striking out the word "three" in Article 5, Section I, appearing before the words "Vice-Presidents", and substituting the word "the."

On motion made by Dr. Alexander and duly seconded,

11. IT WAS VOTED that the recommendation be approved to be presented along with the favorable recommendation s of the Board to the membership meeting.

Mr. Ray proposed the setting up of standing committees along the lines of the particular talents of the members of the Board. This was agreed upon by other members who stated that this would utilize the numerous talents that are available in the Board.

On motion made by Dr. Alexander and duly seconded,

12. IT WAS VOTED that the matter of standing committees, as discussed above, be recommended to the Executive Committee through the membership meeting, with the instruction that the Executive Committee shall study the program and personnel of this body and create appropriate standing committees to work constantly with the staff and on the program.

Mrs. Henry Havens recommended the Spartanburg County Plan to the study of the Finance Committee as an excellent method of raising funds.

Mr. Ray remarked that there remained a great job to be done on the local and State level that so far had been untouched by the Council. He stated that there were more members in Florida than in any other State; the reason for this being that this State had put on a program for membership. The whole problem is to take closed minds and open them up—the way to do this is on the local level. We need to think a great deal about membership as a bulwark to get into the foundations which can give money to the organization. He emphasized the importance of a permanent membership committee and pointed out the need for more field workers. In Florida, he said, field workers have been put on and have more than paid for themselves in their accomplishments. If we don't open the minds on a local level through the press, we can throw the publications in the waste basket for all the good they do.

Miss Wilkins proposed that the business of confirming or electing members of the Executive Committee, and any or all members on the Committee, according to the by-laws, be taken up in the Board meeting following the Annual Meeting. This was agreed upon by the members.

MEETING ADJOURNED.

Respectfully submitted,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
January 1, 1947 to October 31, 1947

RECEIPTS

BALANCE IN BANK 1-1-47		538.58
Julius Rosenwald Fund	$35,000.00	
General Education Board	8,000.00	
Esther Morton Smith Estate	1,390.74	
Women's Div. Christian Service	1,000.00	
Edgar Stern Family Fund	250.00	
Phelps Stokes Fund	200.00	
Ashby Jones Fund	100.00	
Board of Ed. Methodist Church	250.00	
Div. of Home Missions	1,000.00	
Misc. Church Groups	150.00	
Fla. State Division	886.50	
Miss. State Division	136.50	
S. C. State Division	1,070.50	
Ky. State Division	94.80	
Membership Dues	2,208.70	
Membership Contributions	736.65	
New South Publication	569.00	
Misc. Literature	1,402.38	
Royalties	12.80	
Geo. Mitchell, Lectures	25.75	
Refunds:		
Salaries, Ga. Commission	91.10	
Travel	309.37	
Telephone and Telegraph	8.52	
Office Supplies	52.98	
Postage and Express	34.81	
Books and Subscriptions	4.40	
Veterans' Service, Unused Funds	485.36	
Withholding Taxes	4,123.98	
Loan - Citizens Trust Co.	1,500.00	
TOTAL RECEIPTS		61,094.84
TOTAL		$61,633.42

DISBURSEMENTS

Repayment of Loans - Citizens Trust Co.	$2,500.00	
Withholding Taxes	3,796.98	
Florida State Division	1,030.96	
South Carolina State Division	1,061.50	
Miss. State Division	132.50	
Kentucky State Division	82.30	
Salaries	33,603.71	
Conference Travel	5,358.75	
Rent	1,475.00	
Telephone and Telegraph	662.68	
Office Supplies and Expense	913.80	
Office Equipment and Maintenance	499.26	
Postage and Express	1,256.84	
Printing and Literature	4,556.59	
Books and Subscriptions	221.16	
Veterans' Service	2,700.00	
Research and Special Service	233.80	
Conference on Human Rights	327.32	
Clipping Service	117.87	
Interest on Loans	29.00	
Exchange and Bank Service Charges	8.89	
Refunds on Literature	5.50	
Misc. Expense	185.57	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS		$60,759.98

Bank Balances, October 31, 1947:

First National Bank	335.00
Citizens' Trust Co.	538.44
TOTAL	$61,633.42

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

ESTIMATED BUDGET 1948

1. Based on Present Staff and Activities

Salaries	$34,460.00
Travel and maintenance (including Board of Directors and Executive Committee)	6,000.00
Rent	1,560.00
Telephone and Telegraph	700.00
Office Supplies and equipment	1,500.00
Postage and Express	2,000.00
Printing - New South and Pamphlets	6,000.00
Books, Subscriptions, Clippings	300.00
Return of Dues to State Divisions	2,000.00
Miscellaneous	250.00
	$54,770.00

IN SIGHT FOR 1948

Julius Rosenwald Fund	$25,000.00
General Education Board	6,000.00
Women's Div. of Christian Service Methodist Church	1,000.00
Board of Missions and Church Extensions Methodist Church	1,000.00
Board of Education, Methodist Church	250.00
Phelps-Stokes Fund	200.00
Catholic Committee of the South	150.00
Various Conferences, Women's Division Christian Service, of the Methodist Church	100.00
Province of Sewanee, Protestant Episcopal Church	100.00
Ashby Jones Memorial Fund	100.00
Committee on Women's Work, Presbyterian Church	25.00
Women's Auxiliary, Synod of Virginia Presbyterian Church	25.00
Literature - sales	1,600.00
Subscriptions to New South	600.00
Membership Dues	6,000.00
Membership Contributions	450.00
	$42,600.00

APPARENT DEFICIT	$12,170.00

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
TREASURER'S REPORT OF ESTIMATED INCOME AND EXPENSES
January 1, 1947 to December 31, 1947

Balance in Bank	January 1, 1947		$ 538.58
Actual Receipts	1/1/47 - 10/31/47	$61,094.84	
Est. Receipts	11/1/47 - 12/31/47	500.00	
TOTAL RECEIPTS			$ 61,594.84
TOTAL			$ 62,133.42

Disbursements:

Actual Disbursements	1/1/47 - 10/31/47		$ 60,759.98
Est. Disbursements	11/1/47 - 12/31/47		
Net Salaries		$4,042.84 1/	
Rent		260.00	
Annual Meeting		1,000.00	
Telephone		80.00	
Travel, etc.		617.16	6,000.00
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS			$ 66,759.98
ESTIMATED DEFICIT FOR CALENDAR YEAR 1947			4,626.56 2/
TOTAL			$ 62,133.42

1/ Excludes withholding tax of $959.20 which will be due in January 1948. This amount was carried over due to the deficit in the operating funds of the Council.

2/ With inclusion of withholding tax, amounts to $5,585.76.

AGENDA FOR 1947 ANNUAL MEETING
of the
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Exhibition Room, the Library of Atlanta University
November 12, 1947

9:30 - 10:00	Registration	
10:00 -	Invocation	
10:05 - 10:07	Adoption of Order of Business	
10:07 - 10:10	Adoption of Rules	
10:10 - 10:12	Minutes of Meeting of November 13, 1946	
10:12 - 10:17	Announcements of Committees a. Resolutions b. Nominations	
10:17 - 10:45	Opening Remarks by President Williams	
10:45 - 11:05	Activity Reports a. Membership. Miss Margaret Price b. Publications. Mr. Harold Fleming c. Conference of State Representatives d. Fellows. Mr. Robert A. Thompson e. National Advisory Committee Mr. V. Dabney	 2. min. 5. min. 5. min. 3. min. 5. min.
11:05 - 11:10	Finance - Mrs. Agnes McKoy, Secretary-Treasurer a. Report on 1947 b. Action on Report c. Presentation on budget for 1948	
11:10 - 11:40	Discussion of 1947 Activities. Led by George S. Mitchell, Executive Director	
11:40 - 11:45	Interval	
11:45 - 12:15	Proposed 1948 Program. George S. Mitchell	
12:15 - 12:30	Interval 12:30 - 1:30 Luncheon	
1:30 - 2:15	Action on 1948 Program. Led by a member of the Executive Committee	
2:15 - 2:45	Action on 1948 Budget. Led by Dr. W. W. Alexander and Pres. F. D. Patterson	
2:45 - 3:30	Reading of and Action on Resolutions. Led by Chairman of Resolutions Committee	
3:30 - 3:45	Election of Board of Directors. Led by Chairman of Nominations Committee	
3:45 - 4:00	Other Business	
4:00	Adjournment	

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Annual Meeting

November 12, 1947

The annual meeting of members of the Southern Regional Council was held in the Exhibition Room of the Atlanta University Library at 10:00 A. M., Wednesday, November 12, 1947. The meeting was called to order by the President, Mr. Paul D. Williams, who asked Msgr. T. James McNamara to give the invocation.

The following members were present:

Dr. Will W. Alexander
Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
Mrs. L. M. Awtry
Mr. C. A. Bacote
Dr. A. D. Beittel
Miss Isobel Chisholm
Miss Emily Clay
Dr. Rufus Clement
Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Miss Mary Louise Dabbs
Rev. Dixon
Mr. Witherspoon Dodge
Mr. Robert Durr
Mrs. Mary Kate Duskin
Dr. Clark Foreman
Miss Opal Futch
Dr. Wm. H. Gardner
Mrs. Harry M. Gershon
Dr. William H. Gray
Mr. John Griffin
Mr. Leonard Haas
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Mrs. A. A. Hardy
Mrs. Henry Havens
Mr. Jacob R. Henderson
Mrs. Herman Heyman
Mr. Cyrus M. Johnson
Mrs. Guion G. Johnson
Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Mr. Bard McAllister
Mr. Frank McCallister
Mrs. J. Fletcher McLeod
Msgr. T. James McNamara
Miss Mildred R. Mell
Dr. George S. Mitchell
Mr. Alfred Mynders
Miss Mae Neptune
Dr. N. C. Newbold
Father Vincent O'Connell
Mr. Philip Ogilvie
Mr. C. H. Parrish
Mr. Nathan Pitts
Mr. J. G. Pollard, Jr.
Miss Margaret Price
Dr. Ira Reid
Mr. C. D. Rogers
Rev. H. Brent Schaeffer
Dr. J. W. Seabrook
Mrs. Philip E. Shulhafer
Mrs. Alice N. Spearman
Mrs. Mary Bruce Stone
Mr. George C. Stoney
Mr. Jewel Tatum
Mr. J. Luther Thomas
Mr. Robert A. Thompson
Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Mrs. R. L. Turman
Mr. J. M. Tydings
Dr. Forrester B. Washington
Mrs. Helen A. Whiting
Miss Josephine Wilkins
Mr. Paul D. Williams
Mrs. S. P. Williams
Mrs. Warren T. Zeuch

After welcoming the members, Mr. Williams reported that the Executive Committee had prepared a new type of program for presentation at the Annual Meeting.

On motion made by Mrs. Ames and duly seconded,

1. IT WAS VOTED that the members accept the order of business as drawn up by the Executive Committee.

Dr. Mitchell read the rules of the meeting as follows: (a) "No member may speak more than three minutes until all wishing to be heard have spoken, unless so authorized by majority vote of the body." (b) "Speakers to state name and State." (c) "All resolutions shall be in hands of a member of the Resolutions Committee by noon."

On motion made by Mr. Pollard and duly seconded,

2. IT WAS VOTED that the above rules be accepted.

On motion made by Dr. Alexander, and duly seconded,

3. IT WAS VOTED that the reading of the minutes be dispensed with.

President Rufus Clement on behalf of Atlanta University extended a word of welcome to the Southern Regional Council.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF COMMITTEES

Dr. Alexander, as chairman of the Nominations Committee, reported that his committee had met on Tuesday and at the request of the Board had posted the list of nominations to the Board of Directors on the bulletin board. Mr. Tydings, reporting for the Resolutions Committee, stated that it had been the thought of the Board that all resolutions should be in the handsof the Committee not later than 12:00 o'clock noon.

On motion made by Msgr. McNamara and duly seconded,

4. IT WAS VOTED that all resolutions for consideration at the Annual Meeting be in the hands of the Resolutions Committee not later than 12:00 o'clock.

OPENING REMARKS BY PRESIDENT WILLIAMS

President Williams stated that he felt that the Council had had a most successful year. In pointing up the past success of the Council, he listed as the chief needs for the coming year: 1. Expansion of the membership in the Council;2. Concentration on the problem of Civil Rights; 3. Establishment of

legal aid set-up; 4. The building up of funds for SRC. He pointed out that industrialization in the "changing South" has left unsolved the chief problem, "total utilization of natural, human, and social resources." He suggested that the chief job of the SRC was the implementation of the Civil Rights Declaration of Principles. He said that once a solution of the problems of the South had been determined, " that solution must be accepted and followed up with resolute courage," and he emphasized the national and international importance of the Council's program in the South. (See printed speech).

At the close of the President's remarks, Dr. Hancock stated that the Council must feel gratified to have found a president with the courage and vision to carry on the work of the Council in the same energetic pattern set by his predecessor, Dr. Odum.

On motion made by Dr. Hancock, amended by Mrs. Zeuch, and duly seconded,

5. IT WAS UNANIMOUSLY VOTED that the Council go on record as thanking the president and endorsing the president's speech, and that his speech be printed and circulated.

ACTIVITY REPORTS

Miss Margaret Price, reporting on SRC membership, told the assembly that there are now 2,400 members in the Council. She said that the greatest gains had been made in Florida and South Carolina, and that the gains in these states could be credited to the fact that they had a staff making personal contacts. She expressed a hope that each person might take it upon himself to be a personal emissary for the SRC.

Mr. Fleming, in his report on publications, stated that the Council's most constant effort in the field of publications had been devoted to New South. There have been 44,000 regular copies printed, with a total distributuion of 38,000. Regular circulation of New South is 4,500. Other pamphlets printed are: "Wanted: An Educated South," "By the People," "Getting Along Together," "When Justice and Expediency Meet," and the "Southern Regional Council." The latter

defines the Council and its work. Total requests for literature for the year number 1,400, with 58,000 pamphlets distributed during the year, over and above New South. Mr. Fleming said that some progress has been made in getting these publications into Southern schools and libraries, and stated that further progress in this regard should be made.

Mrs. Warren Zeuch gave a report on the Conference of State Representatives, which was called for the purpose of bringing about some uniformity in the organization of State groups. She said that twelve states were represented at the meeting by the twenty-eight members who attended, with one to three coming from each of the twelve states. She emphasized that the real work of the SRC is in local areas and that very specific objectives are necessary. Such objectives as transportation, health, law enforcement, and education were discussed at this meeting. She was of the opinion that this leadership conference was valuable and expressed a hope that it might be repeated.

Dr. Mitchell said that as a result of this Conference, and at the suggestion of the Executive Committee, a committee had been appointed to consider and bring in recommendations on relationships of State Committees and local groups with the Council.

Speaking for this Committee, Mr. Cyrus Johnson gave the following report. (See copy attached.) Mr. Johnson also told of a question which had come up in the Committee as to whether or not the SRC office should be the central office for collecting dues when State Divisions were organized. He said that some States would like to handle their own dues.

Mr. Robert A. Thompson reported for the Fellows of the SRC. At a meeting of the Fellows on November 14 and 15, 1946, thirty of the forty-two Fellows of the SRC met for an exchange of ideas on activities of the previous year. Many Fellows have made reports in New South and have gone out into the field and made much progress. Mr. Thompson felt that the Fellowships of the SRC should be continued; he said that once Fellows get into the work they go back into their respective states and follow through and do a grand job.

Dr. Harold Trigg, replacing Mr. Virginius Dabney, who was unable to be present, gave a report on the National Advisory Committee. He listed names of prospective members whom the Committee were considering for approach, and from which members of the National Advisory Board would be chosen. Dr. Trigg advised that any suggestions from the membership of further names to be considered should be turned in to the committee.

FINANCE REPORT

Mrs. McKoy gave the treasurer's report of estimated income and expenses from January 1, 1947 to December 31, 1947. (See copy attached.) (Page 284 - 287)

On motion made by Mr. C. H. Parrish, and duly seconded,

6. IT WAS VOTED that the treasurer's report be accepted as read.

Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton suggested that it would be helpful for the membership if a somewhat more detailed report on disbursements could be made for another year.

1947 ACTIVITIES

The chairman presented Dr. Mitchell, who reported on activities for 1947. His report stressed the fact that one of the main points for the general membership to bear in mind was the matter of the budget for 1948. He said that, although the Council has hopes of getting half of the deficit taken care of this year, it is confronted next year with a minimum program due to lack of funds.

Dr. Mitchell introduced members of his staff who had helped to carry on the work of the SRC for the year of 1947: Mrs. McKoy, Mr. Fleming, Mrs. Hill, Miss Price, Mrs. Saxon, Miss Bridgman, Miss English, and Mr. Way. He said that Mrs. Tilly had been working with the States, tying in the State Divisions in program and policy more than ever before. Mrs. Havens had made a number of contacts in Tennessee and hope was held that that state would soon have a State Division formed. Alabama was the newest State to become a Division and was the fifth in order to be formed. The only States remaining without any statewide

organization are Arkansas and Oklahoma. Dr. Mitchell stated that membership in the SRC has grown about fifty percent in the last year. He said that although membership was important to the SRC, the Council should not have indiscriminate, mass membership, but rather should strive to get interested persons who are active in the Council's work.

Dr. Newbold discussed the importance of leg-work in the field, and cited the example of North Carolina in its work for anti-discrimination in the Veterans Administration. He said that in that State interested persons had found it necessary to call on the Veterans Administrators a number of times to get action. He stated that it takes work of that sort to accomplish the objectives of the SRC.

Dr. Guy Johnson was called upon by the Chairman. He expressed the feeling that it was good to be back and expressed the hope that the Council may have many more such meetings in the future.

Mrs. Zeuch posed a question as to how Fellows are recruited. Dr. Johnson answered that this began by asking various members of the Executive Committee and Board for nominations. The Committee went over these nominations, and selected prospective Fellows, wrote them, and made appointments. He said that because of insufficient office staff to service the full 100 Fellows as called for in the original motion, the committee had appointed only forty Fellows. The Chairman announced that if anyone had a name to suggest for appointment as a Fellow, Dr. Mitchell would be glad to bring it up for consideration.

PROPOSED PROGRAM FOR 1948

Dr. Mitchell conceded part of the time allotted to his report to Mrs. Tilly, who gave an inside view of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. Mrs. Tilly remarked that there was something in the Civil Rights Report to suit every temperament. She credited the Southern Regional Council and the Inter-racial Committee for giving her the necessary background to work with the President's Committee. She told the members that both Dr. Johnson and Dr. Alexander had

appeared before the Committee and had given much assistance. Mrs. Tilly repeated the President's comment upon issuing his charge to the Committee, "Civilizations crack up not because of what happens without, but rather because of what happens within them." Mrs. Tilly remarked that the Committee had met twelve times, with meetings lasting always two days, and sometimes four. Experts were made available in every field in which the Committee needed information, and the Committee was also given access to all Government records and Government bureaus necessary for completion of its task. Letters asking for assistance had been sent to 190 organizations. Mrs. Tilly remarked that the material covering the Committee's work came to several volumes. The report itself has been titled "To Secure These Rights," but the report is not a race report--it is a "report on the civil rights of all of the people in the United States." It is divided into four parts: The Rights to Safety and Security of the Person; The Right to Citizenship and Its Privileges; The Right to Freedom of Conscience and Expression; The Right to Equality of Opportunity. She called the attention of the meeting to the Committee's concluding statement, "As the Committee concludes this Report we would remind ourselves that the future of out nation rests upon the character, the vision, the high principles of our people. Democracy, brotherhood, human rights-- these are practical expressions of the eternal worth of every child of God. With His guidance and help we can move forward toward a nobler social order in which there will be an equal opportunity for all." Mrs. Tilly ended her remarks by saying that "Human hands must reach and pull that dream of one Nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all, into realization."

Mr. Williams paid tribute to Mrs. Tilly, saying, "We believe you represent a moment in the conscience of mankind."

ADJOURNMENT FOR LUNCH 12:15

Following the lunch hour, the meeting was called to order by Mr. Williams, Chairman.

PROGRAM FOR 1948

In proposing the 1948 program, Dr. Mitchell remarked that while recommendations were his responsibility, decision rested upon the membership body.

In 1948 it was proposed that the Council continue it s publication, New South; continue to build membership toward a goal of 5,000; work toward consolidation of membership in affiliated State interracial committees or State Divisions of the Council; and publish four or five pamphlets measuring State achievements in such fields as housing, social security benefits, vocational education, and land tenure. Among other projects proposed for 1948, Dr. Mitchell mentioned improved police administration; research into the medical aspects of crime; periodic summaries of events in the various states of interest to the Council membership; a radio forum; and a booklet on civil rights, with special emphasis on the President's report. He said that "if we did all that we would like to do, we would need, in addition to the budget before you, another $70,000." In addition, he pointed out that after December, 1949, the organization would have to stand entirely on its own feet, since the block of support of the Rosenwald Fund would no longer be available.

Following Dr. Mitchell's report, the members discussed the question as to which projects the Council should elect as 1948 activities.

On motion made by Dr. Alexander and duly seconded,

7. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Director be instructed to devote a pamphlet to covering the status of civil rights laws and the practical administration of such laws as they affect civil rights in the South, and that this pamphlet be given priority among subjects.

On motion made by Mr. Frank McCallister and duly seconded,

8. IT WAS VOTED that the SRC sponsor a meeting with the guidance of Mrs. Tilly and her church women's groups, to make known in the South what is in the Civil Rights Report and that all the people who are interested in the program be invited, providing funds can be raised to sponsor the meeting.

Mrs. Tilly was in agreement with this motion provided the burden of the meetings did not fall upon her as an individual. Dr. Mitchell reminded the group

that unless specific funds were raised, the Council could not sponsor a broad program on Civil Rights and keep within the budget.

On motion made by Mrs. Warren Zeuch and duly seconded,

9. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Director be instructed to publish a pamphlet on vocational education, in agriculture and in industry.

Mr. Stoney rose to speak on the importance of the above pamphlet. He stated that it would be wise to publish this pamphlet in relation to the report of the Committee for the South and to tie it in with that report.

Dr. Hancock remarked that the Council's endeavors should be more comprehensive than that of just making up pamphlets. He said that the important thing to do is to get Council material to people who are outside of the Council in an effort to sell them on the program of the SRC.

Mrs. Tilly said that if money were available, the masses of people could be reached through the mail box services. She said that the pamphlets would have to have a basis in the type of writing that the people would read. A suggestion was made by Mr. C. H. Parrish that the State Divisions be organized to put out these pamphlets. In this way, he said, the people working on the pamphlets would get an idea of what was going on in their communities and at the same time outside people would be reached in gathering the information.

Msgr. McNamara suggested that the Council invite re-use of pamphlet material by other people. Even though the SRC would not get actual credit for the work, their objectives could be accomplished.

In discussing publications, Dr. Guy Johnson told the Council that Charles Mangum's book on Land Tenure in the Southeast would be helpful to the SRC. He believed that when the book is ready, the Council, with very little outlay of money-possibly fifty dollars' honorarium—could get Mr. Mangum to write a summary of it for publication by the SRC; or if not, the Council could get permission from the publishers to make a summary. Mr. Dodge suggested that "Democracy in State and Church" would be a good pamphlet to put on the list of potential jobs

for the future. Mr. Foreman stated that if the Council could get the money, the police study should be continued.

On motion made by Mr. Schaeffer and duly seconded,

10. IT WAS VOTED that the Council accept the report on the prospective program for 1948, with gratitude to Dr. Mitchell.

ACTION ON 1948 BUDGET

Dr. Alexander, in discussing the 1948 budget, said that there existed too much complacency on this subject. He felt that one of the things the Council must do was to clear up the deficit by January 1. He said that he himself was willing to accept responsibility for doing his best to obtain $1,000 of the amount required if other members of the Council would make pledges to obtain the remaining $3,000. In response the following pledges were made:

Msgr. McNamara	$100
Mr. Haas	$200
Mr. P. Williams	$200
Dr. F. Washington	$100
Mr. G. D. Rogers (for the Fla. delegation)	$500
Dr. Hancock	$100
Dr. Guy Johnson	$100
Georgia Committee	$200
Mr. J. M. Tydings	$100
Dr. Mitchell	$250
Father Vincent O'Connell	$ 50

It was suggested that the Executive Director send a letter to those members not present at the annual meeting advising them of the pledges made at the meeting and asking them to work for donations of $100 or more. Mr. Rogers stated it as his belief that the SRC means more to the South than any other organization he had ever worked with. He said that the Council should make known its activities to the business men of the Negro race, and he felt confident that these men would support it and that there would be no trouble in clearing up the deficit in the budget.

On motion made by Dr. Alexander and duly seconded,

11. IT WAS VOTED that the budget for 1948 be approved in principle, but that it be referred to the Executive Committee for approval of activities in detail as funds become available.

On motion made by Dr. Alexander and duly seconded,

12. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee be instructed to set up a new Finance Committee.

Dr. Hancock expressed his pleasure in seeing the matter of finance getting on a sound, down-to-earth basis.

RESOLUTIONS

Mr. Tydings presented the following resolutions which had been submitted to the Resolutions Committee:

"Whereas,
the GI Bill of Rights program of education and on-the-job training for veterans is the most useful service to veterans that has ever been devised by any government, and
whereas,
these services to veterans are not only of great importance to the veterans, but to all the people of the United States, and it is thus imperative that veterans of all races, colors, classes, and creeds shall have the full benefits of the GI Bill of Rights, and
whereas,
on the basis of field inquiry, the Southern Regional Council is convinced that Negroes are not sharing fairly in the services of the GI Bill of Rights as was evidently intended by the Congress of the United States, and
whereas,
it appears that Negroes are sharing to a fairly satisfactory degree, in some sections of the South, in on-the-farm training and in higher education, but to a much lesser degree in vocational training, on-the-job training, accelerated high school and adult education, and
whereas,
in some areas of the South there are almost no contact, organizational, and supervisory Negro personnel attached to branch, regional and local offices of the Veterans Administration, it being understood that some State units have two or three hundred white personnel of the types named above and fewer than half a dozen Negroes, and
whereas,
the question arises: Was it intended and planned by the Central Office of the Veterans Administration in Washington, D. C., that the pattern described above should control and manage our national GI Bill as it affects white and Negro veterans in the Southern States,
therefore, be it
RESOLVED by the Southern Regional Council:
that the differences which appear in the administration of services provided for veterans in the GI Bill of Rights, as partially outlined above, be brought directly to the attention of the several State Superintendents of Public Instruction in the Southern States, to General Omar N. Bradley, Chief of the Veterans Administration, and to the President

of the United States.

On motion made by Dr. Alexander and duly seconded,

13. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee be so instructed to set up a committee to go in person for a hearing with the above named persons.

Mr. Tydings then read the second resolution; after amendment by Mr. Dodge it read as follows:

RESOLVED: That the Southern Regional Council Executive be requested to develop a plan for increasing the membership of the Council, such plan to be activated by the State and local committees with special consideration for

a. subscriptions for New South;
b. obtaining more contributing members;
c. obtaining members who are leaders in key organizations on state and local levels; and that the goal be set to increase the membership from 2,400 to 5,000 members in the ensuing year.

On motion, duly seconded,

14. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

Mr. Tydings presented the third resolution:

RESOLVED: That the State Divisions and affiliates of SRC be requested to nominate not more than ten Honorary Fellows from each state according to rules and regulations drawn up by the Executive Director and approved by the Executive Committee.

On motion duly seconded by Mr. Rogers,

15. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

Mr. Tydings read the fourth resolution. After amendment by Dr. Foreman it read as follows:

RESOLVED: That the Executive Committee be instructed to devise and make recommendations to the Board for means of recognition of such persons in the South as make outstanding contributions to the progress of the Region, and that such citations be given ample publicity in the press.

On motion duly seconded by Dr. Foreman,

16. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

The fifth resolution read by Mr. Tydings was as follows:

RESOLVED: That the appreciation of the officers and members of SRC be expressed to the administrative officers and staff members of the Council who left the Council during the past year. They are: Dr. Harold Trigg; Mrs. Inez Tillison; Mr. Ray Warwick; Dr. Guy B. Johnson, and Mr. James Slade. We sincerely regret their departure, and the best wishes of the Council are extended to them in their new undertakings.

On motion duly seconded,

17. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

Mr. Tydings read the sixth resolution.

RESOLVED: That the SRC be urged to promote programs of intercultural education through the existing educational facilities of the region.

On motion duly seconded,

18. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

The seventh resolution was read as follows:

RESOLVED: That the SRC commend the President of the United States for appointing the distinguished Committee on Civil Rights and urge that the people of the South and of the Nation give most thoughtful consideration to the Committee's report, reminding ourselves, as the Committee concludes, that the "future of our Nation rests upon the character, the vision, the high principles of our people." Democracy, brotherhood, human rights — these are practical expressions of the eternal worth of every child of God." With His guidance and help we can move forward toward a nobler social order in which there will be equal opportunity for all.

On motion duly seconded,

19. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

Mr. Tydings read the eighth resolution as follows;

RESOLVED: That the appreciation of the officers and members of SRC be extended to President Clement and appropriate officials of Atlanta University who so graciously provided the facilities and hospitalities for the Annual Meeting of the SRC.

On motion duly seconded,

20. IT WAS VOTED that this resolution be adopted.

At this point Dr. Alexander commented on President Williams' address to the Council and stated that the Council was deeply indebted to Paul Williams for his quiet, modest, and courageous leadership. He stated that although Mr.

Williams' speech was given in modest manner, through it came certain power that characterized the president's able leadership.

On motion made by Dr. Alexander and duly seconded,

21. IT WAS VOTED that the Council express to Mr. Williams by a rising vote its very profound appreciation for what he is doing for the SRC.

ELECTION OF BOARD OF DIRECTORS

On motion made and duly seconded,

22. IT WAS VOTED that nominations of the nominating committee be accepted, and elections be made of the following members for new four-year terms:

Wilson M. Brown
A. W. Dent
Clark Foreman
Charles H. Gillman
Grace Towns Hamilton
Gordon B. Hancock
T. James McNamara
Arthur J. Moore
John H. Wheeler

Plus replacement of Mr. Easom, resigned, by the Reverend W. H. Marmion, of Birmingham, Alabama, for the unexpired portion of Mr. Easom's term, Mr. Dabbs and Mrs. Ratliff being elected in the place of Mr. Herbert and Mr. Wilcoxon, for four year terms.

At this point Dr. Mitchell brought to the attention of the Council the desire of the Board of Directors to elect as an additional Vice President, Dr. Harold Trigg. He stated, however, that the by-laws limit the number of Vice Presidents who are leigible to serve on the Executive Committee and asked for a revision of the by-laws.

On the motion made by Mr. Haas and duly seconded,

23. IT WAS VOTED to amend the by-laws by striking out the word "three" in Article 5, Section 1, appearing before the words "Vice-Presidents" and substituting the word "the."

OTHER BUSINESS

Dr. Hancock presented Mr. Max Bond, who had brought his class to the last portion of the meeting. Mr. Bond stated that he thought that one of the most important things needed in the South today was an opportunity for whites and Negroes,

particularly students, to meet together so that each could get to know the other.

On motion made by Dr. Mitchell and duly seconded,

24. IT WAS VOTED that a vote of thanks be given to Dr. Johnson for the courage, thought, and wisdom he had shown in his service to the Council.

There was some discussion regarding the extent of political restriction which members of the SRC must adhere to in their programs. Dr. Mitchell stated that Council Members should not endorse or fight a specific piece of pending legislation; that they must not, as a body of Council members, publicly support or oppose a particular candidate for political office. Dr. Hancock stated that the political restriction is set because the Council is a tax-free organization.

Mrs. Havens expressed a desire to have set up some plan for State Division Chairmen to become Board members.

On motion made and duly seconded,

25. IT WAS VOTED that an additional sentence to Article 4, Section 1, "Heads of State Divisions of the Southern Regional Council shall be ex-officio members of the Board of Directors," be included in the by-laws.

Mr. Newbold expressed a hope that every State representative would take particular note of the statements made in the motion on veterans, and that particular emphasis be given to the matter of the Negro veteran in an effort to bring about greater equality in the Veterans' Administration program.

Mr. Washington proposed a rising tribute to Dr. Alexander for all he has done for the SRC. The Council unanimously joined in this tribute.

Mr. Williams then paid tribute to Miss Josephine Wilkins as the person responsible for the agenda drawn up for the Annual Meeting.

There being no further business, meeting adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

Address To Membership Meeting

by
Paul D. Williams

The approach to the Southern problem is of utmost importance. It is easy to speak of the "changing South," and to describe the growing movement toward the mechanization of production in agriculture, with specific reference to cotton, rice, and cane. It is just as easy to swell with pride over the number of small industries that have sprung up since the end of the war in many Southern States. The trend toward balance between agriculture and industry moves with increasing impetus.

It is too easy to forget that mechanization and industrialization are guided by the results of research costing millions of dollars; and that changes in the thinking of the South's people, which should receive an equal amount of intelligent planning and direction, are left to trial and error — or to organizations like the Southern Regional Council which must depend on contributions from the few people who are conscious of the fact that changes in response patterns are an essential part of the total regional transition.

It is the transition in thought focus from non-productive and frequently imagined race conflict to consciously planned and directed use of all natural, human, and social resources that must take place in the Southern mind before the admitted deficiencies of the region can be eliminated.

This is the approach to regional problems that appeals to young and old, Negro and white alike. It is positive, constructive, and potentially satisfying.

SRC can make a lasting contribution to guided change in the economy of human relations — the discovery, nurture, and amicable interaction of human abilities. If SRC does not grasp this opportunity, some other organization must do so before we can attain interregional equity in the production and distribution of essential goods and services to our forty million people of all races.

The SRC works for all the people of the South. It does not suppose that any segment of the South's population can or should prosper to the exclusion of any other group. We are one South, needing the well-being of all our people.

The question of segregation as such has long since been answered by the SRC. It has been answered not only by words, but, more important, by deeds. We have only to examine the personnel of our Board of Directors, our officers, our membership, our paid executive staff, and the manner of conducting our annual meetings and executive sessions, to see that the SRC is composed of Southerners without any further classification. The question before us now is not whether or not segregation is right or wrong, which is like saying whether or not we are against sin. Our big task is to convince other Southerners and other Southern organizations that the way of life followed by the SRC is right and proper.

In this task we have to avoid a "holier than thou" attitude. I am certain that no one connected with the SRC has been convinced of the injustice and the unworkability of the segregation pattern simply because some individual or organization has branded him or her as "unAmerican.

We of the SRC arrived at our judgment of the segregation pattern because

we were persuaded by sound arguments. It seems rather natural, therefore, that we should endeavor to convince others by the same practical and moral considerations which have meant so much to us. For this reason, I see our function as a regional organization to be one of education and persuasion, by word and deed, so that more and more of our fellow Southerners will come to think and act as we do for the same reasons which we have found to be liberating.

The report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights has merely reiterated what we in the SRC have long since believed and put into practice. The report does not give us the most important answer for the South, namely, the way in which we are to convince our fellow Southerners that the acceptance of the report's recommendations is the moral and American thing to do. We accept the principles of the President's committee, and putting these principles into effective practice is the job at which the SRC works. Our hope and our aim is to take action in such a way as to achieve the realization of these principles by accomplishing the most good and avoiding detriment.

It is sad indeed that after more than 19 centuries of Christianity we should find it so difficult to put into operation , in a country that prides itself on being a Christian nation, principles that are far short of the ideals annunciated by the Founder of Christianity and the Founding Fathers of our Republic.

There are those who maintain that the solution of all our problems is education, but too often by education they mean a brick-by-brink process with 100 years between bricks. It is time we realized that, even though some of our problems are delicate ones indeed, the welfare of the South and the Nation demands that they be faced with frankness and candor. Furthermore, when a solution is a arrived at through right reason and religious principles, that solution must be accepted and followed up with resolute courage.

Let us remember that even though we are a regional organization the effect of our actions is not a regional incident. When we hear on the radio or read in the press of the great and sometimes terrifying events which are taking place in the world, we have a tendency to feel helpless and to ask ourselves: What can we do? It is time for us to realize that everything we do for the progress or the regression of our region is an international incident. The furtherance of the program of the SRC in Nashville, or Chapel Hill, or Richmond, or Atlanta, or Vicksburg is of international importance because our activities will have repercussions not only in the South but in our Nation and throughout the world.

God helping us, we must keep in tune with the future!

Recommendations on Relationships of State Committees
and Local Groups with the Council

by
Cyrus M. Johnson

At the meeting of the Executive Committee on September 17, 1947, the President of the Council was empowered to appoint a committee to consider and bring in recommendations on relationships of State Committees and local groups with the Council.

Mr. Williams appointed Miss Josephine Wilkins, Mrs. Alice N. Spearman, Mr. Cyrus M. Johnson, Dr. R. L. Russell, and George Mitchell. Miss Wilkins found it impossible to be present for the meeting. The Committee met at Greenwood, South Carolina, October 31.

Much discussion was given to the matter of local groups which might wish to affiliate with the Council, but whose members did not wish to make the additional sacrifice involved in becoming members of the Council directly. Florida has some local interracial groups who would like this arrangement, and in South Carolina it has been suggested that some private and s ome public welfare agencies would wish a status as agency contributors to the Council.

The Committee was on the whole of the opinion that local bodies ought to affiliate through individual membership, preferably of all members. Where individual persons, possibly officers in such local bodies wished to join the Council, in order to receive for their agencies or organizations the Council's publications, that should be welcomed. But some danger was seen in giving to local bodies a stated link with the Council, when the Council could foresee for itself only a weak voice in the policy decisions of such bodies.

The Committee therefore agreed:

In States with State Divisions of the SRC, where local organizations interracial in character wish to join the Council their members will be expected to take out individual memberships in the Council, thus automatically becoming members of the State Division. It is recommended that local chapters of the Council charge

their members some additional dues in order to afford a local treasury.

Where agencies or organizations wish direct group affiliation (through State Divisions or affiliated State Interracial Committees where such exist) consideration will be given to the working out of special affiliation agreements, under Article III, Section 2 of the by-Laws of the Council:

> "Section 2. Affiliates. Organized groups or agencies whose aims and methods are, in whole or in substantial part, similar to the aims and methods of the Southern Regional Council may, at the discretion of the Board of Directors, become affiliates of the Council upon such conditions as the Board of Directors may prescribe".

Meanwhile, the Council and its State Divisions and affiliated Interracial Committees are of course free to accept contributions, (without agency membership) from interested agencies.

Further discussion was had on the relationship of affiliated State Interracial Committees to the Council. Such Committees (of which there are three - North Carolina, Georgia, and Texas) collect their own dues, and retain the entirety of these dues in their State Committee treasuries. They exchange membership lists with the Council, and their officers are under stated obligation to become members of the Council. In addition, the Council recruits such members in these States as it can, most but not all of them being persons already members of the State Interracial Committee. From these Council members, the Council receives its standard dues of $2.00, of which one dollar covers subscription to New South. The affilated State Committees do in practice urge their own members to add a dollar to their Committee dues in order that the sum of these dollars may be sent on to the Council as subscription for such Committee members to New South.

Thus the greater part of the members of the Georgia Interracial Committee are already subscribers to New South. A considerable proportion of the North Carolina Committee's members are subscribers.

Were either of these Committees to become Divisions of the Council the extra cost involved is only the sum needed to subscribe to New South for those

Committee members not already such subscribers.

In Georgia this gap is small - perhaps 300 members. In North Carolina it is larger, but the Committee there might give consideration to lump-sum subscriptions for all its members, particularly if the Council would provide for a limited time free, "cultivation" subscriptions.

Thus, in summary, affiliated State Committees can become Divisions of the Council at no greater cost than payment of subscriptions to New South for their non-subscribing members. This holds true under present dues; if Council dues were raised additional cost would be involved.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
January 1, 1947 to October 31, 1947

RECEIPTS

BALANCE IN BANK 1-1-47		538.58
Julius Rosenwald Fund	$35,000.00	
General Education Board	8,000.00	
Esther Morton Smith Estate	1,390.74	
Women's Div. Christian Service	1,000.00	
Edgar Stern Family Fund	250.00	
Phelps Stokes Fund	200.00	
Ashby Jones Fund	100.00	
Board of Ed. Methodist Church	250.00	
Div. of Home Missions	1,000.00	
Misc. Church Groups	150.00	
Fla. State Division	886.50	
Miss. State Division	136.50	
S. C. State Division	1,070.50	
Ky State Division	94.80	
Membership Dues	2,208.70	
Membership Contributions	736.65	
New South Publication	569.00	
Misc. Literature	1,402.38	
Royalties	12.80	
Geo. Mitchell, Lectures	25.75	
Refunds:		
Salaries, Ga. Commission	91.10	
Travel	309.37	
Telephone and Telegraph	8.52	
Office Supplies	52.98	
Postage and Express	34.81	
Books and Subscriptions	4.40	
Veterans' Service, Unused Funds	485.36	
Withholding Taxes	4,123.98	
Loan - Citizens Trust Co.	1,500.00	
TOTAL RECEIPTS		$61,094.84
TOTAL		$61,633.42

DISBURSEMENTS

Repayment of Loans - Citizens Trust Co.	$2,500,00	
Withholding Taxes	3,796.98	
Florida State Division	1,030.96	
South Carolina State Division	1,061.50	
Miss. State Division	132.50	
Kentucky State Division	82.30	
Salaries	33,603.71	
Conference Travel	5,358.75	
Rent	1,475.00	
Telephone and Telegraph	662.68	
Office Supplies and Expense	913.80	
Office Equipment and Maintenance	499.26	
Postage and Express	1,256.84	
Printing and Literature	4,556.59	
Books and Subscriptions	221.16	
Veterans' Service	2,700.00	
Research and Special Service	233.80	
Conference on Human Rights	327.32	
Clipping Service	117.87	
Interest on Loans	29.00	
Exchange and Bank Service Charges	8.89	
Refunds on Literature	5.50	
Misc. Expense	185.57	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS		$60,759.98
Bank Balances, October 31, 1947:		
First National Bank		335.00
Citizens' Trust Co.		538.44
TOTAL		$61,633.42

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

ESTIMATED BUDGET 1948

1. Based on Present Staff and Activities

Salaries	$34,460.00
Travel and maintenance (including Board of Directors and Executive Committee)	6,000.00
Rent	1,560.00
Telephone and Telegraph	700.00
Office Supplies and equipment	1,500.00
Postage and Express	2,000.00
Printing - New South and Pamphlets	6,000.00
Books, Subscriptions, Clippings	300.00
Return of Dues to State Divisions	2,000.00
Miscellaneous	250.00
	$54,770.00

IN SIGHT FOR 1948

Julius Rosenwald Fund	$25,000.00
General Education Board	6,000.00
Women's Div. of Christian Service Methodist Church	1,000.00
Board of Missions and Church Extensions, Methodist Church	1,000.00
Board of Education, Methodist Church	250.00
Phelps-Stokes Fund	200.00
Catholic Committee of the South	150.00
Various Conferences, Women's Division Christian Service, of the Methodist Church	100.00
Province of Sewanee, Protestant Episcopal Church	100.00
Ashby Jones Memorial Fund	100.00
Committee on Women's Work, Presbyterian Church	25.00
Women's Auxiliary, Synod of Virginia Presbyterian Church	25.00
Literature -sales	1,600.00
Subscriptions to New South	600.00
Membership Dues	6,000.00
Membership Contributions	450.00
	$42,600.00

APPARENT DEFICIT $12,170.00

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
TREASURER'S REPORT OF ESTIMATED INCOME AND EXPENSES
January 1, 1947 to December 31, 1947

Balance in Bank	January 1, 1947		$ 538.58
Actual Receipts	1/1/47 - 10/31/47	$61,094.84	
Est. Receipts	11/1/47 - 12/31/47	500.00	
TOTAL RECEIPTS			$61,594.84
TOTAL			$62,133.42

Disbursements:

Actual Disbursements 1/1/47 - 10/31/47		$60,759.98
Est. Disbursements 11/1/47 - 12/31/47		
Net Salaries	$4,042.84 1/	
Rent	260.00	
Annual Meeting	1,000.00	
Telephone	80.00	
Travel, etc.	617.16	$ 6,000.00
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS		$66,759.98
ESTIMATED DEFICIT FOR CALENDAR YEAR 1947		4,626.56 2/
TOTAL		$62,133.42

1/ Excludes withholding tax of $959.20 which will be due in January 1948. This amount was carried over due to the deficit in the operating funds of the Council.

2/ With inclusion of withholding tax, amounts to $5,585.76.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Meeting of Board of Directors
November 12, 1947, 4:15 p.m.

The meeting of the Board of Directors was called to order by the President, Mr. Paul Williams, Wednesday afternoon, November 12, 1947, at 4:15 p. m., in the Exhibition Room of the Atlanta University Library immediately following the annual meeting of members. The following were present:

Dr. Will W. Alexander
Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
Miss Emily H. Clay
Dr. Rufus E. Clement
Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Dr. Clark B. Foreman
Mr. John A. Griffin
Mr. Leonard Haas
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Mrs. Henry Havens
Mr. Jacob Henderson
Mr. Cyrus M. Johnson
Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Msgr. T. James McNamara
Dr. George S. Mitchell
Mr. N. C. Newbold
Mr. C. H. Parrish, Jr.
Mr. J. G. Pollard, Jr.
Mr. Edgar Ray
Mr. G. G. Rogers
Dr. J. W. Seabrook
Mr. Philip Shulhafer
Mrs. Eugene Spearman
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Mr. J. M. Tydings
Dr. Forrester B. Washington
Miss Josephine Wilkins
Mr. Paul D. Williams
Mrs. Warren T. Zeuch

At Mr. Williams' request, Mr. Tydings presided over the meeting. Mr. Tydings read a letter from Mr. Frank Spencer which was dated September 2, 1947, in which he asked that the Board accept his resignation.

On motion made by Mr. Seabrook and duly seconded,

1. IT WAS VOTED that the Board accept Mr. Spencer's resignation with regrets and in his place elect Dr. Guy B. Johnson as Vice President.

On motion made by Dr. Clark Foreman and duly seconded,

2. IT WAS VOTED that the minutes for the November 11, 1947 meeting be dispensed with.

Dr. Forrester Washington, reporting for the Nominations Committee read the following nominations for officers for the coming year:

Mr. Paul D. Williams, President
Mr. P. B. Young, Vice-President
Mr. Carter Wesley, Vice-President
Dr. Harold L. Trigg, Vice-President
Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Vice-President

and the following nominations for members of the Executive Committee for the coming year:

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
Mr. Charles Gillman
Mr. Leonard Haas
Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Msgr. T. James McNamara
Miss Josephine Wilkins

On motion made and duly seconded,

3. IT WAS VOTED that the report of the Nominations Committee be accepted as read, and those listed be confirmed for the coming year, and Mr. Trigg be elected as Vice-President.

On motion made by Miss Wilkins and duly seconded,

4. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Director be asked to bring to the next Executive Committee meeting a concise report of all instructions given by the membership and by the Board in the two days of meetings.

ELECTION OF STANDING NOMINATING COMMITTEE

The chairman asked for nominations for a standing Nominating Committee drawn from the membership to serve for a period of one year. The following nominations were received:

Mr. William H. Gray
Mr. J. E. Blanton
Mrs. Josephine Heyman
Mrs. Hortense Young
Dr. Witherspoon Dodge
Dr. Mildred Mell - Alternate

On motion made by Mr. Foreman and duly seconded,

5. IT WAS VOTED that this group compose the Nominating Committee to bring to the next annual meeting nominations for members of the Board.

On motion made by Mr. Haas and duly seconded,

6. IT WAS VOTED that the chairman of this Committee be Mr. William H. Gray.

The chairman also reminded the Board that it would be desirable to elect a standing Nominating Committee of the Board to serve for a period of one year and to bring in Nominations for the Executive Committee of the Board. These nominations would be limited to members of the Board. The following nominations

were received:

Dr. Forrester B. Washington
Mr. John Griffin
Mrs. Eugene Spearman

On motion made and duly seconded,

7. IT WAS VOTED that this group be accepted as the Nominations Committee to bring in to the Board nominations for members of theExecutive Committee, and that Mr. Washington be named as chairman of the Committee.

On motion made by Miss Wilkins and duly seconded,

8. IT WAS VOTED that the committee of three bring in the nominations for the officers of the Council. 1/

On motion made by Miss Wilkins and duly seconded,

9. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee be requested to sent to the Board, not less than thirty days before the Annual Meeting a proposed program and the proposed budget for the coming year.

DISCUSSION OF PROGRAM FOR 1948

Mr. Tydings turned the chairmanship of the meeting over to Mr. Williams to carry on the discussion of program of 1948. Msgr. McNamara reminded the body that the Resolutions Committee to serve at the next annual meeting should be designated at the end of the Annual Meeting.

On motion made by Mrs. J. D. Ames and duly seconded,

10. IT WAS VOTED that the matter of appointing a Resolutions Committee be referred to the Executive Committee for immediate action at their first scheduled meeting.

There being no further business, meeting adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

1/ The Council's officers - President and Vice-Presidents, are elected annually by the Board.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
Meeting of the Executive Committee
February 25, 1948

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council met in the offices of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation at 10:00 A. M., on February 25, 1948. The following members were present:

Mr. Paul D. Williams — Miss Josephine Wilkins
Dr. Harold L. Trigg — Dr. Rufus E. Clement
Dr. Guy B. Johnson — Dr. George S. Mitchell
Msgr. T. James McNamara

Mrs. Henry Havens, Mrs. Agnes McKoy, Mrs. M. E. Tilly and Mr. Harold C. Fleming also were present.

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman, Mr. Paul D. Williams. Dr. Harold Trigg gave the invocation.

On motion made by Dr. Clement and seconded by Dr. Johnson,

1. IT WAS VOTED that the reading of the minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting of November 11, 1947, be dispensed with and that the minutes be approved as submitted in writing to the individual members of the Committee.

MEMBERSHIP AND FINANCE REPORT

Mrs. McKoy gave the membership report, showing an increase of 244 members since November 12, 1947, making the total current membership 2,520. Florida was shown to have the largest number of members, with Georgia second, and North Carolina third.

Mrs. McKoy next reviewed the financial situation, which, at the time of the annual meeting, already had become a matter of considerable concern. It was estimated at that time that a deficit of somewhat more than four thousand dollars would accrue in Council operating funds by the end of the year. This forecast had been more than realized, and at year's end it had been necessary to borrow from the Citizens Trust Company $3,000 in order to meet payrolls and other necessary expenses, and this despite a $2,000 advance payment from the Julius Rosenwald Fund on 1948 appropriations, True, the loan had now been

repaid, as well as all other outstanding indebtedness at the close of the year, with the sole exception of a portion of the printer's bill. None-the-less, the problem of absorbing the 1947 deficit out of first quarter, or even second quarter 1948 income was proving to be a very real and pressing one.

Dues payments and contributions had been coming in well, the former totaling $507.00 and the latter $364.00. In addition, dues payments of State Divisions had come to $130.00, and contributions to $344.50. Total receipts for 1948 had so far amounted to $10,033.52, and this, added to the cash balance on January 1 of $1,673.66, made a total of $11,707.18. Disbursements, however, had almost equaled this sum with a total of $11,328.03, so that, currently, the Council had a cash balance of only $379.15. With a payroll of almost $1,200.00 due at the end of the week, request had been made of the Citizens Trust Company for another short-term loan of $2,500.00 in order to tide the Council over until other appropriations fell due. There was full expectation that this loan would be granted.

The annual audit had been made the first of the year by Mr. Harold Carson, who had prepared it as usual on the basis of receipts and expenditures. This method of presentation, however, was felt by Mrs. McKoy to be an inadequate and unsatisfactory one in view of the financial straits in which the Council found itself, and she had asked him to recast it in such a way as to bring out clearly the actual condition, providing a balance sheet which would show not only what moneys had come in and what had been paid out, but assets and liabilities, and the actual amount of the deficit. Mr. Carson had undertaken to do this, but when he resubmitted his audit it contained so many discrepancies, the audit was still felt to be unacceptable. Mrs. McKoy gave as examples of this the fact that in his list of expenses Mr. Carson failed to include expenses that had been incurred but not paid for, although these were included in his list of accounts payable; that in indicating the status of State Division

accounts he had shown the Council as owing South Carolina $24.00 instead of the $36.00 owed; Mississippi $22.50 instead of the $245.00 actually due; Florida as being owed $8.50 instead of owing the Council $128.99. Also, on his balance sheet he had shown the deficit as being $3,424.15, whereas on page 2 it was shown as $2,771.49, and on page one he had shown the amount of excess expense over income as only $1,614.68. The overall differences, Mrs. McKoy said, tended in the main to cancel each other out, so that the net result was not too seriously in error. None-the-less, she felt that at this time it was especially important that every aspect of the Council's financial condition be as accurately reflected in the audit as possible.

On motion made by Dr. Trigg and seconded by Miss Wilkins,

2. IT WAS VOTED that the Counnil withhold approval of the audit report until discrepancies between the report and the books are adjusted.

On motion made by Miss Wilkins and seconded by Dr. Johnson,

3. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Director be authorized to explore the possibility of changing the auditor for another fiscal year.

Dr. Mitchell reviewed the positions now occupied on the staff, stating that he did not see how we could dispense with any of the permanent persons on the staff at present. He stated further that the only possible way he could see to cut expenses would be to discontinue publication of New South.

Dr. Trigg inquired as to the possibility of a request for funds from foundations.

Dr. Mitchell said that he had been to see an official of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, but had found the prospects of a contribution not very encouraging. He suggested that Mr. Williams and Dr. Trigg go to see Mr. Spaulding and Dr. W. C. Davision on their way home from this meeting.

Dr. Clement inquired whether any application has been made to the Commonwealth Fund (Harkness money) or to the Spelman Fund.

Miss Wilkins asked why, with the organization going into the red, we continue to look for an Associate Director.

Dr. Clement suggested that, instead of hiring an Associate Director, the Council follow the practice of calling upon four of five persons in Atlanta for information and advice. Dr. Trigg observed that these might function as a local advisory committee.

Miss Wilkins suggested that we engage a part-time counselor, saying that in her opinion an organization with the staffing of the Southern Regional Council is not justified in hiring two top-salaried persons.

Mr. Williams said that it was of the greatest importance, in mentioning the set-up of the organization, to be able to state the proportion of Negroes to white persons on the staff, and also important to be able to say that a Negro is Assistant to the Director.

Dr. Trigg observed that the proportion of Negroes to whites on the staff is the lowest it ever has been.

Dr. Mitchell said that he might be able to make out with a systematic advisory arrangement.

Miss Wilkins asked whether, in order to put the matter on a business-like basis, we could get a group of people who arein an advisory capacity to meet once a week.

Mr. Williams thought it would be advantageous to have persons available as consultants, if only on a part-time basis.

Dr. Clement suggested that $1,500 per year, divided among three men on the basis of $500 each for consultant's services, would be proper.

On motion made by Miss Wilkins and seconded by Dr. Johnson,

4. IT WAS VOTED that the Chairman and Dr. Rufus E. Clement be authorized to select three Negro persons to serve as consultants to the Southern Regional Council, and that these consultants be paid an honorarium of five hundred dollars each per fiscal year.

Mr. Williams said that he had talked with Mr. Louis Reynolds of Reynolds Metals, and thought we might get something from their Fund.

Dr. Mitchell stated that he was still hopeful that the John Bulow Campbell Foundation will contribute five thousand dollars for each of two years for the police project. The Board meeting of the Foundation is to be held in March or April.

He said that many individual Council members have contributed more than ten dollars each to the Council, and called attention of the Committee to the list of those who had so contributed. A good many persons now give more than just dues, which means we may be able to raise the dues to five dollars.

Mr. Williams suggested that a letter be written to Mr. G. D. Rogers of Florida, and requested Dr. Mitchell to do this. He also said that serious thought should be given to the matter of raising dues to five dollars. He, himself, would go to see Mrs. Lucius Eastman of New York in the hope of getting a contribution, and asked that her address be sent him. He suggested also that Committee members inform the staff of any individuals or organizations who might contribute money to the Council.

Dr. Mitchell reported that investigation of retirement plan possibilities for the Council staff revealed it is best to wait for our inclusion in the Social Security set-up.

Mr. Williams recalled that the Executive Committee had been given carte blanche to invite selected individuals to serve on the Advisory Committee.

Miss Wilkins stated that she would like the Executive Committee Meeting to be held in September rather than in June. Dr. Mitchell said the next Executive Committee meeting probably would be held September 15.

Dr. Mitchell said he believed it would be helpful if the State Divisions and affiliated Interracial Committees would contribute their ideas as to program for the Council before the next annual meeting.

Miss Wilkins agreed that this was a good idea and suggested that Dr. Mitchell write the Divisions and Committees.

Dr. Mitchell said that the staff will undertake to query State Divisions and affiliated State Committees at an early date asking for their proposals for program and policy for 1949. He expected that Divisions and Committees would take some months to get this up. The staff will gather this material in ample time to draw it up into general recommendations for program and policy, which would be sent to members of the Executive Committee not less than two weeks before the next meeting of the Executive Committee. The proposed budget for 1949 will accompany this data.

Dr. Trigg said that Dr. H. Shelton Smith at Duke University has expressed himself as interested and eager to do something.

Mr. Williams suggested that Mr. J. M. Tydings would make a good Chairman of the Finance Committee.

Dr. Clement said that he believed the President of the Council would make the best Chairman of the Finance Committee.

Miss Wilkins inquired about the possibility of appointing some Vice-Chairmen.

Dr. Clement suggested the following members for the Finance Committee: Mr. Paul Williams, Dr. Will W. Alexander, Dr. Charles S. Johnson and Mr. J. M. Tydings.

Mr. Williams remarked that Mr. John Wheeler of Durham, North Carolina, would be a good man to serve on this committee.

On motion made by Dr. Clement and seconded by Miss Wilkins.

5. IT WAS VOTED that the following constitute the Finance Committee: Mr. Paul Williams, Dr. Charles Johnson, Mr. J. M. Tydings, Dr. Will Alexander, and Mr. John Wheeler.

Mr. Williams said that it would be desirable for the staff to work out assistance, send material, etc., to the State Divisions re cultivation of new members.

Dr. Clement suggested that Dr. Lawrence Reddick of Atlanta University might help on the honor award problem. The facilities of Atlanta University would be available, and the Schomburg Roll would be available.

Mr. Williams read a telegram from Mr. Gordon B. Hancock, regretting his inability to attend the Executive Committee Meeting.

Dr. Mitchell gave a review of his activities in connection with getting the Southern Governors to lead the South in taking the initiative to grant full civil rights to its citizens.

A discussion of this matter followed in which Ralph McGill's reference to the Southern Regional Council on a CBS broadcast, Sunday, February 22, was mentioned. Dr. Mitchell said that Dr. Charles Johnson had called from New York regarding the McGill broadcast.

Dr. Mitchell read a telegram received from Mr. Walter White of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, as follows:

> "Ralph McGill over CBS Sunday, February 22, stated that Southern Regional Council opposed Federal action on civil rights issues. Important that it be known if he has correctly stated position of the Council, especially since Mr. McGill emphasized that Negro members of Council are opposed to Federal action. This request for clarification of collective and individual opinions of Southern Regional Council is being sent at instructions of NAACP committee on administration. Please wire reply collect after your meeting Wednesday."

After discussion, on motion made by Dr. Clement and seconded by Dr. Johnson,

6. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee reaffirm the position of the Southern Regional Council and wire Mr. White as follows:

> "Mr. McGill did not state the Southern Regional Council's position in his radio broadcast over CBS last Sunday. The Council has never opposed Federal legislation in the area of civil rights. At the same time we have always urged the South to assume its responsibilities in guaranteeing the civil rights of its people."

It was brought to the attention of the Committee that Dr. Mitchell had been invited to serve as Chairman of the Executive Council of Highlander Folk School. General discussion followed as to whether it would be wise for Dr.

Mitchell to accept this post. A letter from Mr. P. B. Young, expressing disapproval of Dr. Mitchell's acceptance of this Chairmanship, was read.

On motion made by Miss Wilkins and seconded by Dr. Johnson,

7. IT WAS VOTED that the Director of the Southern Regional Council be left free to use his own discretion in the matter of serving as Chairman of the Executive Council of Highlander Folk School.

Miss Wilkins suggested that, if the Southern Regional Council should appear on the letterhead of the Highlander Folk School as Dr. Mitchell's organizational connection, some note be carried that organizations are listed for identification purposes only.

Dr. Mitchell outlined to the Committee some ideas for projects he is hopeful the Council may be able to develop. One is a visual education project, involving the production of a motion picture or other visual material on "The Peoples of the South," to be shown in rural and small town schools, churches and other gathering places. The idea is to show to the people of the South the diversity of origin of its inhabitants, and to teach them something of the culture of the various racial groups represented in the region.

Another idea presented briefly by Dr. Mitchell dealt with a study of the medical aspects of sex crimes, with particular reference to their crossing of racial lines. The understanding which should result from this study would be of great benefit to citizens, to physicians and to law enforcement officers.

Still another project on which the Council is actively working, Dr. Mitchell said, is a pamphlet on tenancy legislation for distribution by the Council.

Dr. Mitchell said that the Council has had a clumsy method of handling contributions made to the Council for the benefit of the State Divisions. The present procedure is that we deposit the check in our bank and then send the Council's check to the State Division. He suggested a simplification of this procedure which would have the Division deposit contributions in their bank, sending the Council a duplicate deposit slip. Dr. Mitchell stated that it is important that we find some way for the Council to get credit for money raised

by affiliated Interracial Committees.

In speaking of the organization of Interracial groups, Dr. Mitchell said that we have an informal agreement with the American Council on Race Relations that, if any question arises, the Southern States will be left to the Southern Regional Council, with the single exception of the State of Oklahoma.

Requiring the appointment of a standing Resolutions Committee,

8. IT WAS VOTED that the Chairman should appoint such a committee.

(N. B. Subsequently the Chairman appointed Mr. Marion A. Wright, Mrs. W. H. Borders and Dr. Forrester B. Washington).

Dr. Mitchell observed that it is important that we have an unhurried meeting of the Board following the next Annual Meeting.

Mr. Williams said that at the last meeting we passed an amendment to the Constitution making the heads of State Divisions ex-officio members of the Board of Directors, and suggested that we do the same for heads of affiliated Committees and closely related groups.

On motion made by Dr. Mitchell and seconded by Dr. Johnson,

9. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee do now authorize the staff to invite to the next membership meeting of the Council the heads of affiliated State Interracial Committees Committees and anyother such committees deemed to be closely affiliated with the work of the Council, and that the Executive Committee do now recommend to the Board and the membership such a change in the Board of Directors as will open ex-officio vacancies to these persons.

Dr. Mitchell offered a word of caution on the Southwide Meeting on Civil and Human Rights, scheduled for February 27, to the effect that we need to make it clear, in conducting that meeting, that it is not an effort to push a particular political program but is a meeting to obtain wider understanding throughout the South of the need for extension of human and civil rights in the region.

Mr. Williams stated that the date for the next Executive Committee Meeting would be around the middle of September.

On Motion made by Miss Wilkins, the meeting was adjourned.

MEETING ADJOURNED.

Respectfully submitted,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting

Southern Regional Council

September 15, 1948

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council met in the offices of the Council at 10:00 o'clock on the morning of September 15th, 1948. The following members were present:

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
Mr. Charles Gillman
Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Msgr. T. James McNamara
Dr. George S. Mitchell
Miss Josephine Wilkins
Mr. Paul D. Williams

Also invited to be present were those members of the Standing Finance Committee who were not also members of the Executive Committee. They were:

Mr. J. M. Tydings
Mr. John H. Wheeler
Dr. W. W. Alexander

Members of the local advisory committee who had been asked to attend, and who also were present, were:

Mr. R. E. Cureton
Mr. S. M. Nabrit
Mr. Nelson Jackson

Others present at the meeting were Mrs. Agnes McKoy, Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. Harold Fleming, Director of Information, and Mr. Charles Smith of Washington who has undertaken a project of long-range planning for the Council.

The meeting was called to order by Mr. Paul Williams, President, who asked that all stand and repeat the Lord's Prayer.

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Chairman of the Committee, presided.

Reading of the minutes of the last meeting was dispensed with by common consent, with Mrs. McKoy, Secretary-Treasurer briefly reviewing main points of discussion and the action which followed.

DR. MITCHELL'S REPORT

Dr. Mitchell called the group's attention to his letter of September 4th in which he had summarized the Council's activities and outlined its plans for:

State Divisions. He told of the new Division in Tennessee, of which Mr. Alfred Mynders is Chairman and Dr. Charles Johnson, Vice - Chairman, and which has good prospects for development. Alabama which had just become a Division at the time of the last annual meeting, is a sound Division with good program and good leadership.

Civil Rights Meeting. Mrs. Tilly reported on the February meeting on Civil Rights, with a representative group from both races present, and with most denominations represented. This group came out with strong recommendations on FEPC And a Federal Anti-Lynching Bill. Blanks for reporting subsequent follow-up meetings were later distributed with the idea that persons trained in that one meeting would be available as local discussion group leaders. A number of such meetings occurred.

Southern Governors. With reference to efforts of the committee to induce the Southern Governors' Conference, at the beginning of the civil rights controversy, to take positive steps, he said he felt the truth was that the Governors did not know much about us, and confused us with other organizations. The press, he thought, were afraid to touch it. Since then, efforts, had been made to reach some Governors, and key editors over the South had been cultivated.

Other Projects. Self surveys by small communities, in which the community would follow a manual prepared here, and based on the Jacksonville survey. This would have an advantage over the type of survey made by outside experts in that local citizens who make the surveys would tend to follow through on results. In each State we would link up with the Sociologists at the State University. The Council would send an expert if the community would pay for travel. The first Step is to get the manual ready, then take it around and get other groups interested. The New York Times printed something summarizing the Jacksonville Survey and Jacksonville received something like fifty letters from all over the South asking for details.

Newspapers on Race and the News. Calvin Kytle has agreed to take on the job of stacking up the practices of Southern newspapers on race and the news. He hopes, out of seeing what occurs, he can draw certain principles of what ought to occur. Kytle has had good luck with most of the newspapers so far.

Farm Tenancy. Most Southern States wrote their laws on land tenure between 1865 and 1868 when all the people on the land were illiterate, and a landlord putting them to work really was bestowing a blessing on the community. These laws recognize the oral lease. Meanwhile, many foreign countries and our Northern states have moved past that and are requiring written leases, contain- a clause compensating a tenant for permanent improvements, etc., and protecting the tenant from being thrown off except for just cause, etc. No Southern state has anything of that kind. We've been giving a great deal of thought to legislation for written leases. Benjamin Bullock of Atlanta University has agreed to undertake this job. Chapel Hill will publish a book soon reviewing all this sort of thing. We can usefully get out a good pamphlet on that soon.

Long - Range Plan. "Then, a plan for the whole South - a great big project. Much of the work at Chapel Hill has fallen out into a division of the South into its sub-regions - the history and circumstances of each sub-region of the South. Charles Smith has agreed to take on with out salary the job of collecting material and drawing up a statement of the position in each of these sub-regions and some things to do.

Dr. Mitchell then read a list of places where he had spoken, saying that he usually averaged at least one talk a week.

"We are also about to get a new write-up in the coming issue of New South on Negro Police in the South. This has moved a good deal in the last year." Then, this whole business of FEPC. The movement is a sound movement, and could be a popular movement. It could have much general agreement if we could cast the thing on that movement and not simply on the FEPC Commission. FEPC will be

had eventually, from a blend of community, State, and Federal forces and public opinion. We do have a duty, however, to speak the truth. There is a good FEPC manual put out in New York but it's hard to get people here to read it.

Statement on Civil Rights

Dr. Mitchell: I believe this would be a mighty good time to get you people to read this proposed statement that Mr. Fleming and I have drawn up and see whether it meets with general approval.

After discussion and amendment, Mr. Williams suggested that this statement be released to the press immediately as a recommendation coming from the Executive Committee.

Upon motion,

1. IT WAS UNANIMOUSLY VOTED that the statement as presented, with three minor changes, be released at once to the press, setting a definite release date, as the Executive Committee's recommendation on the SRC's stand with regard to the Civil Rights Program.

Dr. Hancock: I would like to see more done to win the press over to our program.

Mr. Williams: We have several newspaper men on our Board of Directors. If we could get them to be the medium of carrying the story to the other newspaper men that might be a good approach.

Mr. Fleming: We would prepare a condensed copy for general release. The whole thing would be for information, of course, but the shorter one for general use. My thought would be publishing it first, then you would have it printed from as an official statement of position, whereas if you issue it as a news release, it is more temporary and less substantial sort of thing.

Dr. Clement: Why canIt we do both? We could make recommendations to the annual meeting that we made a statement on this current civil rights controversy and excerpt certain things so that it becomes news-worthy. In the meantime, go ahead and run it in New South as the full and complete statement of the Executive Committee. But we must make it clear that it is a statement from the Executive Committee only, the full membership to be informed on it at the November 10th meeting.

FINANCE REPORT

Mrs. McKoy distributed a prepared statement showing comparative income and expenditures for 1947 and 1948, with estimates for 1949. So far this year, our income has amounted to $38,849.30 and we expect to receive a possible $3,100.00 more from various sources, making a total of $41,949.30. But we shall need for this year an estimated minimum of $51,179.41 so that this year's operations will give a deficit of approximately $8,000. In addition to this, we have been obliged to absorb last year's deficit of slightly more than $5,000 out of our income for this year, so that our total deficit at year's end will be around $13,000.

Dr. Mitchell pointed out that we spent $57,000 in 1947, whereas only $50,000 was needed to carry us in 1948, and only $45,430 in 1949, if the staff were further cut. With the accumulated deficit of $13,000 at the end of the year, however, plus an estimated deficit of $10,500 in operating funds for 1949, we would have a total deficit at the end of next year of $23,000, whereas we actually have in hand for next year, only the $25,000 advanced us by the Julius Rosenwald Fund. The total income in sight for next year is only $34,900 due to the expiration of the General Education Board's five year grant. We really do not have the money on which to operate next year's program. We must raise some money by March of next year, or go out of business.

Recess for Lunch

Afternoon Session

Change in Time Schedule of Board Meetings

Dr. Mitchell recommended to the Committee that a chnage be made in our practice of having the main meeting of the Board of Directors the day before the membership meeting, with a brief, hurried meeting following the membership meeting. This would be done by shifting the short meeting to an hour preceding the membership meeting, and having the full-dress meeting on the day following. The short

meeting, he said, could be used to hear the report of the Executive Committee, and would be followed by the membership meeting, where Staff reports and plans would be discussed in full anyway. The full-dress meeting on the day following could then be a deliberate, policy-making meeting, in which the newly elected Board would have full authority to speak and act.

Dr. Clement approved the idea, but wondered if newly elected Board members would be prepared to stay over until the next day, if they had not had previous warning. Some discussion followed as to what our policy should be in this case. Dr. Clement recalled that in the past we have elected members but have held their names until we could get their consent. It was brought out that we could, under the new plan, get their consent ahead of time. Dr. Mitchell pointed out that Board members get their travel, and that we expect them to give us two full days a year.

Agenda for the Annual Meeting

At this point the Committee considered the draft of the Agenda for the annual meeting which had been prepared by the staff. Followed discussion of various items included in the Agenda.

Dr. Mitchell reminded them of a previous suggestion that inactive members on the Board ought really not be reelected to the Board, and after discussion it was agreed that members who had never attended a meeting should be dropped, unless there were some weighty reasons for retaining them.

Awards

The advantages and disadvantages in the matter of giving awards was disdussed. Recognizing that an award could be dramatized, and that good publicity might be gained from it, all agreed that it could sometimes become embarrassing, or a liability.

Dr. Clement felt that the award serves two purposes, 1) to dramatize the work going on in the South, and 2) to call attention to the contribution of the individual. Dr. Charles Johnson urged that the Council make awards from time to

time only as they seem warranted, with decision by the Executive Committee as to who should receive them.

On a motion by Dr. Clement, seconded by Dr. Hancock:

2. IT WAS VOTED that an Awards Committee be appointed whose work will be subject to final approval by the Executive Committee, the Awards Committee to decide two things: (1) Whether or not it is "wise" to set up this system of awards; and (2)if so, whether or not they have any recommendations for Awards this year, with both of these actions to be subject to a referendum vote by the Executive Committee.

Standing Committee of the Board

There was some discussion of this directive of the Board to set up standing committees of the Board based on talents within the Board, to work with the staff, and the Committee recognized that the staff does already informally avail itself of the services and advice of the Board members in their respective fields when need arises. It was decided, however, that in view of the southwide nature of membership of the Board, the difficulties of meeting together, and the limited income of SRC, that it was not possible to carry forward the directive at this time.

OTHER BUSINESS

Dr. Charles Johnson brought up for information and further consideration the program of the Radio Announcers Guild, which he said was a Tolerance Program with spot announcements - twenty-five million impressions a month. He thought that since it is a group of men who want to do something, they might be useful.

On the question of making recommendations to the Board as to the confirmation of Dr. Mitchell and Mrs. McKoy for the coming year, on motion of Dr. Clement, seconded by Mr. Tydings.

3. IT WAS VOTED unanimously that Dr. Mitchell and Mrs. McKoy be continued in their present capacities on the staff of SRC.

(Dr. Mitchell and Mrs. McKoy had retired during this discussion)

Dr. Mitchell told the Committee of the helpfulness of the Advisory Committee, and the three members, all present, expressed their pleasure in their connection with the Council.

Dr. Charles Johnson referred to the World Conference of Churches, just closed at Amsterdam. Recalling the strong position taken by the Churches on the whole issue of human rights, he suggested that the Council might well help the churches by preparing material and giving expert assistance in the dissemination of these principles.

At the request of Dr. Mitchell, and on motion duly seconded,

4. IT WAS VOTED to retain Mr. Campbell as auditor for the Council.

There was some discussion as to how the sale of pamphlets might be increased, as there is about $8,000 worth on hand. Dr. Charles Johnson suggested youth groups, such as University, YW and YM, fraternity, sorority, and religious groups who might be interested in it. Mrs. McKoy explained that many YWCA groups do get them, and pointed out that sales of pamphlets for the first six months of 1948 were almost exactly double the amount for the first six months of 1947. Mr. Tydings wondered if a committee of the Board, to push the sale of pamphlets, would be helpful, and she agreed that it would be. Dr. Mitchell added that we have just sent out a plea to the entire membership to help get them sold. Miss Wilkins suggested that some good person might be found who would finance putting our pamphlets in all the libraries in each State, and Dr. Clement told of the newly appointed Negro Supervisor of State Libraries, who would be interested in getting it into the Negro Libraries, - a Miss Clarice Jones, State Library Supervisor for Georgia, c/o of Atlanta University.

At this point Mr. Williams raised the question as to the members of the Executive Committee to be named in the news release. It was finally agreed that a copy of the statement on civil rights would be sent the absentees by air-mail and that they be asked to advise whether they wanted their names included in the news release.

Mr. Williams told of the proposed resignation of P. B. Young, because of his ill-health, but stated that he had talked to him recently and asked him to stay on and be a member of the Board, even if he felt he could not go on as an

officer.

Dr. Mitchell asked the Committee's attention concerning the staff. He said there was only one serious economy that he knew to make. We employ one full-time field secretary and one half-time secretary. Mrs. Tilly is the half-time secretary and costs us $1800 a year and practically nothing in travel. Mrs. Henry Havens of Jacksonville is the full-time secretary, at $3,000 plus travel, all of which costs us close to $5,000 a year. Mrs. Havens has done all the foot work on organizing the Tennessee Division - also goes into Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, - and of course, lately Tennessee. She has done a great work. We certainly ought to have Mrs. Havens, but with the budget as tight as it is, he said that he did not know what else to propose, except that in 1949, we propose a per diem arrangement with her. He said that he most sorrowfully recommended it, that he had not yet consulted her, and that he would of course, propose continuing her as at present through this calendar year.

Miss Wilkins felt that cutting a little here and there was not going to help much, - that it would cripple, and that perhaps it was better to go as we are and pray we get some money...Dr. Mitchell doubted that she would accept the per diem arrangement. The Committee then decided not to do anything in the matter at the present time.

Dr. Mitchell then brought up the question of raising dues, - single memberships from $2.00 to $3.00, and joint memberships, now $3.00 to $5.00. Subscription rate to New South might also be raised from $1.00 to $1.50. We would continue our arrangements with State Divisions, dividing 50-50 on dues as before. The Council now spends $1.90 on each member, for which it now gets $1.00, but would get $1.50 under the new arrangement. He doubted that we could get $5.00 memberships (single), - that we might lose, but on $3.00 he thought people still would pay.

Mr. Tydings wondered why the States could not take it on the basis of

$1.00, so the Council would not have that loss. Dr. Mitchell said some felt the States should have the $1.00 and the Council $2.00, since we collect the dues, handle the record keeping, and send them the money so that they have no cost, but that he, feeling that at the moment the future of the Council office is not brilliantly clear, and that if the work was to continue, the States would have a lot of hard work to do, that anything we could do to build up the State organizations is a good step.

Something like 45% of our members pay more than $2.00, but that is voluntary. We have a lot of people on such low incomes - little folks - I like to hold the dues low for them. We do suggest New South at $1.50.

Upon motion by Mr. Williams, and duly seconded

5. IT WAS VOTED that changes as suggested by the staff be recommended to the Board of Directors.

Dr. Mitchell then brought up the matter of the Fellows, stating that he could forsee about twenty-four good, new Fellows. He proposed that the Staff, in consultation with members of the Atlanta Advisory Committee, have ready for the Executive Committee Meeting on November 10th, a list of twenty-five new Fellows.

Upon motion by Dr. Hancock, duly seconded

6. IT WAS VOTED that this list be prepared and presented for confirmation on the 10th of November.

Dr. Charles Johnson made a suggestion concerning the Fellows, with the idea of throwing them into the current of the program. He though there might be a possibility of duplicate use of resources if there were a meeting in Nashville, say the third week of the Institute, where special facilities would be provided and could be used by them. It would be a Regional Institute for Fellows, and have no connection with the Institute other than to use the facilities. They would meet a lot of interesting people from the South, as well as other parts of the country. On the matter of cost, he thought that might make enough appeal to get

some assistance from the people at the Foundations. Dr. Mitchell cordially approved this suggestion.

Mr. Williams also reported on the National Advisory Committee, saying that his committee had had a meeting in Richmond, and that just as they were about to invite prospective members to take a place on such a Board they had run into the matter of retrenchments and a reduced budget, and that after consulting with Virginius Dabney, he had decided to hold it in abeyance until we could again be functioning in the black. He thought it might be embarrassing to ask persons in high places to come to a meeting, and then say that we are in the red.

Mr. Smith, then reminded that he was located in Washington, and said that he had told Dr. Mitchell that he hoped he would avail himself of any services for the Council that he could take care of up there. "I will be working on a delineation of those sub-regions," he said, " and some sort of definition of the problems of each and the over-alll programs of each, and tie them into a program for the whole region. I could not do this without the assistance which will be available from a number of people in Washington. There are eighteen or twenty up there now, highly skilled technicians in several fields which have a bearing on these problems.

Dr. Mitchell then brought the problem of immediate financing for the Council to the attention of the present, reminding the Committee that we have less than $200 in the bank, a payroll to meet the following day, and our only funds the $25,000 given us in advance for 1949 by the Julius Rosenwald Fund when it ceased operations. Does our Executive Committee oppose our dipping into these funds, he asked?

Mr. Williams said he would be in favor of it if Dr. Alexander approved, but Dr. Charles Johnson felt that it was a sort of trust, and that every effort should be made to avoid it. Dr. Guy Johnson wondered if it would be better to get a loan, and repay it later. Mrs. McKoy pointed out that a loan would cost us

5%, whereas the money at present was drawing only 3%. Dr. Hancock thought it would be better to lose the 2%, and Dr. Charles Johnson agreed.

Msgr. McNamara suggested that we borrow enough to last until the annual meeting, and then get authorization from the membership, and Miss Wilkins added that we might meanwhile get a report from some Foundation which would give encouragement.

On being moved and seconded,

7. IT WAS THEN VOTED that the Executive Director be authorized to borrow a sum not to exceed $5,000 at this time, against the security of the funds on deposit against next year's needs.

Miss Wilkins then proposed that they have a discussion of the South-wide situation of SRC in relation to the new group set up by the Governors.

Dr. Mitchell said that this was John Ivey's group, set up to make a thorough examination of the entire school system in the South, and that he understood that the Southern Governors are putting up one-third, GEB one-third, and Carnegie the other third. Miss Wilkins said she understood they would have $100,000 for the year, and would seek to coordinate the activity of the various Southern States on education. Dr. Charles Johnson said he had understood from GEB that it would be an educational study which would include white and Negro institutions to find out areas of concentration on special subject materials, etc., and that it might be that they would suggest the requirement of Regional institutions. He said it might be that our organization would be interested observers and critics of their activities, - that the group had been formed out of this issue of regionalism prompted by the Governors.

There being no other business the meeting adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

Agnes McKoy, Secretary

Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting

Southern Regional Council

November 10, 1948

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council met in the Conference Room of the Administration Building, Atlanta University, Wednesday Morning Novmeber 10, 1948. The following members were present:

Dr. Guy B. Johnson — Dr. George S. Mitchell

Msgr. T. James McNamara — Dr. Harold L. Trigg

Mr. Paul D. Williams

Others present were Mrs. Havens, Mrs. McKoy and Mr. Charles Smith.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Mr. Paul Williams, in the absence of the Chairman, Dr. Charles S. Johnson.

Dr. Harold L. Trigg led the invocation.

Dr. Guy Johnson moved that the minutes of the previous meeting, which had been mailed to the members of the Committee, be accepted without reading.

Motion Passed.

APPROVAL OF LIST OF PROPOSED FELLOWS

Dr. Mitchell commented on the proposal of the Advisory Committee. He said that one or two States still had not sent in recommendations. The Advisory Committee had gone with care into each one. The newly recommended Fellows would bring the list up to 97 Fellows. Dr. Mitchell, for the Advisory Committee, recommended the names for approval.

On motion of Dr. Guy Johnson, the list of recommended Fellows was approved and referred to the Board of Directors for election. Motion Passed.

CALENDAR OF MEETINGS FOR 1949

Dr. Mitchell suggested that the dates for executive committee meetings in 1948 had proved satisfactory. A motion was then made to have similar dates in 1949.

Motion Passed to accept recommended dates.

Mr. Williams read a report that had been prepared for Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Chairman of the Committee, who was not present.

Dr. Guy Johnson moved acceptance of the report. Motion Passed.

Dr. Guy Johnson suggested that the minutes of the meeting be short, and contain the actions, with very brief summaries of discussion.

Adjournment

Respectfully submitted,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Meeting of the Board of Directors

November 10, 1949

The Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council convened at 9:30 A.M. the morning of November 10th in the Board Room of Atlanta University. Mr. Paul Williams who presided called on the Rev. Mr. Schaeffer to lead the invocation.

Roll call by Mrs. McKoy indicated the following members were present:

Dr. Rufus E. Clement	Mrs. W. H. Ratliff
Mr. J. M. Dabbs	Dr. R. L. Russell
Mr. R. P. Daniel	Rev. H. Brent Schaeffer
Mr. Leonard Haas	Mrs. E. H. Spearman
Dr. Gordon B. Hancock	Miss Florence Sytz
Dr. Luther P. Jackson	Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Dr. Guy B. Johnson	Mr. J. M. Tydings
Monseignor T. James McNamara	Mr. Paul D. Williams
Dr. George S. Mitchell	Mr. Marion A. Wright
Mr. C. H. Parrish	Mrs. Warren Zeuch

On motion,

1. IT WAS VOTED to dispense with reading of minutes of the meeting of November 12, 1947, since they had been mailed out.

In the absence of Dr. Charles Johnson, Chairman of the Executive Committee, Mr. Paul Williams read the report of the activities of the Executive Committee for the past year. (See copy of the report attached)

On motion of Mr. Haas,

2. IT WAS VOTED that the report of the Committee be accepted and filed.

On motion of Mrs. Zeuch,

3. IT WAS VOTED unanimously to retain the services of the executive director, secretary-treasurer, and counsel for the coming year.

On the return to the room of these officers, who had withdrawn while the above vote was being taken, Mr. Williams expressed the appreciation of the Board for their services. Mr. Fleming was also commended for the excellent quality of New South under his editorship.

The Board then adjourned to attend the annual meeting of the membership.

Respectfully submitted,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Annual Meeting

November 10, 1948

The annual meeting of members of the Southern Regional Council was held in the Exhibition Room of the Atlanta University Library at 10:30 A.M., November 10, 1948. The meeting was calledto order by the President, Mr. Paul D. Williams, who asked Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, President of Morehouse College, to give the invocation.

The following members were present:

Mrs. B. A. Alderman
Mrs. Cecil A. Alexander, Jr.
Mrs. Mattie H. Bates
Mrs. A. D. Beittel
Dr. A. D. Beittel
J. S. Blanton
Dr. J. Max Bond
Rev. L. A. Brown
Father Austin Chachere
Loretto Chappell
Walter R. Chivers
President Felton G. Clark
Dr. Rufus E. Clement
A. E. Cox
R. E. Cureton
J. M. Dabbs
Mrs. J. M. Dabbs
Richard P. Daniel
Mrs. John A. Davis
Rev. W. V. Dixon
I. G. Domas
G. T. Dowdy
Freeman Drake, Sr.
Mrs. F. P. Drake
Merl R. Eppse
Harold C. Fleming
Opal Futch
Margaret Garrity
Johnny Glustrom
President William H. Gray, Jr.
Leonard Haas
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Mrs. Henry Havens
Jacob R. Henderson
Mrs. Herman Heyman
Dr. Mozell C. Hill
Mrs. J. Winston Huff
Dr. Luther P. Jackson
Nelson C. Jackson
Cyrus M. Johnson
Mrs. Guy B. Johnson
Calvin Kytle
John Long
Ross Long
Lucy R. Mason
Mrs. Vivian C. Mason
James W. May
President Benjamin E. Mays
Frank McCallister
Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Marjorie McLacklan
Msgr. T. James McNamara
Alex Miller
Gretchin Miller
Mrs. George S. Mitchell
Dr. George S. Mitchell
Dr. S. M. Nabrit
Miss Mae Neptune
Rev. Vincent O'Connell
Philip S. Ogilvie
Charles H. Parrish
President E. C. Peters
Glenn W. Rainey
Mrs. W. H. Ratliff
Rosalind F. Rieman
President Florence M. Read
G. D. Rogers
R. L. Russell
Charles D. Saxon
H. Brent Schaeffer
Philip E. Shulhafer
Mrs. A. W. Simkins
Dr. Anna Greene Smith
C. Emerson Smith
Charles M. Smith
Mrs. Eugene H. Spearman

Dr. Lula B. Stewart
George M. Stephens
Florence Sytz
President Harold Trigg
J. Mansir Tydings
Paul R. Webber, Jr.
Paul D. Williams
Josephine Wilkins
M. A. Wright
Mrs. Warren T. Zeuch

After welcoming the members, the suggested agenda was approved.

Mr. Williams read proposed rules and they were adopted.

The Reading of the minutes was dispensed with.

The president announced membership of its several standing committee, as elected at the Board meeting of November 11, 1947:

Resolutions Committee: Mr. Marion Wright, Chairman
Dr. Forrester Washington
Mrs. W. H. Borders

Nominating Committee of the Membership for Nominations to the Board of Directors@

Dr. William H. Gray, Jr. Chairman
Mrs. Herman Hayman
Mr. J. S. Blanton
Miss Mildred Mell
Mrs. Hortense Young

Nominating Committee of the Board of Directors for Nominations to the Executive Committee

Dr. Forrester Washington, Chairman
Mrs. Alice Spearman
Miss Josephine Wilkins, alternate for
Mr. John Griffin

ACTIVITY REPORTS

Miss Margaret Price, in reporting on membership, gave the figure at the time of the previous annual meeting as 2,276, and the present figure as 2,717. In the intervening period we added 563 new members and dropped 122, mainly for non-payment of dues. State figures snowed South Carolina with the largest growth -- 88 new members.

Mr. Harold Fleming, director of information, reviewed briefly the publications work for the past year. In addition to listing publications, he reported a steady growth in receipts from sales of literature. For the calendar year 1947, such receipts amounted to $1,658. Through October, 1948, the sum was in excess of

$2,000, and is expected to reach, by the end of the year, $2,300.

At this point Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President of Atlanta University and host to the meeting, welcomed the group to the campus.

President Williams introduced Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason, of Norfolk, Virginia who spoke briefly on the meeting on civil and human rights in Atlanta in February for which the Council and Atlanta University and various other organizations had served as sponsors. Mrs. Mason, after describing the meeting, said that it had sharpened the focus of all present and had led many to take steps toward implementing the recommendations made by the President's Committee on Human Rights.

Mrs. Jane Simpson, of the Council staff, in a review of information sent in to the Council about follow-up meetings on the February civil rights meeting, listed 61 as reported to us, with a total attendance of 3,204. Some 22 of the gatherings were directly traceable to the influence of the February meeting.

Mr. R. E. Cureton reported for the newly established Advisory Committee which had been meeting weekly since late September. Its members are: Mr. Nelson Jackson, Southern Field Director of the National Urban League; Dr. S. M. Nabrit, Dean of Atlanta University; and Mr. R. E. Cureton, head of the Department of Social Sciences, Washington High School, Atlanta. In meetings of the Committee the program and policies of the Council on specific issues have been presented for open discussion. Among matters considered by the Committee were (1) development of a more effective membership campaign, (2) suggested list of people in strategic localities in the South who may be of aid to the Council, (3) means of providing a wider distribution of the Council's publications, (4) opportunity for serving as liason leaders between the Council and the Negro racial group, (5) reporting instances of progress in racial understanding of suggesting courses of action in instances where the service of the Council might prove effective, and (6) acting as a sounding board for the Council's articles prior to publication.

The executive director introduced the various staff members who were present, and included mention of Dr. Luther Jackson, as author of a recent Council pamphlet.

OTHER BUSINESS

Mr. George Stephens of Asheville, North Carolina, spoke briefly on the value to the South of the statement of the executive committee on September 15, 1948 regarding civil rights.

On motion of Mr. Charles Smith,

1. IT WAS UNANIMOUSLY VOTED to adopt this statement as representing policy of the Council in the matter of civil rights.

FINANCE REPORT

Mrs. Agnes McKoy, secretary - treasurer, presented the following report on income and expenditures for 1948 and outlined the budget for 1949.

(see attachments)

On motion of Miss Lucy Mason

2. IT WAS VOTED that the treasurer's report be accepted as read.

In the course of discussion on the budget, Mr. Paul Williams read a letter from former president Howard W. Odum, offering to be one of a hundred persons contributing $250 to the Council, or one of fifty persons contributing $500.

PROPOSED PROGRAM FOR 1949

Mr. Charles Smith described briefly the work being done toward drawing up a plan for the South, section by section. As one just down from Washington, he also gave some discussion of the post-election situation as it might affect legislation of interest to the South.

The executive director proposed to the meeting plans for the coming year. After describing the various materials expected to be available in the general field of Southwide planning, he recommended that the Council put effort into the review of this material and the development of a general plan for southern progress,

taking account of the various sections, or subregions, of the South. It was proposed that the developing of this be entrusted mainly to Mr. Charles M. Smith.

Another recommendation was the use in smaller communities over the South of the newly developed manual called "The Home Town Self-Survey", prepared by Miss Margaret Price and others on the staff. Self-surveys modeled on the Jacksonville, Florida, example were described as useful for the particular results they would accomplish in towns employing them, and as helpful in getting local action in accordance with the broader plan for the South as a whole.

As a preview of parts of the expected long-range plan, the following were listed as goals toward which the South should now vigorously strive:

1. Expanded manufacturing and commercial industry.
2. Conversion of agriculture to livestock and specialty crops.
3. Doubling our expenditure and investment on schools.
4. Urban and rural slum clearance.
5. A recoubled effort in health.
6. Revision of state and federal social security laws.

The executive director urged upon the membership special effort in the coming year toward equalization of school facilities.

It was proposed that publication of New South be continued, that the Council's effort toward getting greater respect for civil rights be increased, and that pamphlets be issued on the subjects of fair treatment of race in the news, the Negro in our Economy, and of farm land leasing systems. Other topics mentioned as possibilities were a roundup of official pronouncements by official church bodies on matters relating to civil rights, race, and economic welfare, and a review and appraisal of state and local civil service systems.

Another publication recommended was one on the movement for fair employment practices. Still another was on vocational education.

The executive director's report closed with a plea that the membership take responsibility for finding ways to pay for the work it wished done by the Council staff.

The meeting then heard briefly from Mr. Gordon Hancock, Mr. Luther P. Jackson, and others.

ADJOURNMENT FOR LUNCH 1:00

After the luncheon interval the meeting resumed, with discussion of the 1949 program led by Vice-President Trigg.

PROGRAM FOR 1949

Participants in this discussion were Mr. Charles Smith, Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason, Miss Florence Sytz, Dr. Luther Jackson, Dr. C. H. Parrish, Mr. Cyrus M. Johnson, Mr. J. M. Tydings, Mr. R. P. Daniel, Mr. J. M. Dabbs, Miss Lucy Mason, Mr. G. D. Rogers, Dr. Gordon Hancock, Dr. Benjamin Mays, Father O'Connor, Dr. J. Max Bond, and Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton.

3. IT WAS VOTED to accept the drawing up of a basic sub-regional plan for the South.

4. IT WAS ALSO VOTED TO continue NEW SOUTH, and the issuance of pamphlets on race in the news, farm tenancy, legislation affecting tenure of farm land, vocation education, and on the movement for fair employment practices.

5. IT WAS ALSO VOTED to adopt as part of the program the furtherance of the home town self-survey.

In the course of the discussion Mrs. Alice Spearman urged that the Council take steps toward getting its work nearer to the grass roots.

President Benjamin Mays of Morehouse College expressed the view that it would be desirable for the Council to consider closely and issue a publication on the place of legislation in changing the mores, saying that the great majority of persons described as "liberal Southerners" had taken the position that legislation had little or no proper place in this field.

On motion of Dr. Benjamin Mays:

6. IT WAS VOTED the Council issue a publication during 1949 on the place of legislation in improving social conditions.

Miss Josephine Wilkins suggested that in view of the limited funds of the Council, it might be fruitful to treat the matter in an issue of New South.

ACTION ON 1949 BUDGET

Mr. Paul Williams, as chairman of the finance committee, reported at length for his committee, composed of:

Dr. Charles Johnson	Dr. W. W. Alexander
Mr. J. M. Tydings	Mr. John Wheeler

After a review of efforts thus far to raise money for 1948 and 1949, Mr. Williams emphasized the importance of the Council's finding from now on the greater part of its funds within the South.

In subsequent discussion on the 1949 budget which was led by Mr. J. M. Tydings, the members touched upon various means of raising funds. The discussion turned mainly to building membership in the South and getting larger voluntary contributions from a much higher proportion of those members.

On motion of Mr. Clement

7. IT WAS VOTED to direct the staff to "request the 2700 members of the Council, in the light of the present financial status of the Council, to be personally and individually responsible for a minimum of $10 to the Council's support during 1949."

It was made plain, however, that membership in the Council would in no way be contingent upon such contribution.

On motion of Mr. Tydings

8. IT WAS VOTED to accept a total budget for 1949 of $75,000, contingent upon the raising of that sum; and in the absence of that sum approval of the submitted budget of $49,930.

Several present expressed themselves as wishing to add their names to the list of those willing to contribute with Dr. Odum $250. These included: Leonard Haas, J. M. Tydings, Charles Smith, George Mitchell, and Paul Williams. It was

suggested that others wishing to make contributions themselves should communicate this fact to the secretary-treasurer.

On motion of Monsignor McNamara,

9. IT WAS VOTED that the chair appoint a committee called the "Special Gifts Committee", to explore Dr. Odum's proposal for two categories of gifts, of $250 and $500, and to canvas the whole field of possible large individual contributions.

It was made clear in the discussion that this committee was to be in addition to the finance committee.

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

Mr. Marion Wright, as chairman of the resolutions committee, reported an exceptionally harmonious one-man meeting of his committee, to which no resolutions were submitted. As a consequence, no resolutions were offered.

ELECTION OF BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Mr. William H. Gray, as chairman of the nominating committee of membership, recommended for reelection to the Board for terms beginning in 1948 and expiring in 1952, the following:

Dr. Will W. Alexander
Mr. Virginius Dabney
Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Dr. N. C. Newbold
Dr. Howard W. Odum
Dr. B. E. Mays
Mr. Edgar Stern
Mr. O. D. Duncan
Miss Florence Sytz

The following members of the Board whose terms expired in 1948 were listed as retiring from the Board,

Rev. Charles Clingman
Dr. H. D. Goode
Mr. Z. A. Looby
Dr. R. L. Russell
Mr. Thomas S. Staples
Mrs. A. M. P. Strong
Dr. J. G. Stuart

To take the place of the 1948 retiring members and fill two vacancies, the committee nominated the following:

Mr. Mark Ethridge
Mr. E. W. Palmer
Dr. Arthur Raper
Judge J. Waties Waring
Mr. Jonathan Daniels
Dr. Harry V. Richardson
President Clyde Milner
Mr. Edward R. Stettinius
Barry Bingham

The Committee, having the duty of submitting nominations for the unexpired terms of three Board members, namely, Rabbi Stanley Brav and Dr. Ira Reid, no longer in the region, and Mr. Ernest Delpit, who has been unable to continue affiliation with the Council, nominated for these three memberships, with terms expiring as indicated:

Mr. Herbert M. Davidson, Newspaper publisher - 1950
Daytona Beach, Florida

Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr. - 1949
Atlanta, Georgia

P. B. Young, Sr. - 1949
Norfolk, Virginia

The report was submitted on behalf of the entire committee and was adopted by the meeting, with direction that the persons so nominated be elected to the Board.

Mr. Dowdy of Tuskegee suggested that we consider a junior membership or some device for "carrying this message" into the schools.

Paul Williams suggested that priority of 1949 publications would be left in the hands of the executive committee.

On motion by Mr. Marion Wright

10. IT WAS VOTED that we follow the recommendation of the Executive Committee and Board in raising dues from $2 to $3, with joint membership at $4, and of raising subscription to New South from $1.00 to $1.50 a year.

Mr. Scull's postcard about having next SRC meeting in another locality was read and referred to Executive Committee for action.

Miss Sytz spoke of the need of "some bulletin, if only mimeographed,....with 'know-how' illustrations....case studies of accomplishments that would help us with our citizens' groups."

After brief introductions of Mr. Benjamin Bullock, who is preparing for the Council a publication on land tenure laws in the South, and Mr. Calvin Kytle, who

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Re the Board

ct 27 We treated the minutes 324, as having this effect

Bishop wright went into Delpit's vacancy, which puts Bishop Wright in the class of 1949

P. B. Young Sr went into Brav's vacancy, class of 49

Davidson went to a general vacancy in 1948 class, and so was set over into class of 1952.

(This is what needs fixing).

is working on race in the news, the meeting adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary

TREASURER'S REPORT TO THE ANNUAL MEETING

November 10, 1948

BALANCE SHEET

Assets:		
First National Bank	$ 164.06	
Citizens' Trust Company	82.94	
Savings Banks	25,000.00	
Unpaid pledges on 1947 Deficit	362.00	
Accounts Receivable	230.10	
Miscellaneous	6.00	
Total Assets		$25,845.10
Liabilities and Deficit		
Accounts Payable	$ 2,094.10	
Notes Payable	5,000.00	
Due State Divisions	118.21	
Withholding Taxes	211.90	
Julius Rosenwald Fund Advance	25,000.00	
Total Liabilities		$32,424.21
Deficit		6,579.11-
Total Liabilities and Deficit		$25,845.10

Statement of Surplus and Deficit

Deficit 1/1/1948	$ 5,483.76
Expense to date	41,478.48
	$46,962.24
Income to date	40,409.13
	$ 6,554.11
Church contributions charged to 1947 deficit on books and shown on this statement	25.00
Deficit 10/31/48	$ 6,579.11

RELATIVE INCOME FOR 1947 AND 1948, AND ESTIMATES FOR 1949

SOURCE	1947	Budget 1948	Jan-Oct.31, 1948	Remainder 1948	Total 1948	Budget 1949
Julius Rosenwald Fund	$35,000.00	$25,000.	$25,000.00	$	$25,000.00	$25,000.
General Education Board	8,000.00	6,000.	6,000.00		6,000.00	
Ashby Jones Fund	100.00	100.	200.00		200.00	100.
Phelps-Stokes Fund	200.00		500.00		500.00	
Edgar Stern Family Fund	250.00		250.00		250.00	250.
Methodist Church Approp.						
Women's Div. Christian Svce.	1,000.00	1,000.	1,000.00		1,000.00	1,000.
Div. of Home Mis. & Ch. Extn.	1,000.00	1,000.	1,000.00		1,000.00	1,000.
General Board of Education	500.00	250.		250.00	250.00	250.
Kentucky Conference, W.S.C.S.			25.00		25.00	25.
Mississippi Conf. W.S.C.S.	25.00	25.	25.00		25.00	25.
North Carolina Conf. W.S.C.S.	25.00	25.	25.00		25.00	25.
Tennessee Conference W.S.C.S.	25.00	25.	25.00		25.00	25.
Holston Conference W.S.C.S.	25.00	25.		25.00	25.00	25.
Louisville Conference W.S.C.S.			25.00 1/		25.00	25.
Presbyterian Church Approp.						
Woman's Aux. Synod of Va.		25.		25.00	25.00	25.
Committee on Woman's Work	50.00	25.	25.00		25.00	25.
Episcopal Church Approp.						
Province of Sewanee	100.00	100.	100.00		100.00	100.
Woman's Auxiliary of Fla.			25.00		25.00	25.
Woman's Auxiliary				25.00	25.00	25.
St. Mary's of the Highlands			5.00		5.00	
Catholic Cttee of the South	150.00	150.		150.00	150.00	150.
Ester Morton Smith Estate	1,390.74					
Mrs. Eastman			50.00		50.00	
Membership Dues	2,601.20	4,000.	1,861.50	644.50	2,506.00	3,000.
Membership Contribution	839.15	1,800.	796.70	25.80	822.50	850.
Misc. Literature	1,658.19	1,600.	1,998.94	300.00	2,298.94	2,000.
New South	845.00	600.	518.00	82.00	600.00	750.
Royalties - Misc. Income	13.55		63.87		63.87	
Non-Member Contributions	15.00					
Spec. Contri. for 1947 Deficit	1,768.00 2/					
Dr. Mitchell Lectures	339.00					
St. Mark's Church	10.00					
Interest Incomes				200.00	200.00	200.
Conf. on Civil Rights 3/			889.12		889.12	
	$55,929.83	$41,750.	$40.408.13	1,727.30	42,135.43	$34,900.

1/ This is part of Mr. Tydings pledge to 1947 Deficit, and is included in Special Contribution to Deficit

2/ Includes pledges of $685.00

3/ Not really income, but a receipt - included because of its interest as an item; it is balanced off in exact amount under "expense".

RELATIVE EXPENDITURES 1947 AND 1947 AND 1948, AND ESTIMATES FOR 1949

	1947	Budget 1948	Year to Date	Needed	Total 1948	1949 Budget
Salaries	$38,306.33	$36,515.	$26,355.49	$5,116.68	$31,472.17	$30,400.00
Travel	6,458.72	6,000.	3,684.79	1,820.84	5,505.63	5,700.00
Telephone and Telegraph	836.04	700.	786.28	150.00	936.28	840.00
Rent	1,630.00	1,560.	1,080.67	260.00	1,340.67	1,560.00
Office Supplies & Expense	1,139.34	750.	1,246.68	200.00	1,446.68	1,065.00
Special Research	546.30		527.85	47.46	575.31	500.00
Local Advisory Committee			200.00	200.00	400.00	1,560.00
Conf. on Human Rights	327.32		889.12		889.12	
Postage and Express	1,502.50	1,800.	1,368.32	250.00	1,618.32	1,600.00
Printing - Literature	6,436.64	6,000.	4,531.18	485.78	5,016.96	6,000.00
Books and Subscriptions	276.54	225.	361.07	59.10	420.17	400.00
Exchange Bank Charges	9.42		6.22	4.61	10.83	10.00
Clipping Service	148.96	75.	77.73	37.90	115.63	120.00
Miscellaneous Expense	389.62		58.84	2.00	60.84	50.00
Interest	66.50		105.84		105.84	
Office Equipment & Repairs	653.30					
Insurance			48.40		48.40	
Audit			150.00		150.00	
	$58,727.53	$53,625.	$41,478.48	$8,634.37	$50,112.85	$49.930.00

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

TREASURER'S REPORT OF ESTIMATED IMCOME AND EXPENSES

January 1, 1948 to December 31, 1948

Deficit 1/1/48 (for 1947)	$ 5,483.76	
Expense to date	41,478.48	
Estimated expense, November and December		
Total Expense		$ 55,596.61
Income to date	$40,409.13	
Estimated, November and December	1,727.30	$ 42,136.43
Apparent deficit for 1948		$ 13,459.18

Estimated Income for 1949

Foundations	$25,350.00	
Church Groups	2,750.00	
Dues and Contributions	3,850.00	
Miscellaneous Literature	2,000.00	
New South	750.00	
Miscellaneous	200.00	$34,900.00
Estimated Expense for 1949		$49,930.00
Apparent Deficit for 1949		$15,030.00

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Minutes of

Meeting of the Board of Directors

November 11, 1948

The Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council was called to order at 9:30 A.M. Thursday, November 11, 1948, in the Board Room of Atlanta University, with Mr. Paul Williams, president, in the chair.

The invocation was offered by the Reverend Mr. H. Brent Schaeffer.

The roll call revealed the following members present:

Dr. Will W. Alexander	Mr. Alfred Mynders
Dr. A. D. Beittel	Mr. N. C. Newbold
Dr. Rufus E. Clement	Mr. C. H. Parrish
Mr. James M. Dabbs	Mrs. W. H. Ratliff
Mr. R. P. Daniel	Mr. G. D. Rogers
Mr. Leonard Haas	Dr. R. L. Russell
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton	Rev. H. Brent Schaeffer
Dr. Gordon B. Hancock	Mrs. E. H. Spearman
Mr. Jacob R. Henderson	Miss Florence Sytz
Dr. Luther P. Jackson	Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Mr. Maynard Jackson	Mr. J. M. Tydings
Dr. Guy B. Johnson	Dr. Forrester B. Washington
Mr. Benjamin E. Mays	Miss Josephine Wilkins
Monseignor T. James McNamara	Mr. Paul D. Williams
Dr. George S. Mitchell	Mr. Marion A. Wright

Mr. Williams announced that the minutes of the meeting of the proceeding day would be sent to all members of the Board.

He commented briefly on the good spirit of the membership meeting of the day before. Although our financial position is insecure, he saw many reasons to believe that the membership of the Council and its friends would be able to provide the sums necessary.

In a discussion of finances prior to the presentation of the Treasurer's report, various members offered advice as to obtaining contributions from religious denominations in the South. Dr. Hancock and President Mays spoke particularly of approaches which might be made to the National Baptist Convention. In the course of the discussion, Mr. G. D. Rogers pledged for the Methodist Church of Florida $100.00, and Mr. Daniel pledged for the Episcopalians of Florida $100.00.

Miss Florence Sytz and Dr. Forrester Washington suggested methods of promotion with social workers. Mrs. Ratliff, Mrs. Spearman, and Mrs. Hamilton led in a discussion of ways of increasing membership, in the course of doing so Mrs. Spearman emphasized that many of the Council's existing members have not participated enough to cause them to care a great deal.

Dr. Hancock, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Daniel, Dr. Guy Johnson, Mr. Charles Smith, Mrs. Spearman, and others urged and made suggestions for the production of a new leaflet describing the Council and its work.

On motion of Dr. Hancock,

1. IT WAS VOTED that a small folder be prepared of suitable size to acquaint people with what we have done and what we propose to do, and that the president be empowered to appoint a committee to assist in preparation of this leaflet.

Dr. Benjamin Mays then urged that those present make known what they could do toward meeting next year's budget. Miss Sytz recalled her undertaking of the day before to raise $100.00, and Dr. Alexander undertook to give $100.00 for the 1948 budget and $100.00 for 1949. Monsignor McNamara urged that in the interest of avoiding embarassment, persons present who cared to make contributions or pledges to the work of the Council should leave a note privately with one of the officers of the Council, and this was agreed upon. Mr. Dabbs, However, undertook to be responsible to see that the South Carolina Division contributed as much as $200.00; Mr. Leonard Haas pledged $250.00 to the 1949 budget, and Mr. G. D. Rogers pledged $250.00 for the Florida Division, stating that he hoped to get more. Miss Florence Sytz made suggestions as to further assistance from presently independent interracial committees.

Mr. Charles Smith stated that on his return to Arlington he would call an informal mmeting of Council members in that area, along with people who ought to be members, in order to describe the Atlanta meeting to them, and he would hope to raise at least $250.00. Mr. Tydings spoke of the possibility of getting contributed printing.

Dr. Hancock urged first priority for the promotional leaflet, and this was undertaken by the staff.

At this point Mrs. Agnes McKoy, secretary-treasurer, presented her report. (Same as to Annual Meeting pages 325-328)

It was shown that the Council would be short approximately $8,000 for 1948, and guidance was asked as to whether to borrow or to draw upon the 1949 Foundation funds. It was agreed that funds held for next year should be used in preference to borrowing. Dr. Felton Clark, Mr. Rogers, and Dr. Mays, made detailed suggestions as to sources of funds from the business community in the South. At the request of members of the staff, the Board members present from each state listed public-spirited citizens with access to means whom the Council might usefully approach. In the course of the discussion, it was emphasized that one of the Council's strengths is that it offers a solution from within the South for the difficulties of the region.

Mrs. Spearman suggested that too much of the Council8s program depends on the administrative staff, and that we should have various committees that really function. She would like to see regional committees working on finance and program and working with church people. Such activities would keep from putting the entire burden on the administrative staff. It was suggested that key people from the different denominations would help in work of this kind.

Dr. Guy Johnson suggested that various public figures in the South, newspaper editors in particular, might care to comment publicly on the completion of the fifth year of the Council's work.

Dr. Forrester Washington urged that the Council bring in a broader representation of labor.

Dr. Washington, as chairman of the standing nominating committee of the Board, presented a report, renominating the present members of the executive committee: Dr. Clement, Mr. Gillman, Mr. Haas, Monsignor McNamara, Miss Josephine Wilkins, Dr. Guy Johnson: and as officers: for president, Mr. Paul Williams; for vice presidents: Mr. John Wheeler (replacement of Mr. P. B. Young), Mr. Carter Wesley, Dr. Guy Johnson, and Dr. Harold Trigg.

On motion, and seconding,

2. IT WAS VOTED that the report of the nominating committee be accepted, and the members of the executive committee and officers declared elected.

Dr. Washington then recommended for the nominating committee that, during the coming year, the administrative officers give careful attention to the potential members of the executive and the potential roster of officers of the Council, having in mind also availability and willingness to accept office. He said that the nominating committee felt that it would be to the interest of the Council if through the year the administrative officers would keep the nominating committee alerted. Finally, he reported the feeling of the nominating committee that the appropriate section of the by-laws be changed to show phraseology that would establish terms of office for the executive committee. They should be elected, the nominating committee thought, on some rotating plan, so that some members could be changed each year. These suggestions were made in order to make it possible for persons with new points of view to be added without embarrassing the nominating committee. As matters are at present, it was said, there is no way of bringing in new persons except as replacement for resignation.

Miss Sytz made the point that unless the rotation were automatic, the original difficulty would still be present. Miss Wilkins recalled that as the executive committee is a creature of the Board, the terms of office of the executive committee were necessarily limited by their terms as members of the Board. She further pointed out that as the executive committee meets seldom, it needed people on it who were well informed.

On motion of Mr. Rogers, it was ordered that the suggestion of the nominating committee be referred to the executive committee, with power to act.

Mrs. Spearman stated that she would like to refer to the executive committee the matter of appointment of committees to serve on the regional level. Mr. Williams received authority for the executive committee, in consultation with the staff, to select committees for 1949.

The Board then proceeded to confirmation of Fellows. The Staff reported that the new Fellows recommended by the advisory committee would increase the number of Fellows from 42 to 94. On motion of Mr. Marion Wright, the list of recommended Fellows was approved. (See attached list)

Mr. Williams read telegrams of acceptance of membership on the Board from Mr. E. W. Palmer and on behalf of Mr. Arthur Raper.

Mrs. Havens pleaded earnestly for the establishment of a supporting Foundation for the work of the Southern Regional Council, and perhaps other related causes, and suggested that the members of the Board discuss and develop the idea as might be possible. Dr. Alexander pointed to the analogy of the Indianapolis Foundation.

Dr. Newbold reported on his action as an individual in proposing that President Truman point a continuing advisory committee on civil rights.

Whereupon, at 12:50 P.M., upon motion, the meeting adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Secretary

NOMINATIONS FOR FELLOWS RECOMMENDED FOR ACCEPTANCE BY ADVISORY COMMITTEE

November 1, 1948

ALABAMA

Present Fellows:
Dr. T. Ruth Brett (N) Tuskegee Institute
Dr. Charles Gomillion (N)
Need 5 additional Fellows
Recommendations:
Mr. Donal Rasmussen (W)
Dept. of Sociology
Talladega College

Mr. Frederick A. Curtis (N)
1630 Fourth Ave., N.
c/o Atty. Arthur D. Shores
Birmingham, Ala.

Mrs. E. B. Goode (N)
20 South Hallett St.
Mobile, Ala. (recommended by Nelson Jackson: formerly YWCA connected: now has unofficial interest only)

The Rev. Mr. Dan. C. Whitsett (W)
First Methodist Church
Sylacauga, Alabama (recommended by Margaret Price: good guy, much interested in interracial work)

ARKANSAS
Present Fellows:
Dr. John R. Ewbank (W)
Philander Smith College
Little Rock

Mr. Paul Clanton (W)
Pine Bluff, Ark
Need of 5 additional Fellows
Recommendations:
Dr. Stephen A. Stephan
Dept. of Sociology
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville (recommended by Ira DeA. Reid; know to GSM)

Miss Sadie Thompson (N)
Urban League 914 Gaines St.
Little Rock (Nelson Jackson; approved by Ewbank)

Dr. Hugh Brown (N)
State Tuberculosis Sanitorium
Box 123, Alexander, Ark.
(Advisory Committee; approved by Ewbank)

ARKANSAS (continued)

Mr. Edward D. Robinson (N)
Hope, Ark.(teacher, graduate Philander Smith, recommended by Ewbank)

Miss Theresa Hoover (N)
1016 State, Little Rock (assistant to mission worker of united churches in Little Rock; Ewbank)

GEORGIA

Present Fellows:
Dr. Mozell C. Hill (N)
Atlanta University

Mr. Howard G. McClain (W)
Mercer University

Dr. John W. Morgan (W)
G. S. C. W.

Mr. Robert A. Thompson (N)
Atlanta Urban League

Mr. Leo J. Zuber (W)
2794 N. Decatur Rd., Decatur

Need 2 additional Fellows (or 3, with GSM's recommendation of Alexander Miller)
Recommendations:
Mr. Wilson Hubert (N)
Chatham County Health Dept.
Savannah, Ga. (Advisory Committee--wide-awake, young, good guy)

Mr. William Brown (N)
State Teachers College, Savannah, Ga.
(Advisory Committee--started out in science several years ago; now doing doctorate in in social science; charge of teacher-training at Savannah)

Mr. Alexander Miller
Anti-Defamation League
Atlanta, Ga. (GSM)

LOUISIANA

Present Fellow:
Father Jerome A. Drolet (W) New Orleans
Have had no replies from La. Committee. Advisory Committee has recommended the following:

LOUISIANA (Continued)

James Faustina (N) formerly with U.S. Public Health Service; now Health Education Specialist for New Orleans and Parish

Dr. George Snowden (N)
Dillard University
New Orleans, La.

Dr. Clarence Glick (W)
Tulane University
New Orleans

_____Lenoir (N)
Head of Law School at Southern

MISSISSIPPI

Present Fellows:
Dr. Dorothy Dickins (W)
State College

Dr. W. H. Pipes (N)
Alcorn A. & M. College

Dr. V. L. Wharton (W)
Millsaps College
Jackson

Need 5 additional Fellows
Recommendations:
Miss Arenia Mallory
Lexington Pres. Saints Industrial and Literary School (Dr. Schaeffer)

Mr. Arthur Williams (N)
Vice President_____Insurance Co.
Jackson (Advisory Com. Schaeffer says recently president of Chamber of Commerce; active in Negro YMCA

Dr. P. W. Hill (N) Dentist
Clarksdale, Miss. (Schaeffer)

Msgr. Joseph Brunini (W)
Box 2130, Jackson (Schaeffer

OKLAHOMA

No Fellows in Okla. at present. Need 3
Recommendations:
Mrs. Cenoria Johnson (N)
300 N. Styles Urban League
Oklahoma City
(Advisory Com. approved by O.D. Duncan)

Mr. James Stewart (N)
Mgr. Gas Co. Local Office
Oklahoma City Head of AVC
(Advisory Committee)

OKLAHOMA (Continued)

Dr. Paul B. Foreman (W)
Dept. of Sociology
Oklahoma A. & M. College
Stillwater, Okla. (Advisory Com; approved by Duncan)

SOUTH CAROLINA

Present Fellows:
Dr. Rosamonde Wimberly Boyd (W)
Spartanburg

Mr. Howard J. Kester (W)
Penn School, St. Helene Island

Mr. John Avery Potts (N)
Charleston

Need 5 or 6 additional Fellows
Recommendations:
Rev. Mr. Robert Ayers (W)
1301 Hampton Street
Columbia, S. C. (Baptist Student Secretary; chmn. youth section of S.C. Division; Dabbs and Spearman)

Dr. Clarence E. Morgan (N)
2029 Taylor St. Columbia
(M.D.: recommended by Advisory Com)

Dr. Dorothy Jones (W)
Dept. of Sociology
Winthrop College, Rock Hill (GSM and Advisory Com)

Miss Cassandra Maxwell (N)
Orange burgs, S. C. (Librarian of new law school; active in S.C. Div.Dabbs and Advisory Com.)

Mr. Paul Webber
State College, Orangeburg (Advisory Com. & Dabbs)

Mr. Arthur Clement (N)
N. C. Mutual Insurance Co. Charleston
(Advisory Com)

TEXAS

Present Fellows:
Mr. Jackson Valtair
5201 Belmont St., Dallas, Texas

Mr. Ernest E. Beal (N)
Bishop College

Need 8 additional Fellows (or 9)

Recommendations

VIRGINIA

Present Fellows:

W. Barton Beatty, Jr. (N)
Hampton Institute

Mrs. Nathan Lanter (W)
South Boston

Roscoe E. Lewis (N)
Hampton Institute

Harry W. Roberts (N)
Virginia State College

Need 3 additional Fellows

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

March 16, 1949

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council met on March 16, 1949, in the Atlanta offices of the Council. President Paul Williams called the meeting to order at 10:15 A.M. Dr. Gordon Hancock led in prayer. The roll call by the secretary-treasurer revealed the following members present:

Dr. Rufus E. Clement	Msgr. T. James McNamara
Mr. Leonard Haas	Dr. George S. Mitchell
Dr. Gordon B. Hancock	Miss Josephine Wilkins
Dr. Guy B. Johnson	Mr. Paul D. Williams

Members not able to attend the meeting were:

Mr. Charles Gillman	Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Dr. Charles. S. Johnson	Mr. Carter Wesley

Mr. John H. Wheeler

Staff members present were: Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Mrs. Henry Havens, Field Secretaries of the Council, Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Director of Information, and Mrs. Agnes McKoy, Secretary-Treasurer of the Council.

On the motion of Mr. Haas and seconded by Dr. Hancock,

1. IT WAS VOTED that the reading of the minutes be dispensed with.

STAFF REPORTS

General Report--Dr. Mitchell

The executive director reported briefly on the period since the membership meeting, describing mainly the series of state fund-raising meetings in North Carolina, Virginia, Kentucky, Alabama and Florida. A South Carolina meeting will occur late this month, he reported, and he expected that meetings of this kind would be held altogether in a total of ten of the southern states. Eleven persons have paid or pledged a sum of $250 in meeting Dr. Odum's conditional offer.

Mr. Clement and others made useful suggestions about money-raising contacts.

In reporting membership, the secretary-treasurer circulated a chart showing membership increases from 1944 (800 members) to February, 1949 (3,045 members).

PAGE (s) MISSING

Under finances, she exhibited the audit report for 1948 and provided a financial statement as of March 15, showing total receipts, January 1 through March 15, 1949, at $22,806.09, and total disbursements for the same period as $18,500.93. Of this latter figure for disbursements, a total of $7,652.02 was shown to have been paid in 1949 in meeting the deficit incurred in 1948, giving a net disbursement for the account of true 1949 expenses of $10,848.91.

The Council's current salary scale was submitted, and the budget for 1949, as approved at the membership meeting, November, 1948 was again set out.

A list of pledges and contributions in the interval since the membership meeting was also circulated to members of the Committee.

The Committee noted with appreciation the contribution of $500 from the Marion R. Ascoli Fund toward matching a contingent allocation from an anonymous Southern foundation donor of $3,000 for the home town self-survey project. They were especially appreciative of the donations of more than $2500 which had been secured from Catholic sources through the efforts of Mr. Paul Williams.

Other possibilities for substantial gifts were explored. Discussion followed as to the possibility of engaging professional fund-raising services looking toward a sustaining fund for the Council. Upon motion,

2. IT WAS VOTED "that the Executive Director be asked to explore the possibilities of obtaining professional fund-raising assistance, and be given discretionary power to enter into such a contractual arrangement."

The Executive Committee was apprised of arrangements made for approval of the minutes of the 1948 membership meeting by a committee (selected by the staff) consisting of:

Dr. J. Max Bond
Mrs. Grace Hamilton
Miss Rosalind Rieman

Publications

Under publications, Mr. Harold Fleming, director of information, supplied the committee with the more recent publications of the Council and described the circulation achieved. Mr. Hancock requested figures on the total circulation which, though not for the moment available, were promised. (As supplied later to Mr. Hancock:

the Council estimates that it distributed about 76,000 paid-for pieces of literature in 1948. Of these, some 46,000 went to members and subscribers, in the form of New South and special pamphlets. The remaining 30,000 were sold, and brought in $2395.00. In addition, some thousands of pieces of free literature were distributed).

Mention was made that the Council expects by March 25 a draft of the pamphlet on race in the news and, by the late spring, a draft of the pamphlet on farm tenure. The Executive Director reviewed plans for a pamphlet on fair employment practices and a pamphlet or article on the effect of law upon custom. Suggestions as to these two forthcoming publications were made by Mr. Clement, Monsignor McNamara, Mr. Hancock, and others.

Field Reports

Mrs. Tilly gave a stirring review of her work on behalf of civil rights and told of many instances in which it had been possible to interest church and other groups in the field of civil rights generally, as well as in the other programs of the Council. She mentioned plans now under way for the Council to sponsor jointly with other groups a Southwide meeting on human rights and world order, with particular reference to the South's duty in this regard. The meeting is tentatively planned for the late spring.

Mrs. Havens described her recent trip in Tennessee, reaching Chattanooga, Knoxville, Murfreesboro, Oak Ridge, and other towns, and reported on the progress of the Tennessee Division. She described briefly the work under way in Florida, and efforts being made to obtain wider formal linkage with and support from church groups.

Both Mrs. Havens and Mrs. Tilly pointed to the opportunity for further cultivation of the Council's program among young people. It was agreed that the Council should do more in this direction, and that it would be particularly helpful if a full-time staff person could be afforded for work of this kind.

Business Deriving From Previous Meetings

The director was asked to query Mrs. Alice Spearman for further detail on her proposal that the Council establish regional committees for working with church women

and others.

Mr. Paul Williams told of the committee of three that he had appointed to help with the new promotional pamphlet of the Council. They are Miss Wilkins, Dr. Gordon Hancock, and Dr. Guy Johnson.

The Executive Committee discussed Dr. Forrester Washington's suggestion that we link ourselves more closely to labor groups. It was agreed that this was desirable, and that a positive program should be worked out to accomplish it.

The Committee reviewed the recommendations of Dr. Forrester Washington, chairman of the nominating committee of the Board to nominate members of the Executive Committee, as made at the November 11 meeting of the Board. Upon motion of Dr. Hancock, seconded by Dr. Clement,

3. IT WAS VOTED that in order to assist a closer relationship by this nominating committee with the personnel and work of the Executive Committee, the following steps should be taken:

   1. Minutes of each meeting of the Executive Committee should be supplied to members of the nominating committee.

   2. A review of the attendance record of members of the Executive Committee should be supplied to members of the nominating committee, and the Executive Committee should now formally recommend to the nominating committee that members of the Executive Committee who are absent from all meetings of the Executive Committee in the interval between annual meetings shall be dropped.

   3. Biographical information about members of the Executive Committee should be so supplied.

LUNCHEON INTERVAL

Rotation in Location of Annual Meeting

After discussion of the proposal of Mr. David Scull of Virginia for rotating the annual meetings over the South, it was agreed by motion that "we go on record as favoring holding the annual meetings over the South; that we ask the director to explore the possibility of host cities this fall, and that discretionary powers be left in his hands."

Priority of Publications

As the last meeting of the Board had left to the Executive Committe the duty of deciding on priority of publications for 1949, the Committee approved the tentative plan of the Director to get out at an early date the publication on race in the news and

as soon as available, the material on fair employment practices, and the influence of legislation upon conduct, and when the manuscript on land tenure comes in, that it be issued. The Committee then expressed itself strongly in favor of having the Council take advantage of the fact that it now has a rounded offering of printed material about the South, by concentrating effort on getting greatly increases sales of the existing stocks of pamphlet material.

Miss Wilkins emphasized the desirability of a series of brief, attractive advertising circulars about the available pamphlets.

Amendment of the By-laws

The Executive Committee approved language supplied by the staff accomplishing in detail amendment of the by-laws pursuant to the action of the membership meeting of November 10, 1948. The language thus inserted was as follows:

ARTICLE IV, Section 1. Election and Powers.....
....."Heads of State Divisions of the Southern Regional Council shall be ex-officio members of the Board of Directors."

Amended to read:

Heads of State Divisions of the Southern Regional Council, and chairman of affiliated State interracial committees and/or statewide interracial committees working closely with the Council, shall be ex-officio members of the Board of Directors.

In discussion of this amendment, the General Counsel, Mr. Haas, gave it as his opinion that the by-laws of the Council give ex-officio members of the Board both voice and vote.

Board membership

The Executive Director informed the Committee of his action in withholding notification to one of the Board members dropped by action of the membership meeting of November 10, 1948 (Dr. Ira BeA. Reid) on the ground of non-residence. The Executive Director pointed to other instances of Board members no longer physically resident in the region, as to whose continued membership on the Board no question had been raised, and pointed also to several past instances in which persons removing from the Council area had resigned. In this confusion of precedent, the Executive Director had withheld notice from Dr. Reid. Upon motion by Mr. Hancock,

4. IT WAS VOTED that the Committee recommend to the Board for decision of the next annual meeting of the Council, amendment of the by-laws to read that "all members of the Board of Directors should reside in the Southern states."

The Committee of intent did not undertake to define exactly what would constitute residence in the Council area.

The Executive Director disclosed the considerations which had led him to withhold for the time being invitation to Judge J. Waties Waring to become a member of the Board. The Committee directed that the invitation be now issued.

Nominating Committees

Inasmuch as the last meeting of the Board had placed upon the Executive Committee the responsibility of naming two nominating committees, on the motion of Dr. Hancock, seconded by Mr. Haas,

5. IT WAS VOTED that the following slate be appointed:

1. Nominating Committee of the Board, for Replacements on the Executive Committee:

   Dr. Forrester Washington, Chairman
   Mr. John Griffin
   Miss Florence Sytz
   Dr. Luther Jackson
   Mrs. Alice Spearman

2. Nominating Committee of the Membership, for Replacement on the Board of Directors:

   Mrs. Hortense Young, Chairman
   Mrs. Ruby Lyells
   Mr. Cyrus Johnson
   Mrs. C. B. Smith
   Dr. E. B. Perry, FELLOW

NEW BUSINESS

Executive Committee Meetings

On the recommendation of the staff, the Committee resolved to resume quarterly meetings. This will make the remaining 1949 meetings come in June and September.

On motion,

6. IT WAS VOTED to empower the staff to charge expenses thus far incurred specifically for the home town survey, against the $500 appropriation from the Marion R. Ascoli Fund, which was given for that purpose.

After discussion, and with the advice of the General Council, it was decided that the charter of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which expires July 1, 1949, need not be renewed, inasmuch as the Commission owns no property, and the Council is its full and lawful successor.

The Committee was shown correspondence from the publisher of a defunct magazine

called The New South expressing his approval of the aims of the Southern Regional Council, but notifying us that his firm held the copyright on the name of our magazine, and stating that he might at a later date wish to revive his own use of his title.

Upon motion,

7. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee authorize the staff to take appropriate steps with the Federal Government to protect the Southern Regional Council's interest in the name New South.

This concluded the business of the meeting.

Respectfully submitted,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting

June 8, 1949

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council met in the offices of the Council at ten o'clock on the morning of June 8, 1949. The following members were present:

Mr. Leonard Haas	Mr. Carter Wesley
Dr. Charles Johnson	Mr. J. H. Wheeler
Dr. Guy Johnson	Miss Josephine Wilkins
Dr. George Mitchell	Mr. Paul Williams

Also in attendance were Mrs. Agnes McKoy, secretary-treasurer; Mr. Harold Fleming, director of information; and Mrs. M. E. Tilly and Mrs. Henry Havens, field secretaries.

The invocation was offered by Dr. Guy Johnson. Dr. Charles Johnson, Chairman, presided:

The Minutes of the last meeting, as sent out by mail, were approved.

Miss Wilkins and others expressed the view that a provision should be made by the Board to enable members of the Executive Committee, to appoint a proxy to attend and vote on their behalf. The staff agreed to submit proposals for the consideration of the Board and/or the annual meeting which would accomplish this.

Dr. Mitchell reported briefly on events since the last meeting. The affiliation of the New Orleans Committee on Race Relations with the Council was described and hope was expressed that a Louisiana Division could be organized during the remainder of the year. He spoke of the growing usefulness of New South and its increasing power to get news and editorial comment. The growing clerical burden of the Council's office was also mentioned.

Mr. Wesley pointed out the opportunity for further increase in Council membership and activity in the Texas-Oklahoma-Louisiana-Arkansas area. He suggested that at some date in the fall a meeting be held in that area for persons drawn from the four states, and offered to provide a list of suitable individuals to be invited. Dallas

was suggested as an appropriate place for such a meeting. Mrs. Havens spoke of the fact that she would be traveling to California and returning in mid-October and could break the return journey in order to assist with a meeting of that kind.

Dr. Mitchell reviewed the fund-raising efforts.

Mrs. McKoy, secretary-treasurer, then reviewed the financial position of the Council. Her report showed expenditures thus far in the calendar year to have exceeded pro rata budget estimates by approximately $1,700. In balancing funds on hand plus income certain for the remainder of the year, it was shown that the Council is threatened with a shortfall in funds of approximately $20,000 for the year 1949. Included in this sum are cumulative deficits for the year 1946 through 1948 which must be absorbed each year. Mr. Williams, Dr. Mitchell, and others expressed the hope that money raising plans would materialize sufficiently to enable the greater part of all of this over-all deficit to be met.

Dr. Mitchell also reported on the status of his arrangements with Mr. Thomas F. Byrd. Mr. Byrd is agreeable to undertaking a major fund-raising campaign for the Council, beginning early in September and running a maximum of seven months. He would be engaged on a monthly salary plus expenses. If, after three or four months, he is of the opinion that the campaign would not have outstanding success, the arrangement would be terminated at that stage. Dr. Charles Johnson and other members of the Committee expressed the view that the money should be sought, not as endowment, but with the intent of spending it entirely in the course of a ten-year period.

In discussing ways of expanding the community self-survey project, Mr. Wheeler suggested that it might be possible to get city councils to sponsor such surveys and to assist with local funds. He undertook to explore this possibility in Durham.

After the luncheon interval, members of the Committee present severally pledged themselves to raise or be responsible for payment to the Council of the sums stated below:

Paul Williams	$1,500
Leonard Haas	500
Carter Wesley	500
Guy Johnson	500
Charles Johnson	200

*Josephine Wilkins	200
J. H. Wheeler	500

Upon motion, the Committee authorized the Executive Director to borrow such sums as may be needed, not to exceed $5,000, and for such time as may be necessary. The Committee intended that in the event a sum is borrowed, the security offered would be letters from the several members present indicating their responsibility for the sums mentioned above. It was indicated that the period contemplated for the loan was from mid-summer to September 30.

Discussion showed that the prospective loan was authorized, and was not ordered, it being the intent of the Executive Committee not to borrow in the event that pending money-raising activities were successful and the Council were in funds without the assistance of a loan. At the same time, the hope was expressed that members pledging sums would, in any case, raise or provide the sums for which responsibility was assumed.

The letter of the Executive Committee to Governors of the Southern States concerning appointments of Negroes to policy-making Boards was discussed briefly and the previous approval of all members of the Executive Committee noted.

Mr. Fleming exhibited to the Committee samples of recent favorable newspaper and magazine comment on the Council's activities.

Dr. Mitchell and Mrs. Tilley described plans for the Southwide meeting of church women to be sponsored by the Council and other organizations, to take place in Atlanta September 8 and 9. The Council is holding a reserve fund toward the expenses of this meeting.

Members of the Executive Committee were asked to have in mind the need for wise replacements to the probable eight or nine vacancies of the Board, beginning in November.

Mrs. Havens announced that she will have opportunity to describe the Council's work to the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, to be held in San Francisco the Last of September .

*In Miss Wilkins' case, the liability was definitely contingent upon inability of the Council to meet its prospective note without payment from her.

The Committee agreed upon August 31, 1949, as the date for the next meeting of the Executive Committee, and then adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

Agnes McKoy, Secretary

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting

August 31, 1949

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council met August 31 at ten a.m. with Mr. Paul Williams in the chair. After an invocation by Dr. Gordon Hancock, a roll call showed the following members present:

Mr. Charles Gillman
Mr. Leonard Haas
Dr. Gordon Hancock
Monsignor McNamara
Dr. George S. Mitchell
Miss Josephine Wilkins
Mr. Paul Williams

Also in attendance were Mrs. Agnes McKoy, secretary-treasurer; Mr. Harold Fleming, director of information; and Mrs. M. E. Tilly, field secretary.

Since copies of Minutes of the last meeting had been sent out by mail, it was agreed to dispense with the reading of these.

Dr. Mitchell reported an active summer of travel and speech making on behalf of the Council, increasing activity of the office in servicing newspaper people and journalists, various efforts made to raise funds, and consideration given by staff members to increasing tension over issues of segregation.

Mr. Fleming reported on recent numbers of New South, our various services to the press, and exhibited proofs of the forthcoming pamphlet Race in the News.

Mr. John Harmon, who had been employed during the summer months to assist with the planning project, showed the Committee several of the maps on which he had been at work.

It being brought to the attention of the Committee that, through oversight at the time of the last annual meeting no resolutions committee had been appointed, the Committee undertook to recommend to the Board and to the membership meeting Mr. Marion Wright (as Chairman) Mrs. Grace Hamilton and Miss Josephine Wilkins as a resolutions committee.

An agenda for the coming annual meeting was discussed and accepted.

The Executive Director raised the question of omission in the by-laws of any specific rule as to whether persons resident outside the South could serve on the Board. Upon motion, the Committee voted to recommend amendment to the by-laws by which Section 1,

Article 4 should be changed from "The business and property of the corporation except as otherwise provided by statute, by the charter, or by these by-laws, shall be conducted and managed by its Board of Directors, whose actions shall be subject to revision and alteration at the next meeting of the members, provided that no rights of third persons shall be affected by any such revision or alteration." to read, "The business and property of the corporation except as otherwise provided by statute, by the charter, or by these by-laws, shall be conducted and managed by its Board of Directors, all members of which shall be actually residing within the Council area, whose actions shall be subject to revision and alteration at the next meeting of the members, provided that no rights of third persons shall be affected by any such revision or alteration."

Dr. Mitchell laid before the Committee, as information, a letter of resignation from the Council, received from Mr. Aubrey Williams, a member of the Board, which based his withdrawal on the feeling that the Council does not go far enough, and stating that any failure to take a position on segregation is to condone a jamor evil under which all these other problems grow. Members of the Committee suggested that the minutes be searched to determine whether the Council had ever formally adopted the language of the Durham Statement, and that Mr. Williams be written to with a reminder of the language of the Durham Statement and mention of the important place it has held as a policy document for the Council.

Consideration was given to the possibility of holding the 1949 Annual Meeting elsewhere than in Atlanta, but it was agreed that in the present financial weakness of the Council, this would be an unwise year in which to venture elsewhere. It was the predominant view of the Committee that the Annual Meeting should, as soon as is practicable, be held in a city in the upper South or in the Southwest.

The Committee discussed the possibility of having an occasion with a featured speaker during the open evening after the membership meeting, but concluded that for this year, in view of the meeting of that kind arranged for September 8, 1949, it would not be attempted in November.

The Council reviewed the arrangements made at its meeting March 16, 1949 for providing vacancies on the Executive Committee and concluded that the rule then given of an automatic vacancy in the case of persons who failed to be present at all during a year at meetings of the Committee, would work a hardship on the Nominating Committee, in that the Nominating Committee could not know of a vacancy or vacancies until after the meeting of the Executive Committee on the day of the membership meeting. In the course of the discussion it was suggested that the general counsel, Mr. Leonard Haas, should, in all logic, be made an ex-officio member of the Committee, so that his advice could be immediately available, and he would not be lost to the Committee through rotation in his Board membership. Upon motion, it was agreed that the Committee would request of the Board that this change be made.

The Committee reviewed and discussed the meetings planned for September 8 and 9, in which a southwide gathering of church women would be encouraged to work locally for better law enforcement.

The afternoon session was given to finances. The reports follow:

The Executive Director reported that notwithstanding formal request for pledge letters to the several members of the Committee who had in the June meeting made pledges to the Council, the following only had returned pledge letters:

Mr. Leonard Haas Miss Josephine Wilkins Mr. Guy Johnson
(Mrs. J. H. Wheeler had notified his willingness to send the letter.)

As the staff had not felt that this was sufficient security on which to raise a loan, no effort had been made to borrow. An anonymous gift of $2,500, from a New York donor (used to complete the matching sum of $3,000 need to obtain payment to the Council of $3,000 from an anonymous Southern foundation) plus earlier payment of a thousand dollars contributed from the Methodist Woman's Division of Christian Service (ordinarily paid to us in the Spring) had enabled the Council to tide through the summer.

The Executive Director reviewed the situation with regard to Mr. Byrd, who is being asked to work for the Council, beginning in mid-September, on fund-raising. The Executive Director was authorized to reach whatever arrangement might be feasible with Mr. Byrd, it being hoped that the engagement could be made in terms of a monthly salary, payment of

which would be deferred for some months, travel expenses to be met currently.

The Committee, after thoroughly canvassing the various possibilities for further fund raising, on motion:

IT WAS VOTED "That resources earmarked for home town self-survey for 1950, totalling three thousand dollars be now drawn upon to cover pressing immediate expenses of keeping the Council going.

"That it is declared by the Committee that this amount is a prior responsibility of the Council for fulfilling the project for which it was given or otherwise for return to the donar.

"That unless the sum of four thousand dollars additional money is in hand or in sight on September 20 to cover the expenses of the Council until the date of the Annual Meeting, the Council staff and its operations will, on one month's notice after September 20, be reduced to a skeleton crew.

"That if the funds are available for September 20, such partial reduction will not be entered upon, but the decision be then left to the Annual Membership Meeting in November."

At the suggestion of Dr. Gordon Hancock, the Committee directed that a wire be sent in its name to the National Baptist Convention requesting a donation of five thousand dollars.

Whereafter, the meeting adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

Agnes McKoy, Secretary

Statement of Income and Expense

January 1, 1949 to August 29, 1949

Income: 1/

Julius Rosenwald Fund	$15,000.00
Edgar Stern Family Fund	500.00
Marion R. Ascoli Fund	500.00 2/
Phelps Stokes Fund	250.00
Ashby Jones Goodwill Fund	25.00
His eminence Cardinal Stritch	1,000.00
Catholic Missionary Union	1,500.00
Episcopal Church Appropriation	25.00
Methodist Church Appropriation	1,810.00 2/
Anonymous Donar (New York)	2,500.00
Campaign Donations (during 1949)	5,758.50
Sale of Literature	1,479.90
Membership Dues	1,417.75
Sale of Office Equipment	300.00
New South subscriptions	207.20
Honoraria and Royalties	139.12
Interest Earned	75.00
	$32,487.47

1/ Excluded money returned to State Divisions.

2/ For Home Town Self-Survey

Statement of Income and Expenses

January 1, 1949 to August 29, 1949

Expenditures: 1/

Salaries	$20,697.53
Printing of New South and Pamphlets	3,189.12
Travel	3,185.53
Rent	1,140.00
Postage	970.34
Office Supplies and Repairs	611.86
Telephone and Telegraph	439.64
Advisory Committee Honoraria	430.00
Printing of Stationery, etc	306.58
Office Equipment	200.00
Books and Subscriptions	191.00
Audit	125.00
Press Clippings	108.00
Miscellaneous	55.69
Insurance	41.44
Interest	20.00
Payments (in full) on 1948 Bills	2,156.72
Total Expenditures	$33,868.45

1/ Includes accounts payable.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting

November 8, 1949

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council convened November 8, 1949 at 9:20 A.M., in the Board room of Atlanta University, with the following members present:

Dr. Gordon Hancock
Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Dr. George Mitchell
Mr. Paul D. Williams

After the invocation by Dr. Hancock, and action to dispense with the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting, the acting chairman, Mr. Williams, read, on behalf of the chairman of the Executive Committee the following report to the Board:

Report of Executive Committee November 8, 1949

The Executive Committee has met four times since the last annual membership meeting. These occasions were March 16, June 8, August 31, 1949, and this morning.

As particular items of business it:

Arranged the preparation of the new promotional pamphlet, "What Kind of South Do You Want?"

Provided a rule under which automatic vacancies in the Executive Committee might be expected to develop.

Discussed but regretfully rejected for this year the desirability of holding annual meetings of the membership in some other city than Atlanta. The Committee has expressed a desire that as soon as possible such meetings be held in the upper South and in the Southwest.

Early in the year limited the Council's publication program, and requested that emphasis be put on selling the existing stock, rather than printing additional pamphlets.

Arranged for production of a brief advertising circular about our existing publications. This has lately been printed, and is available under the title, "The Changing South in Print."

Selected standing nominating committees respectively for replacements on the executive committee and replacements on the Board of Directors.

Approved the arrangements under which the New Orleans Committee on Race Relations became a chapter of the Southern Regional Council.

Issued in its own name the policy statement to governors of southern states regarding appointments of Negroes to Boards and Commissions (printed in May-June New South.)

Shaped a proposed amendment to the by-laws making it clear that associate members of the Council (resident outside the South) may not serve as members of the Board.

Needless to say, a very large part of each meeting was given over to finances. The

Executive Committee canvassed every possibility and advised closely with President Williams and Dr. Mitchell in their fund-raising efforts. Various members of the Committee have given freely of their time and influence toward obtaining funds for the Council. Personal contributions from members of the Executive Committee amount to nearly a thousand dollars, and sums raised in their direct solicitation would add another three or four thousand.

The Committee supervised the arrangements under which Mr. Thomas F. Byrd was engaged to conduct a fund-raising effort for the Council. The terms are considered favorable and your committee cordially recommends to the Board and to the members the fullest cooperation with Mr. Byrd toward raising in the near future a sustaining fund of a half million dollars for conduct of the Council's work in the coming ten years.

Charles S. Johnson, Chairman
Executive Committee

The executive director read to the Committee the by-law amendments which had been proposed in the course of earlier meetings of the Executive Committee. Discussion centered on an amendment to make possible the use of written proxies at meetings of the Executive Committee. It was determined to recommend to the Board that the matter be decided by the membership meeting.

After some review of the Council's fund-raising effort, the meeting was adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

Secretary

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Minutes of the Board of Directors Meeting

November 8, 1949

The Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council met at 10:10 A.M., November 8, 1949, in the Board Room of Atlanta University, with Mr. Paul Williams, president, in the chair. The following members were present:

Mrs. Jessie D. Ames
Dr. A. D. Beittel
Dr. Rufus E. Clement
Mrs. James Crate
Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Mr. Herbert Davidson
Mr. John A. Griffin
Mr. Leonard Haas
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Dr. Gordon Hancock
Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
Dr. George S. Mitchell
Dr. C. H. Parrish
Dr. Harry V. Richardson
Mr. G. D. Rogers
Mr. Philip Shulhafer
Mr. J. M. Tydings
Dr. Forrester Washington
Mr. Paul D. Williams
Mr. Marion Wright

Staff members present during the meeting:

Mr. Henry Birnbrey
Mr. Thomas F. Byrd
Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Mrs. Henry Havens

Member of the Advisory Committee present: Dean S. M. Nabrit

The Board dispensed with the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting, and proceededwith the report of the Executive Committee, read by Mr. Paul Williams.

Upon motion, the report of the Executive Committee was approved.

The executive director, by way of report, referred the members of the Board to the printed report in the October, 1949, issue of New South, and added further detail. The burden of his report was that the Council was more active and more useful than ever before, but that it stood in pressing need of financial security.

Discussion led by Mr. Herbert M. Davidson centered upon the recent pamphlet Race in the News, and a variety of helpful suggestions were made as to ways of getting further circulation of the pamphlet and more rapid improvement by the press of the South.

Dr. Rufus E. Clement told of finding abroad this past summer a very widespread knowledge of every interracial disturbance in the southern states.

A good deal of discussion was given to the newly launched program of work with south-

ern church women called "The Fellowship of the Concerned." This was described as an outgrowth of the Southwide meeting of church women held in September, 1949. The executive director explained that the program, while a part of the Council's general effort, was regarded as in considerable degree autonomous. It had thus far found its own funds and had, indeed, reimbursed the Council for the work of its offices on behalf of the program for the church women.

Mrs. Jessie D. Ames expressed concern lest the work with church women become a paper program, urging activity concentrated upon one or two endeavors.

In the absence by reason of illness of Mrs. Agnes McKoy, the executive director read before the Board a balance sheet, a statement of income and expenses, and a statement of cash receipts and disbursements for the calendar year to date.

The executive director then summarized. Anticipated expenses for the remainder of the calendar year were listed as follows: salaries, $3,866; rent, $130; postage, $100; travel $1,300; other $400.

This calculation is made on the basis of reduced staff and operations put into effect October 20, 1949. The financial report revealed a current deficit, as of November 4, of $3,286.40. For the remainder of the year, anticipated additional expenditures are $5,796, offset by clearly expectable revenue of $2,000 in the remainder of the year. Unless new sums are brought in, therefore, the Council will be in debt at the end of the year in the sum of approximately $7,000. Prospective new income disclosed today will reduce this by a thousand to about $6,000.

This indebtedness will presumably be composed in part of unpaid accounts (principally to the printers) and the loan from the executive director in the sum of $1,500, raised by him on a paid-up life insurance policy. In addition to the prospective indebtedness of $6,000, attention was drawn to the obligation assumed by the Executive Committee to have available in 1950 the sum of $3,000 for carrying through its second and final year the home town self-survey project. The Executive Committee, at its meeting on Aug. 31, 1949, in authorizing the disbursement of this sum in 1949, specifically undertook provision of it for 1950 use or return to the donar as a first charge upon the Council.

In reference to the loan from the executive director, upon motion the Board directed

"That the president be authorizedon behalf of the Council to execute a promissory note to Mr. Mitchell in the amount of the loan and bearing interest at six percent."

Various members, including Dr. Clement, Mr. Shulhafer, and Dr. Washington, offered advice and assistance toward finding the funds that would be needed. Mr. Williams reported that on the previous evening he had by long distance telephone conversations procured the sum of $650 toward the Council's needs.

The Chairman introduced to the Board Mr. Thomas F. Byrd, in his capacity as Associate Director in charge of fund-raising. Mr. Byrd reviewed the plans thus far made and urged that success in finding money would only come to the degree in which the members of the Council, and particularly the members of the Board, cooperated with the effort made.

Mr. Byrd listed as the difficulties to be encountered in obtaining substantial sums for the Council the following: (1) the fact that the Council is not widely known, since it has of necessity operated behind the scenes; (2) that there are not enough business men of money and influence on the Board; (3) there is not an adequate list of givers; (4) the timing is wrong--this should have been done two years ago; and (5) the Council does not have a large membership.

Contrariwise, he pointed out these advantages: the organization has done a fine job. Literature has been good, the action program magnificent. Civil rights is "in the air."

In the course of the financial discussions, Mrs. Ames suggested that review be made of the names of persons present at the Richmond-Durham-Atlanta meetings and that they be particularly visited or written to for advice on ways in which the Council could obtain funds.

She also suggested that it might be possible to make the financing of New South a special project which could be underwritten by some selected group of individuals. Further suggestions as to meeting the publication expenses of New South were made by Mr. Marion Wright and Mr. G. D. Rogers.

The Board, upon motion, expressed its intention that in the event fund-raising efforts are successful, the Council would in the future provide direct assistance to the several state divisions.

Dr. Washington called attention the the non-appearance of any special link between the Council's program and the rising international tension on matters of race. He had noted also that the Council has taken no lead in the matter of admissions of Negro students to colleges

and universities in the South. It was his view that the Council should expand its membership, particularly among younger citizens.

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton spoke of the opportunity which the Council had to strengthen the resolve of the white South, in particular, to meet its responsibilities in the present situation.

The Board gave formal approval to the arrangements under which the New Orleans Committee on Race Relations, newly become the New Orleans chapter of the Council, enjoys the return to itself of one-half of the dues of its members, as though the New Orleans chapter were a state division.

The executive director having raised the question of what further issues of New South should be put out and for what length of time the obligation to meet payrolls for existing staff should be continued, the Board upon motion directed that the present staff be given assurance through January 31, 1950, the Executive Committee to meet as early as practicable in January and determine on behalf of the Board what further steps should be taken.

Discussion favored the issuance of a single further November-December New South completing the volume for 1949.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 4:40 P.M.

Respectfully Submitted,

Agnes McKoy, Secretary

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Annual Meeting

The annual membership meeting was held on November 9, 1949, in the Exhibition Room of the Atlanta University Library. President Paul Williams called the meeting to order at 9:30 A.M.

Following the invocation by the Rev. E. H. Harrison and adoption of rules for the meeting, a series of State reports was heard.

The South Carolina and Florida reports were made by Mr. J. M. Dabbs and Mr. G. D. Rogers. As they did not vary greatly from the reports printed in the October, 1949, New South, they are not detailed here.

Kentucky. Mr. J. M. Tydings described the work as that of strategists and coordinators of groups that would otherwise overlap. He spoke of the effectiveness of individual members of the Division in getting desirable legislation. Kentucky was the first Southern university to admit Negroes into its graduate school, and Mr. Tydings thought that the University of Louisville, at the close of the pending court suit, would also open its doors.

Alabama. Mr. W. R. Ragland reported briefly on efforts to improve educational facilities.

Virginia. Rev. Emerson Smith listed the following gains in Virginia: the almost complete equalization of teachers' salaries; the progress toward equal school buildings; the policy of non-segregation in Virginia nurses training institutions; the general high esteem in which the Negro member of the Richmond City Council is held; the obvious growth of the liberal vote in the State as a whole; the appointment of nine Negro election judges and fourteen Negro election clerks; the entirely interracial character of the Virginia Council of Churches; and the now well-established policy of admitting Negroes to graduate study in two theological seminaries in the State.

Texas. Mrs. James S. Crate gave the report for the Texas Commission on

Interracial Cooperation. Members have been active on behalf of a broader franchise, an anti-lynching bill (passed in a modified form), and juvenile courts. Sub-committees have worked on interesting Texans in social welfare and in political and civil rights. The Texas Commission hopes to employ an executive secretary. Monthly meetings of the local membership are being held in Houston, and the San Antonio group is beginning a self-survey, using the Council's materials. Houston has a short-term police school and now has a total of 21 Negro policemen on the force. The report described the Houston Council on Education and Race Relations, composed of seven organizations, including the Texas Interracial Commission. Among their joint activities are several city-wide meetings each year which have had an attendance of a thousand or twelve hundred.

At this point, President Rufus E. Clement made a brief address, welcoming the group to Atlanta University.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, for the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation and for her own work on behalf of the Council as a whole, spoke of the efforts made to unmask the Klan in Georgia and of achievements of local groups of the Georgia Committee. She reviewed the Southwide meeting of church women held in Atlanta and described the developing work of the Fellowship of the Concerned. She said that, with considerable further work, a list could be made of women in every county of the South willing to observe the work of their courts and law enforcement agencies and bring their influence to bear for equal justice and the lessening of racial tensions.

President Williams read the names of Standing Committees, as follows:

Nominating Committee of Membership for Board of Directors

Mrs. Hortense Young, Kentucky, Chairman
Mr. Cyrus Johnson, North Carolina
Mrs. Ruby S. Lyells, Mississippi
Dr. E. B. Perry, Texas
Mrs. C. B. Smith, Tennessee

Nominating Committee of the Board for Executive Committee

Dr. Forrester B. Washington, Chairman
Mr. John A. Griffin
Mrs. Alice Spearman
Mr. Luther P. Jackson

Resolutions Committee

Mr. Marion A. Wright, Chairman
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Miss Josephine Wilkins

As it had not been possible for any of the members of the Nominating Committee of the Membership for the Board of Directors to be present, Mr. Williams appointed a temporary committee, with Caroline Gillespie as Chairman.

Following the introduction of members of the staff, Mrs. Curry reported that in the last year the Council had added 682 new members and dropped 97 for various reasons.

Mr. Fleming reviewed the publications program briefly.

Mrs. Simpson described the Home Town Self-Survey projects under way and in preparation.

Dr. Mitchell described the assistance given by the members of the Advisory Committee.

Mrs. Havens reported on her work as Field Secretary for Tennessee, Florida, and South Carolina, emphasizing the need for additional field work.

The Treasurer's report was then read by Mr. Birnbrey in the absence of Mrs. McKoy, who was ill. (See attached.) Dr. Mitchell provided some further analysis of the figures.

Mr. Williams then delivered the President's address. He said that the South has for too long tried to maintain itself with defensive values, and urged a return to the positive "Southern traditions" of Jefferson, Madison, and Patrick Henry. The role of the Southern Regional Council, he said, is to work for these principles with "Christian charity and courage applied in the right place at the right time."

At the suggestion of several members, including Dr. Benjamin Mays, Dr.

Gordon Hancock, and Mrs. Jessie D. Ames-

1. IT WAS VOTED that arrangements should be made for wide distribution of Mr. Williams' address.

At this point the meeting adjourned for lunch.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The meeting reconvened at 2 P.M.

Mr. Thomas F. Byrd, Associate Director, was introduced. He discussed the Council's fund-raising plans and emphasized that the sums needed could be had only with the closest cooperative efforts of members of the Board and of each individual member of the Council.

In the discussion of the financial needs of the Council which followed, Miss Gillespie suggested that many people might be willing to make small contributions. It was pointed out that the campaign for ten-dollar contributions conducted during late 1948 and the first half of 1949 had been quite productive, netting over $3,000, and on that account some reluctance was felt at asking the members to make additional contributions at this time.

Miss Lucy Randolph Mason urged the establishment of various classes of membership. On motion-

2. IT WAS VOTED that several such classes be established.

Dr. Mitchell presented the program for the coming year, suggesting that emphasis be placed on the work of the Fellowship of the Concerned, on following through with Race in the News and obtaining the maximum improvement in the Southern press on its handling of racial news, on civil rights, and on appointments and election of members of minority groups to places of public trust. It was his opinion that the most effective work on behalf of the Council's general program would be done by vigorous State Divisions and local chapters, and that the Divisions would reach real stature only if they had sufficient means to employ part-time or full-time personnel. He believed that if the Council had substantial additional means, an early priority should be given to arrangements for a sum of approximately $1,000 to be made available to each of the State Divisions.

Mr. Arthur Raper, reviewing his association with the work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation in the early 1930's, described with appreciation the broadening program of the Council today.

Miss Mary Jane Willett made suggestions for the work of the Council's office to be divided into various projects, these to be independently financed.

Father Vincent J. O'Connell, President of the Catholic Committee of the South, in Atlanta for a meeting of the CCS Executive Committee, was introduced and spoke of the friendly way in which the two organizations had been associated.

Mr. Wright, as Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, reported that no resolutions had been submitted to him, but that his committee urged a rising vote of thanks to all those at Atlanta University who had made the meeting possible. This was done.

The Executive Director recommended that the following changes be made in the by-laws:

(1) That the portion of ARTICLE IV, Section 1, which reads,

"The business and property of the corporation, except as otherwise provided by statute, by the charter, or by these by-laws, shall be conducted and managed by its Board of Directors, whose actions shall be subject to revision and alteration at the next meeting of the members ..."

be amended to read,

"The business and property of the corporation, except as otherwise provided by statute, by the charter, or by these by-laws, shall be conducted and managed by its Board of Directors, all members of which shall be actually residing within the Council area, whose actions shall be subject to revision and alteration at the next meeting of the members ..."

3. IT WAS VOTED that the amendment be approved.

(2) That the portion of ARTICLE V, Section 1, which reads,

"The Board of Directors shall provide for an Executive Committee of not more than seven (7) members in addition to the President and Vice-Presidents; ..."

be amended to read,

"The Board of Directors shall provide for an Executive Committee of not more than seven (7) members in addition to the President and Vice-Presidents and Counsel; ..."

4. IT WAS VOTED that the amendment be approved.

The meeting was informed that the Executive Committee and the Board had discussed the desirability of arrangements under which members of the Executive Committee might be represented at its meetings by proxy. After discussion, and on motion-

5. IT WAS VOTED that the device not be adopted.

Miss Gillespie, as Chairman of the temporary Nomination Committee for Members of the Board, recommended the following names for election to the Board:

Dr. Glenn W. Rainey	Atlanta, Georgia
Dr. Alonzo Moron	Hampton Institute, Virginia
Mr. E. L. Abercrombie	Atlanta, Georgia
Dr. D. Swan Haworth	Vicksburg, Mississippi
President Ralph D. Wellons	Pembroke, North Carolina
Mr. Morris Abram	Atlanta, Georgia
Rev. Vincent J. O'Connell, S.M.	New Orleans, Louisiana
Mr. Donald Comer	Birmingham, Alabama
Mr. Charles Smith	Arlington, Virginia
Mr. Paul Christopher	Knoxville, Tennessee
Mr. James L. Coker	Hartsville, South Carolina
Mr. A. T. Butler	Columbia, South Carolina
Rabbi Charles Mantinband	Florence, Alabama
Miss Cassandra Maxwell	Orangeburg, South Carolina

On motion-

6. IT WAS VOTED that those nominated be elected to the Board to serve terms as follows:

Term ending in 1953 - A. T. Butler
James L. Coker
Glenn W. Rainey
Alonzo Moron
Charles Mantinband
E. L. Abercrombie
Cassandra Maxwell

Term ending in 1952 - R. D. Wellons
D. Swan Haworth
Vincent J. O'Connell
Morris Abram

Term ending in 1951 - Paul Christopher

Term ending in 1950 - Donald Comer
Charles Smith

Mr. Edward Harrison stated that while the publicity of the Council was improving, he thought the membership meeting merited greater press notice. He suggested that a mass meeting be arranged next year, with a prominent speaker, etc.

The President promised that this would be considered at the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

Dr. Hancock opened discussion on the recent events at Jefferson College, Natchez, Mississippi. After discussion, the staff undertook to provide a considered statement of what had occurred.

Dr. Hancock spoke of the importance of self-surveys and mentioned that Richmond, twenty years after, was still getting benefits from the survey made there.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 3:55 P.M.

AGNES MC KOY, SECRETARY-TREASURER

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Report of the Treasurer
November 4, 1949

ASSETS

First National Bank	862.04	
Citizens Trust Co.	184.98	
Accounts Receivable	165.15	
Miscellaneous	1.00	
TOTAL ASSETS		1,213.17

LIABILITIES AND DEFICIT

Accounts Payable	2,170.00	
Loan - Dr. George S. Mitchell	1,500.00	
Due State Divisions	395.59	
Withholding Taxes	249.00	
Southwide Meeting Church Women	184.98	
TOTAL LIABILITIES		4,499.57
Deficit		3,286.40-
TOTAL LIABILITIES AND DEFICIT		1,213.17

SCHEDULE OF LIABILITIES
NOVEMBER 4, 1949

Printing - Publications	$ 1,607.42
Loan - Dr. George S. Mitchell	1,500.00
State Divisions	395.59
Withholding Taxes	249.00
Southwide Meeting Church Women	184.98
Office Supplies	146.58
Telephone and Telegraph	142.77
Rent	130.00
Printing	65.50
Salaries	35.00
Travel	30.53
Press Clippings	12.20
TOTAL LIABILITIES	$ 4,499.57

STATEMENT OF DEFICIT

Deficit 1/1/49	12,156.72
Excess Income over Expenses	8,870.32
DEFICIT 11/4/49	3,286.40

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Board of Directors

The Board of Directors met in the Library Building of Atlanta University at 4:00 P.M. on November 9, 1949. The following members were present: Mrs. Jessie D. Ames, Mrs. James S. Crate, J. M. Dabbs, Herbert Davidson, John A. Griffin, Leonard Haas, Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Gordon B. Hancock, Guy B. Johnson, Charles Mantinband, Benjamin Mays, Vincent J. O'Connell, C. H. Parrish, Arthur Raper, G. D. Rogers, J. M. Tydings, Forrester B. Washington, Paul D. Williams, and Marion A. Wright. Staff members present were: Thomas F. Byrd, Mrs. Henry Havens, Mrs. Agnes McKoy, George S. Mitchell, and Mrs. M. E. Tilly.

The principal business was the election of officers and members of the Executive Committee. On the recommendation of Dr. Washington, Chairman of the Nominating Committee of the Board, and on motion-

1. IT WAS VOTED that Marion A. Wright of South Carolina be elected to the vacancy on the Executive Committee.

2. IT WAS VOTED that the present officers of the Council be re-elected, as follows:

President: Paul D. Williams, Richmond, Virginia
First Vice-President: John H. Wheeler, Durham, North Carolina
Second Vice-President: Guy B. Johnson, Chapel Hill, North Carolina
Third Vice-President: Carter Wesley, Houston, Texas
Fourth Vice-President: Harold L. Trigg, Raleigh, North Carolina

In discussion led by Mr. Griffin and Mr. Davidson of ways to increase the membership, it was suggested that with the distribution of the next issue of New South, a request should go out to each member to find two additional members for the Council.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned at 4:25 P.M.

AGNES MC KOY, SECRETARY-TREASURER

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Executive Committee

The Executive Committee met on February 2, 1950, in the Atlanta offices of the Council. President Paul Williams called the meeting to order at 10:30 A.M. The following members of the Committee were present: Rufus E. Clement, C. H. Gillman, Gordon B. Hancock, Guy B. Johnson, T. James McNamara, and Josephine Wilkins. Staff members present were: Thomas F. Byrd, Harold C. Fleming, Mrs. Agnes McKoy, George S. Mitchell, and Mrs. M. E. Tilly.

Msgr. McNamara gave the invocation.

On motion-

1. IT WAS VOTED that the reading of the minutes be dispensed with, as they had been mailed out to all members of the Executive Committee.

Dr. Mitchell briefly reviewed the Council's work in the interval since the November meetings. He had been at Lynchburg and Norfolk, Va.; Washington, D. C.; Deland, Daytona, Miami, and Gainesville, Fla.; Athens, Ga.; and New Orleans, La.

So much time and work by the Council's staff had gone into efforts to raise money that program had somewhat suffered.

With the aid of extra contributions, some of which came from Mr. Hodding Carter, it had been possible to arrange a mailing of Race in the News to all of the 2,000 county weekly papers in the Southern States. This was proceeding at the time of the meeting.

The November-December issue of New South had been published, and copy was pretty well in hand for a January-February issue, providing the Committee felt justified in authorizing its publication.

Mr. Fleming reported on the good newspaper coverage in the last few months and reviewed for the Committee, as a matter of information, his personal activities as plaintiff in a lawsuit lately introduced in Georgia to enjoin the use of the county unit system in the forthcoming primaries in the State.

Mrs. Tilly described the work being done through the Fellowship of the

Concerned, which now has more than 4,000 signatures, mainly from Georgia (with nearly every county represented), but with increasing numbers from Virginia and North Carolina. These are the signatures of women who have agreed to go and sit in the courts to see that justice is done, and to be available for constructive purposes when needed. Dr. Mitchell spoke of the rich opportunity for service involved in the Fellowship of the Concerned, and the urgent need for funds to enable Mrs. Tilly to have secretarial help, travel and postage money, and other things necessary in expanding the movement.

Mrs. Tilly gave some account of the recent activities of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation, particularly in connection with cases of violence and with efforts to equalize schooling. She reported the death of the Director of the Georgia Committee, Dr. R. L. Russell. The following resolution was offered:

> We wish to express our grief at the passing of Dr. R. L. Russell, director of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation. Dr. Russell's years as a devoted advocate of mutual human dignity crowned a lifetime of service to the cause of religion. His loss is mourned not only by thousands of friends, but by all the people of Georgia.
>
> On motion-
>
> 2. IT WAS VOTED that this resolution be incorporated into the minutes and that a copy be sent to Mrs. R. L. Russell, with a letter of condolence.

Dr. Mitchell reported continued steady growth in membership, which now totaled 3,439, the net increase since November, 1949, being 125 members.

Mr. Byrd reported at length on his contacts and efforts to raise funds. He had been in touch with the following foundations: the Aron Foundation, the Commonwealth Fund, the Marshall Field Foundation, Independent Aid, the James Foundation, the Markel Foundation, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, the Rich Foundation, the Stettinius Foundation, and the William C. Whitney Foundation. In addition, he had been working with the central offices of the following religious denominations:

> Seven or eight State conventions of the National Baptist Convention
> Southern Presbyterians
> Northern Presbyterians

Congregationalists
A.M.E.
Protestant Episcopal
American Friends Service Committee
Lutherans
Christian Scientists

He had also arranged personal contacts with five or six private individuals of considerable means.

It was his opinion that the Council might reasonably expect, this year and for several years to come, to receive sums from the religious denominations totaling around $4,000.00 a year. With the Methodist contributions and others, we might reasonably hope for a total annual backlog of perhaps $9,000.00 a year from religious sources.

He dared not predict what might be received from various foundations and individuals approached. Somewhere around $10,000.00 would be a moderate sum to obtain.

The Council has been able to pay Mr. Byrd's travel expenses promptly, and he would be content for continued postponement of the monthly salary due him from the Council. He stated that it would be necessary for him to withdraw his full-time services in the latter part of April, 1950, but that he would wish to assist the Council from time to time later on.

Mr. Williams spoke of the likelihood of a gift this year from a contributor who had sent us $1,000.00 in 1949, and another who might be expected to send us $250.00 again this year. He outlined other personal contributions which he thought likely.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The meeting reconvened at 2:00 P.M.

The discussion of finances was resumed. Miss Wilkins asked for the exact action of the Board Meeting of November 8, 1949. This was as follows: "The Board upon motion directed that the present staff be given assurance through January 31, 1950, the Executive Committee to meet as early as practicable in January and

determine on behalf of the Board what further steps should be taken."

Miss Wilkins pointed out that it was the Committee's duty to consider seriously the matter of ultimate responsibility for expenditures in excess of income. It was her view, in which the other members of the Committee concurred, that, notwithstanding the limited liability of the Southern Regional Council as a corporation, the members of the Board were the ultimate repository of the moral obligation to stand good for debts which the corporation might incur.

The present situation is that the Council carried over into 1950 an operating deficit of about $5,000.00 from 1949. It is obligated to pay Mr. Byrd some $3,500.00 in 1949 salary. As of February 2, it is delinquent $500.00 in meeting its January payrolls. It is obligated to meet expenses of the Home Town Self-Survey project amounting to about $2,600.00 in 1950, and will later on own Mr. Byrd an additional $3,500.00. While the indebtedness on the books is currently no more than about $5,000.00, the additional listed obligations bring the total to $15,100.00. The Council is operating at present on the greatly reduced basis effected October 20, 1949, at a total monthly expenditure of approximately $3,000.00.

Various members of the Committee raised the question of whether the staff and functions of the Council could and should be further reduced at this time. The Committee concurred in the view of the Executive Director that the present level was the minimum at which activities could be kept up.

As a further means of securing the $1,500.00 owed to the Executive Director, the President of the Council, Paul Williams, and the Secretary-Treasurer, Mrs. Agnes McKoy, executed a promissory note on behalf of the Council, dated November 1, 1949, payable at eighteen months to Dr. Mitchell -- a measure which had been ordered by the meeting of the Board on November 8, 1949.

In the absence of new sources of income, the Council can be entirely sure of an income during the remainder of the 1950 calendar year not in excess of $9,000.00. Nevertheless, it seemed reasonable to expect that additional income

will be found within the next few months of around $20,000.00. If these expectations are realized, the Council will have, therefore, approximately $29,000.00 for the current year, against which operating expense during the coming eleven months will be $33,000.00, to which must be added $14,000.00 accrued and in the course of accrual. The Executive Committee took note of the expectation that the Council will receive in the future a quite substantial sum.

As a means of meeting the present emergency, Dr. Clement and Dr. Hancock undertook to write a joint letter immediately to approximately 150 friends, asking for contributions.

Mr. Byrd believed that the Council might find support from people interested in the effort to increase employment within the South of the graduates of Negro educational institutions.

Dr. Mitchell emphasized that, in addition to long-range needs, there was an immediate need for cash with which to carry on the program.

He deplored the loss to the staff of Mrs. Henry Havens and stated that, in the event the Council had sufficient funds, it would be his intention to re-employ her. In this connection, the Committee directed that a letter be written to Mrs. Havens expressing regret that the Council is currently without sufficient funds to continue the use of her services and hopes that at a future date it will be possible to re-engage her.

After some further general discussion of finances, the meeting adjourned at 3:50 P.M.

Mrs. Agnes McKoy, Secretary-Treasurer

At the Executive Committee meeting on March 31, the minutes were amended to show the following three actions as having been taken at this February 2 meeting:

Authorization that the Council operate at its current level though March 31.

Stipulation that the Executive Committee reconvene March 31.

Stipulation that the Executive Committee inform the Board by letter of its action and caution them that it may be necessary to call an emergency meeting on April 22.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Executive Committee

The Executive Committee met on March 31, 1950, in Bishop Arthur J. Moore's Conference Room in the Wesley Memorial Building. In the absence of Charles Johnson, Chairman of the Committee, Paul Williams, President of the Council, was asked to take the Chair. The meeting was called to order at 10:00 A.M., with the following members present: Leonard Haas, Guy B. Johnson, T. James McNamara, Josephine Wilkins, and Marion A. Wright. Morris Abram, a member of the Board of Directors, attended for a time. Staff members present were: Thomas F. Byrd, Harold C. Fleming, Mrs. Norma Huff, Mrs. Agnes McKoy, George S. Mitchell, Mrs. Jane Simpson, and Mrs. M. E. Tilly.

The invocation was given by Msgr. McNamara.

In reviewing the minutes of the previous meeting, Miss Wilkins asked that they be amended to show clearly the three principal actions:

> Authorization that the Council operate at its then current level through March 31.
>
> Stipulation that the Executive Committee reconvene March 31.
>
> Stipulation that the Executive Committee inform the Board by letter of its action and caution them that it may be necessary to call an emergency meeting on April 22.

1. IT WAS VOTED that the minutes be amended in this manner.

The Executive Director then read to the Committee a recommendation that dues from contributing, supporting, and sustaining members be divided fifty-fifty with State Divisions and the New Orleans chapter. It was recalled that the annual meeting of November 8, 1949, had directed the provision of additional classes of members, but had laid down no rule as to division of sums thus received. In the discussion, the financial loss to the Atlanta office was balanced against the desirability of building up the treasuries of the State Divisions and working with them at all times. On motion of Msgr. McNamara-

2. IT WAS VOTED that the fifty-fifty division of such dues be approved, subject to final action by the Board or the membership, with the provision that the staff send out an explanatory letter to the State Divisions asking their consideration of the wisdom of the proposed division of dues.

A letter from Mrs. Jessie Ames resigning her membership in the Council was read to the Committee and discussed. On motion of Mr. Haas-

3. IT WAS VOTED that Mrs. Ames' resignation be accepted with regret.

President Williams stated his intention of writing Mrs. Ames about her resignation.

A letter of resignation from Mrs. Agnes McKoy, Secretary-Treasurer, was read. On motion of Miss Wilkins-

4. IT WAS VOTED that the resignation be accepted with great regret.

On motion of President Williams-

5. IT WAS VOTED that Mrs. Norma Huff be appointed Acting Secretary-Treasurer until further action by the Board.

Mrs. Tilly told of arrangements made by the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation since the death of Dr. Russell, described the progress of the Fellowship of the Concerned, and reported on her work in organizing the Arkansas Division at a meeting in Little Rock on March 21, 1950.

Mr. Fleming reviewed the publications and publicity of the Council.

Dr. Mitchell referred to his decision not to participate in the Conference on Discrimination in Higher Education, which was to be held in Atlanta on April 8 under the auspices of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. The Committee, in discussion, agreed with this decision.

The Treasurer's Report was read. (See attached.) Mrs. McKoy supplied detailed figures showing, for the period January 1 through March 24, 1950, the following:

Total Receipts - $11,014.33
Total Disbursements - 10,466.89

Accounts payable were as follows:

Total Accounts Payable	$4,684.27	
Contingent Liability, Home Town Self-Survey	1,873.57	
Salary owed Mr. Byrd	7,000.00	
Total		$13,557.84

Clearly expectable income for the rest of 1950 was given as $8,025.00, and the estimated rate of monthly expenditures for the remainder of the year was shown as $2,511.80.

At the beginning of the discussion, Mr. Byrd generously reduced the sum owed him to $6,000.00, and the Committee directed that a promissory note for this amount be given to him on behalf of the corporation. (Such a note over the signatures of Paul Williams, President, and Norma Huff, Acting Secretary-Treasurer, dated April 1, was handed to Mr. Byrd. It provided a due date nine months from April 1, without interest to maturity, interest thereafter to be at the rate of five per cent. Mr. Byrd stated that if it became necessary, he would agree to an extension of the note.)

Mr. Abram discussed the possibility of obtaining a contribution or fund-raising assistance from the American Jewish Committee. He himself, with Mr. Haas, had arranged a meeting March 23 with several members of the Atlanta chapter of AJC, who among themselves and from friends had on that day pledged to the Council a sum in excess of $1,200.00. Mr. Haas thought that it would be necessary, in making any substantial request of the American Jewish Committee, to show that friends in the Southern States had contributed with all possible generosity.

Mr. Byrd reviewed his efforts to raise funds, mentioning his contact with two or three foundations which had subsequently made gifts to the Council, and describing the lists of possible individual donors which he would leave with the Council. It was his belief that a good many of the contacts which he had had would without too great delay result in contributions. In his experience, the greatest lack was active Board members in each State who would take the lead in raising money locally for the Council.

Pending, and altogether probable, contributions from foundations, church sources, or individuals of means, were estimated by the staff to amount to at least $5,000.00.

Dr. Mitchell then reviewed the Council's over-all financial situation for the balance of the year 1950 in the following terms:

Cost of operation per month		$2,500.00	
Of which we have clearly expectable per mo. about		1,000.00	
Shortfall per month		1,500.00	
For nine months			$13,500.00
Less sums pledged March 29			1,500.00
			12,000.00
Current bills payable			4,000.00
Total deficit, 1950			16,000.00
Additional debts:			
George S. Mitchell	1,500.00		
Thomas F. Byrd	6,000.00		7,500.00
Total needed to complete 1950 debt-free			23,500.00
Less probable larger gifts			5,000.00
			$18,500.00

Dr. Mitchell reported that Mr. Dabbs, Chairman of the South Carolina Division, after leaving the annual meeting in November, 1949, had written the South Carolina members, describing the need of the Council and asking that they make a contribution to help out in the emergency. More than $900.00 had come in as a result of Mr. Dabbs' letter and others from members in South Carolina.

It was recommended that the Executive Committee ask all the Board members in each State to work with the heads of their respective Divisions to raise the sum of $2,000.00 in the near future.

On motion-

6. IT WAS VOTED that Paul Williams, as President, should today by wire notify all Board members of the financial emergency and summon the Board to extraordinary session April 22.

7. IT WAS VOTED that Mr. Williams should send out a memorandum to all Board members detailing the financial need and explaining the request for each State to find $2,000.00, as much as possible of which should be on hand or obligated on or before April 22.

On motion of Mr. Wright-

8. IT WAS VOTED that Mr. Williams be authorized to appoint an emergency Finance Committee to see through the campaign for $2,000.00 from each State.

Members of the Executive Committee made numerous further suggestions for obtaining funds in this or other ways.

Mrs. Simpson then reported briefly on the Home-Town Self-Survey now winding up in Greenville, South Carolina.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned.

Norma Huff
NORMA HUFF, SECRETARY

ADDENDUM

Obedient to the wishes of the Executive Committee, Mr. Williams dispatched the following wire to all Board members:

March 31, 1950
NIGHT LETTER

By action Executive Committee today, Board called to meet Atlanta Saturday, April twenty-second. Council life hangs in balance for relatively small amount. While funds lacking for payment travel expense, need of your counsel pressing. Earnestly urge you make any sacrifice necessary to be present. Letter follows.

Southern Regional Council
Paul Williams, President

On April 3, the following memorandum was sent out:

MEMORANDUM

TO: MEMBERS OF THE BOARD, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
FROM: PAUL D. WILLIAMS, PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: CALL FOR BOARD MEETING APRIL 22, 1950, 10:00 A.M. Meeting to be held at the Council's own offices, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta

You will recall my letter of February 20, cautioning that an amergency meeting of the Board might become necessary, and asking you to hold April 22.

The Executive Committee met March 31, to canvass the situation. They found that, in spite of the efforts made by the staff and by the committee members, adequate funds have not been raised. Some good-sized gifts are in prospect, but not in hand. If the Council is to continue through the year, even on the

present reduced basis, and meet all its obligations, it will require $23,000 beyond the income clearly expectable. About $5,000 of that can probably be found from individual or foundation gifts.

It seemed to the Executive Committee that the best plan for raising the remaining $18,000 was to ask our Board members and Division heads in each State to raise $2,000. The Board when it convenes may approve that plan, and undertake to see it through. Or the Board may find another plan, or decide on some other course -- including liquidation of the Council.

Between now and April 22 you are urged by the Executive Committee to get such a plan under way in your State, and to come to the Board meeting with as much in hand or committed as possible. We are asking the Head of your State Division to talk with you about what the several Board members, with their friends, can do.*

This is THE emergency. For this cause we count on your use of time and your respected place in the community to pull in what will keep the Council at work.

If you will rally, and put this through, there is some grounds for believing that we can have an easier financial situation in future years. But you must, this time, show your support.

*Three States we thought should be exempted. South Carolina because on its own it raised just lately all it could. Mr. Dabbs, as Chairman of the South Carolina Division, wrote each member in the State, and asked for donations to the Council's need. They came in. Arkansas because the Division there is brand-new. Oklahoma because we have so few members in the State. But the Executive Committee thought each of the others could raise $2,000.

April 3, 1950

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Report of the Treasurer
March 24, 1950

ASSETS

First National Bank of Atlanta	$ 25.85
Citizens Trust Company	550.09
Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation	1.00
Total Assets	$576.94

LIABILITIES AND DEFICIT

Accounts Payable	$2,933.46
Loan Payable - Dr. George S. Mitchell	1,500.00
Due to State Divisions	580.75
Contingent Liability - Home Town Self-Survey	2,573.57
Southwide Church Women's Meeting	530.59
Withholding Taxes Payable	123.30
TOTAL LIABILITIES	8,241.67
Deficit	7,664.73-
TOTAL LIABILITIES AND DEFICIT	$ 576.94

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Board of Directors

The meeting of the Board of Directors was called to order at 10:10 A.M., April 22, 1950, in Bishop Arthur J. Moore's Conference Room in the Wesley Memorial Building. President Paul Williams presided, with the following members of the Board present: A. D. Beittel, A. T. Butler, Paul Christopher, Rufus E. Clement, William E. Cole, Mrs. James S. Crate, J. M. Dabbs, C. H. Gillman, John A. Griffin, Leonard Haas, Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Gordon B. Hancock, Guy B. Johnson, Cassandra Maxwell, Alfred Mynders, Glenn W. Rainey, J. M. Tydings, Josephine Wilkins, and Marion A. Wright. Staff members present were: Harold C. Fleming, Mrs. Norma Huff, George S. Mitchell, and Mrs. M. E. Tilly.

The invocation was given by Dr. Hancock.

On motion, duly seconded-

1. IT WAS VOTED that reading of the minutes of the previous meeting be dispensed with.

Mr. Williams read the Report of the Executive Committee to the Board on their meetings of February 2 and March 31, 1950. (See attached.)

On motion of Mr. Mynders, duly seconded-

2. IT WAS VOTED that the Report be adopted.

Dr. Mitchell read a letter which he had received from Mr. Thomas Cooley II, Counsel for the Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, asking him to testify before the Subcommittee in May or June.

On motion of Mr. Rainey, duly seconded-

3. IT WAS VOTED that Dr. Mitchell be authorized to testify if he should be asked to do so.

The following resolution concerning the death of Dr. Luther P. Jackson, a member of the Board, lately deceased, was offered:

The South has suffered a tragic and irreplaceable loss in the death of Dr. Luther P. Jackson, of Virginia State College. His untiring service in the cause of a common citizenship has been of great benefit to his state and the entire Southern region.

The Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council wishes to express its deep sorrow at the loss of one of its members who worked so devotedly for the principles which we share.

On motion-

4. IT WAS VOTED that the resolution be adopted.

Dr. Mitchell gave a brief review of current staff activities.

Mrs. Jane Simpson, Survey Assistant, reported on the Greenville, S.C., Home Town Self-Survey. Numerous improvements had already been noted in Greenville as a consequence of the Survey. The committee of Greenville citizens having the matter in charge had undertaken to purchase 1,500 copies of a pamphlet prepared by the Council on the survey.

Board members praised the method of the Home Town Self-Survey and urged its adoption throughout the South. The staff was instructed to take necessary steps to spread information about the surveys and secure their use in towns and cities where they are needed.

Mrs. Tilly reported remarkable progress in adding people to the Fellowship of the Concerned, and reviewed her work in numerous instances in which the processes of the law had been called into question. She discussed the effort being made to secure the appointment of Negro representatives on the Georgia delegation to the forthcoming White House Conference on Children and Youth. She described briefly the establishment of the Arkansas Division of the Council at a meeting in Little Rock on March 21.

At this point, Dr. Mitchell read a statement in appraisal of the past work and present possibilities of the Council.

Dr. Hancock, in discussion, recalled the question which had presented itself in the formative period of the Council: whether it should begin on a grand scale, and perhaps work down, or on a small scale and work up. The Council, he

said, was now faced with the same problem. Had we the courage to go back and begin on a smaller scale? He did not wish to see the Council liquidate, and he did not wish to see it continue to live under the present strain. The Council has everything but money. The Durham meeting was financed by Negroes. We thereafter depended heavily on foundations, and support from that source seems no longer available.

Mr. Rainey referred to the meeting several days previously of members of the Board living in Georgia. As a consequence of that meeting, he believed that $2,000.00 could be raised in the State. He felt that perhaps the best solution for the Council's long-range needs would be to find 5,000 people who will take out $10.00 memberships or raise that amount in some other way. These 5,000 would provide the basic $50,000 budget the Council needs and serve as the Council's underpinning.

The Report of the Secretary-Treasurer was now read. (See attached.)

Dr. Mitchell reviewed the work of Mr. Byrd as Associate Director working at raising funds for the Council for the period of his employment, September 15, 1949, to April 15, 1950. Though the sums raised were admittedly disappointing, a great many additional contacts had been made. It is quite probable that, with further effort, some of these could be a source of continuing revenue. It was Dr. Mitchell's opinion that the Council in its efforts to find support would at some point have engaged the services of a professional money-raising person. He expressed his appreciation for Mr. Byrd's untiring efforts on behalf of the Council.

Dr. Mitchell reviewed conversations held late in 1949 with officials of several leading foundations. Their view had been that money was to be had in the South and that the Southern Regional Council should probably devote its major effort to obtaining aid from within the region. The Committee expressed general agreement with this point of view.

Mr. Williams then went down the list of States, asking representatives

present at the meeting to estimate sums they thought conservatively could be raised fairly quickly for the Council. The following amounts were pledged:

ALABAMA, through Mr. Beittel, Chairman of the Division, stated that a letter like the South Carolina one had gone out to the Alabama members, and that, while responses had not yet begun to come in, he felt justified in undertaking at least	$ 500.00
FLORIDA was unrepresented, but had already sent	100.00
GEORGIA was reported as having already raised, through efforts of Morris Abram and Leonard Haas and friends of theirs, approximately $1,500.00. Mr. Griffin, on behalf of the other Georgia Board members, undertook to find (including $150.00) already paid in) an additional	2,350.00
KENTUCKY, through Mr. Tydings, Chairman of the Division, undertook	1,000.00
MISSISSIPPI had no one present, but references were made to a recent letter from Mr. H. Brent Schaeffer, Chairman of the Division, stating that he believed that $2,000.00 could be raised by December 15. Of that amount, $150.00 had already been paid in from the Mississippi Division treasury. Mississippi was put down, at a conservative figure, for	1,000.00
NORTH CAROLINA, through Dr. Johnson, was reported as having already paid in $105.00. Total sum undertaken, including that paid in, was	2,000.00
SOUTH CAROLINA, through Mr. Dabbs, Chairman of the Division, had been regarded as exempt from this effort, since a special appeal to its membership the preceding December and January had brought in a total of $900.00. Nevertheless, Mr. Dabbs and other South Carolinians present were confident that a total additional sum (including a lump sum contribution of $250.00) could be raised amounting to	1,250.00
TENNESSEE, through Mr. Mynders, Chairman of the Division, reported several hundred dollars already in hand, and undertook a total of	1,000.00
TEXAS, through Mrs. Crate, as Chairman of the Texas Commission on Interracial Cooperation (an independent affiliate of the Council) undertook	500.00
VIRGINIA, through Mr. Williams, undertook	800.00
LOUISIANA, not represented, was put down by the Executive Director, on the basis of conversations with people in New Orleans, for	500.00
TOTAL PLEDGED FROM STATE DIVISIONS	$11,000.00

Mr. Williams reviewed his recent fund-raising activities and listed sums promised him totalling $3,500.00. He described other contacts which would probably yield another $1,000.00 or more.

On a conservative basis, the total amount pledged (comprising the pledges from the States, plus only the $3,500.00 which Mr. Williams had had promised him and another gift pledged by a foundation) came to $15,500.00. Thus, the Council found itself approximately $8,000.00 short of the $23,500.00 necessary to see it through the year debt-free. Possible large contributors were mentioned who might assist the Council in clearing off that amount.

During the course of the previous business, discussion by Mr. Rainey, Miss Wilkins, Dr. Johnson, and Mr. Wright brought out (1) the desirability of Dr. Mitchell's attending a meeting once a year in the capital of each Southern State in order to strengthen the organization at the grass-roots, (2) the necessity during the next few months of finding sustained support for the Council's work, and (3) the probability that securing a large number of additional members contributing $10.00 a year would be the best solution.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Upon resumption of the discussion, Mr. Wright commented that he felt better about the financial situation than at any other recent meeting. Since the Executive Committee meeting in March, the Council had raised between $3,200.00 and $3,500.00. The pledges made during the morning session were, he thought, conservative. He urged the setting up of a Finance Committee to follow through with machinery for raising all remaining sums needed.

Mr. Haas said he thought it likely that the Council would come through the year with $23,500.00. He promised before the end of the year to approach in person the New York offices of the American Jewish Committee with a request for money for this year and next. He made it clear, however, that he continued to be disturbed by the lack of organization in the States and hoped for a big improvement in this respect.

Mr. Rainey proposed a plan for attaining a goal of approximately 500 sustaining members in each State who would undertake to continue their contributions for five years. He thought that if the staff were to give nearly all of their time during the next eight months to this job, it could be done.

Mrs. Hamilton suggested that if this was to succeed, staff personnel with specialized training would be needed. There was some inquiry as to possible conflict with the money-raising activities of the independent and affiliated interracial committees. Mrs. Tilly said she thought there would be no conflict in Georgia, since the membership of the Georgia Commission was in small towns and the Council's effort would be directed toward people who had not ordinarily given to the Georgia committee.

Dr. Mitchell referred to the conditional decision of the Executive Committee on March 31 to divide all dues fifty-fifty with the State Divisions. In subsequent discussion, the consensus of opinion appeared to be that in most cases the decision would be for the regular $3.00 memberships to be divided fifty-fifty with the State Division and the $10.00 memberships to remain with the Atlanta office except for the return of $1.50 to the State treasuries. It was suggested that the State Divisions might choose different basis of division with their treasuries. Mr. Tydings, of the Kentucky Division, thought his Division would rather have all monies go to the Council and raise its own money separately. Mr. Mynders, of Tennessee, was of the same opinion.

On motion of Mr. Haas, duly seconded-

5. IT WAS VOTED that all pledges made at the meeting of April 22 should be in by June 1.

Mrs. Crate stated that she felt doubtful that all of the Texas money could come in by that time.

On motion of Mr. Wright, duly seconded-

6. IT WAS VOTED that all questions concerning meeting the budget for 1951 should be referred to the Finance Committee and that that Committee should be authorized to take action not in conflict with the charter or with any action taken by the Board at this meeting.

On motion of Mr. Griffin, duly seconded-

7. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee should meet during the first half of June to survey the collection of pledges and the existing financial situation, and to determine further action.

Mr. Williams appointed to the Finance Committee the following Board members: Glenn W. Rainey, Chairman, Rufus E. Clement, and John A. Griffin. Miss Wilkins and Mrs. Hamilton agreed to assist the Committee from time to time.

On motion of Mr. Wright-

8. IT WAS VOTED that the Finance Committee, in addition to responsibility for bringing in the sums pledged at this meeting, be given the responsibility of preparing for consideration at the June meeting of the Executive Committee a plan for meeting the long-range problem.

Various members expressed the urgent need for the States to reach the original goal of $2,000.00 each.

On motion of Mr. Haas-

9. IT WAS VOTED that the Board approve continuance of the work and activities of the Council until the June meeting of the Executive Committee.

On motion-

10. IT WAS VOTED that the appointment of Mrs. Norma Huff as Acting Secretary-Treasurer be confirmed.

Mrs. Tilly referred to the desirability of holding a Southwide women's meeting like the one last year. It was agreed that such a meeting was desirable, but that action on the question should be left to the June meeting of the Executive Committee.

Miss Wilkins suggested that the Council draw up a form to promote bequests, and Dr. Mitchell undertook to seek the assistance of counsel on this.

Miss Wilkins spoke in favor of convening the Board more frequently, reducing it in size, and otherwise altering the governing bodies of the Council in order to meet the responsibilities of the Council more effectively.

After discussion, and on motion-

11. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee be instructed to prepare, for possible action at the next membership meeting, proposed amendments to the by-laws bearing on the size and the Board and its time of meeting, as well as on a structure more suitable for the Executive Committee.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 4:00 P.M.

Norma Huff
NORMA HUFF, SECRETARY-TREASURER

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Report of the Executive Committee of the Council
to the Board of Directors

April 22, 1950

Your Executive Committee has had two meetings since the last meeting of the Board. These were on February 2 and March 31, 1950.

It will be recalled that the Board in its meeting of November 8, 1949, directed that the current "staff of the Council be given assurance through January 31, 1950, the Executive Committee to meet as early as practicable in January and determine on behalf of the Board what further steps should be taken."

At the meeting on February 2, the Committee discussed the fund-raising efforts under way, canvassed the practicability of further economies in the staff or other expenses of the Council, and undertook a fund-raising letter to be signed jointly by Paul Williams, Rufus Clement, and Gordon Hancock. Reports were made to the Committee indicating a current deficit of about $5,000.00 overhanging from 1949. Additional obligations were the loan from the Executive Director of $1,500.00, a total accrual salary for Mr. Byrd until April 1, 1950, amounting to $7,000.00, and a contingent liability to meet expenses for the second covenanted year for the Home Town Self-Survey project amounting to $2,600.00. This brought the total obligations of the Council to $16,100.00. Having in mind the contacts made with various foundation and church bodies, the Committee thought it reasonable to expect that additional income would be found in the early months of 1950 of around $20,000.00. With the regular income of the Council, this forecast an income for the remainder of 1950 of approximately $29,000.00, against which operating expenses for the remaining eleven months would be $33,000.00, to which would have to be added the total of $12,500.00 of obligations. (Continuance through 1950 would discharge the liability for the self-survey project.)

The Committee felt it its duty to consider most seriously any such prospective expenditure in excess of income. Although the Southern Regional Council is a corporation, enjoying limited liability, it was felt that the members of the Board were the ultimate repository of the moral obligation to stand good for the debts which the corporation might incur. Under these circumstances, your Committee authorized the continuance of the Council at its current reduced level of operation until March 31, 1950, notice to be sent to members of the Board that it might be necessary to call you into emergency session on April 22.

On the convening of the Executive Committee on March 31, it was found that the financial condition of the Council had worsened rather than bettered. Foundation requests from which goodly sums were hoped,had been turned down, although small grants had been made here and there, notably from the Phelps-Stokes Fund ($1,000.00) and the Marshall Field Fund ($2,500.00). The letter which Mr. Clement and others had sent out had netted a total of about $900.00. Atlanta

friends in the American Jewish Committee had pledged about $1,500.00. The obligation to Mr. Byrd was by his generosity foregone in part, so that the total sum owed him became $6,000.00. Adjustments in staff and other economies reduced the probable operating outgo on the present basis to approximately $2,500.00 a month. Over $1,000.00 of the overhanging operating deficit from 1949 had been paid off.

Nevertheless, the Council still faced an operating deficit for the remaining nine months of the year totaling $12,000.00, with total obligations in addition of $11,500.00, making the possible total indebtedness in the absence of other funds amount on December 31 to $23,500.00.

The Committee thought it probable that remaining foundations and church organizations with which contact had been made, plus prospective large individual gifts, would net $5,000.00, thus reducing the prospective deficit to $18,500.00.

The Committee concluded that the life of the Council hung upon the raising of approximately $18,000.00 in a relatively short space of time. It therefore caused the Board members to be notified of the need for such a sum and the possibility of raising it through contributions obtained at the instance of our Board members of $2,000.00 in each State. It was thought that three states should be exempted, as was explained in the memorandum of April 3.

Accordingly, on April 3, you were asked to consider the possibility of raising such a sum and, if you agreed, to begin, and on April 22 to decide as to the plan.

The Executive Committee, in calling this extraordinary session of the Board, has had the aim of laying before you the question of whether the Council should be continued or liquidated. If it is to be continued through 1950, the Committee sees no plan other than the one put before you April 3.

For the Executive Committee

Paul D. Williams

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Report of the Treasurer

April 18, 1950

First National Bank of Atlanta	$ 228.84
Citizens Trust Company	495.59
	724.43

LIABILITIES AND DEFICIT

Liabilities	11,473.21
Home Town Self-Survey	2,448.19
Fellowship of the Concerned	495.59
TOTAL LIABILITIES	14,416.99
Deficit	13,692.56-
TOTAL LIABILITIES AND DEFICIT	$ 724.43

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Executive Committee

The Executive Committee met on June 10, 1950, in the Council offices. In the absence of Dr. Charles Johnson, Chairman, Paul Williams, President of the Council, took the chair. Roll call showed the following members present: Leonard Haas, Guy B. Johnson, Josephine Wilkins, and Marion Wright. Staff members present were: Harold C. Fleming, Mrs. Norma Huff, George S. Mitchell, Mrs. Jane Simpson, and Mrs. M. E. Tilly. Glenn W. Rainey and John A. Griffin, members of the Finance Committee, were present for part of the meeting.

Discussion turned to possible reorganization of the governing bodies of the Council. A number of members felt that the Board of Directors was unduly large. With 72 members, it could not be expected to fulfill its constitutional function as principal policy-making organ for the Council. It was also thought that, in the Council's present financial difficulties, the annual cost of approximately $1,000.00 for convening the members of the Board was a heavy commitment. Others pointed out that, since, under the by-laws, the Board convenes within one day of the annual membership meeting, to which it is subordinate, its deliberative function is necessarily weakened.

It was mentioned that, though the by-laws set an upper limit of 72 to the Board, no minimum is set, and that the size of the Board might be reduced by simply not filling vacancies as they occur. A total of 19 vacancies will be due at the annual meeting in 1950, and of those 19, eight will have completed two terms and therefore under the by-laws will not be eligible for re-election. Among these are some of the most faithful supporters of the Council's program.

Some opinion was expressed to the effect that constitutional reorganization is both laborious and upsetting at a time when the Council's financial needs are great, but the Committee as a whole favored reorganization. The predominant ideas favored a working Board, probably with not more than 17 members, which

might if it saw fit establish an Administrative Committee for interim and non-policy decisions. Such a Board would presumably convene at least four times a year. With some exceptions, the Committee favored the establishment of an Advisory Board containing a numerous group of the Council's more prominent friends.

On motion of Mr. Wright-

1. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Director be instructed to propose to the September meeting of the Executive Committee such changes in the by-laws as would provide for a small working Board and that the September meeting should make recommendations as to the establishment of an Advisory Board.

Staff members reported on program since the last meeting, mentioning in particular the Greenville survey, the growth of the Fellowship of the Concerned, contacts with the American Jewish Committee relating to the Genocide Convention, the statement by the Executive Director concerning the Supreme Court decisions, and the work of the Finance Committee in preparing a plan of campaign for obtaining a large number of additional Sustaining Members.

After discussion-

2. IT WAS VOTED that Mrs. Simpson, as Research Assistant, should be present at a forthcoming meeting of a subcommittee of the National Conference of Christians and Jews which was to consider a grant to assist a self-survey in Rock Hill, South Carolina.

Mr. Wright undertook to visit Greenville to try to secure further support for the Council's work.

Mention was made of the interest of the Council and the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation in securing the appointment of Negro representatives on the Georgia delegation to the forthcoming White House Conference on Children and Youth.

Mr. Williams and Mrs. Tilly reviewed their efforts to find new sources of aid on a recent trip to Washington, D. C.

The Council had had gratifying notices in various newspapers. Possible forthcoming articles in national magazines were described.

Recommendations to membership on standing committees were submitted to the Committee, as follows:

The Committee on Resolutions

Marion Wright, North Carolina, Chairman
Gordon B. Hancock, Virginia
Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton, Georgia

Standing Committee of the Membership
to Nominate for Vacancies on the Board of Directors

Mrs. Hortense Young, Kentucky, Chairman
Caroline Gillespie, South Carolina
Emerson Smith, Virginia
E. B. Perry, Texas
Mrs. C. B. Smith, Tennessee

Standing Committee of Board Members
to Nominate for Vacancies on the Executive Committee

John A. Griffin, Georgia, Chairman
Gordon Hancock, Virginia
Mrs. James S. Crate, Texas

After discussion, on motion-

3. IT WAS VOTED that the recommendations be accepted.

Among the names suggested for possible Board membership in the event that the present Board is continued were:

Judge Blanton Fortson, Georgia
William Hepburn, Georgia
R. Beverly Herbert, South Carolina
E. C. Wall, South Carolina
Paul Mellon, Virginia
Louis Strauss, Virginia
Webster Rhoads, Virginia

Miss Wilkins suggested that the Council revive the idea of getting the Town Meeting of the Air to take on our next annual meeting. Mr. Williams promised to explore the matter further in New York.

After discussion, and on motion-

4. IT WAS VOTED that the 1950 annual meeting should be held in Atlanta. It was the hope of the Committee that in the future it might be possible to hold the annual meeting perhaps every other year in a city other than Atlanta.

The report of the Treasurer was read. (See attached.) Total funds available in the period April 19 to May 31, 1950, came to $7,949.04. Current liabilities as of June 8, 1950, were $9,772.45.

As of June 9, 1950, the status of State efforts in response to the arrangements made by the emergency Board meeting on April 22 was as follows:

	Pledged	Paid
Alabama	$ 500.00	$ 208.00
Florida		150.00
Georgia	2,350.00	1,155.50
Kentucky	1,000.00	260.50
Louisiana	500.00	469.00
Mississippi	1,000.00	232.00
North Carolina	2,000.00	185.00
South Carolina	1,250.00	1,010.25
Tennessee	1,000.00	825.00
Texas	500.00	172.00
Virginia	800.00	432.00
TOTALS	$10,900.00	$5,099.25

Estimates by Committee members as to sums which might reasonably be expected to come in in addition from the various State efforts amounted to a total of approximately $4,500.00.

The staff expressed appreciation to the States which had nearly met their goals, and gave most cordial praise in particular to Mr. Dabbs of South Carolina and the whole South Carolina Division for the remarkable manner in which they had exercised themselves to meet that State's pledge.

Mr. Williams and others reviewed probable large contributions aside from State efforts. The Committee reached the conclusion that the Council would have sufficient funds to carry its program along on the present reduced basis through the month of October, though probably without payment on its obligations to Mr. Byrd and Dr. Mitchell.

The Committee, in discussion, approved the proposal to set up a committee in each State to carry through the "50 for '51" campaign to secure 5,000 new ten-dollar memberships for 1951. The Committee urged that any sums received in 1950 for the "50 for '51" campaign should be separately accounted for as 1951 funds. It was decided that the summer should be used to arrange State committees and get the literature in their hands and that the campaign should begin in earnest in September.

Dr. Mitchell brought up the subject of division of proceeds of ten-dollar memberships with the State Divisions. It was his view that approximately $3.00 of each membership should go back to the treasuries of State Divisions. Some sentiment was expressed for returning to the State Divisions only the $1.50 customary in the case of ordinary dues. During discussion the following points were brought out:

> It is desirable to build up the treasuries of State Divisions in order that their work may be more active.
>
> Almost the entire clerical cost of raising and accounting for the additional memberships will fall upon the central office.
>
> The State Divisions will be advantaged by receipt of their dues in lump-sum checks.
>
> New South is provided to members at a cost of approximately $2.00 a year, so that a return of $3.00 to the State Divisions is equivalent to a fifty-fifty division of dues.

Mr. Wright had some recollection of an agreement which had been signed between the Council and the South Carolina Division calling for the return of a stated amount to the Division and asked that this be looked up and, if need be, brought up for amendment. He thought that similar agreements might exist with other States. On motion-

5. IT WAS VOTED that responsibility for determining the division of dues with State Divisions be left to the three members of the Finance Committee, who were to be informed that the Executive Committee was inclined to approve the return of $3.00 to the State Divisions.

The Executive Committee expressed official thanks to the Finance Committee for its valuable work.

After discussion and on motion-

6. IT WAS VOTED that the next meeting of the Executive Committee be set for September 9, with Saturday, September 16, as an alternate date.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 2:50 P.M.

Norma Huff

NORMA HUFF, SECRETARY-TREASURER

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Report of the Treasurer

Sources of Revenue, April 19 - May 31, 1950

Balance in Bank, April 18, 1950			$ 724.43
RECEIPTS:			
General			
Dues	$553.50		
Sale of Miscellaneous Lit.	121.32		
New South Subscriptions	12.50		
Lecture Fees	150.00	837.32	
Contributions			
Foundations - Wm. C. Whitney		500.00	
Organizations - United Steelworkers		1,000.00	
Church Sources			
Catholic	100.00		
Episcopal	15.00	115.00	
Other Sources			
Membership Contributions	56.00		
Special Efforts			
Alabama	108.00		
Georgia	647.50		
Abram-Haas Effort	250.00		
Kentucky	274.00		
*Louisiana	435.00		
Mississippi	225.00		
North Carolina	177.00		
South Carolina	347.00		
Tennessee	658.00		
Texas	170.00		
Virginia	422.00		
$100 Letter Campaign	50.00		
Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt	100.00	3,919.50	
Other Sources: Exchange			
Refunds	89.74		
Withholding Taxes	529.55		
State Divisions	233.50	852.79	7,224.61
TOTAL FUNDS AVAILABLE IN THE PERIOD			$7,949.04

*Includes $300.00 from Edgar Stern Family Fund.

Statement of Liabilities

June 8, 1950

CURRENT LIABILITIES			
Stein Printing Company	$842.70		
Dr. George S. Mitchell - Salary	625.00		
State Divisions	804.75		
TOTAL CURRENT LIABILITIES		$2,272.45	
OTHER LIABILITIES			
Thomas F. Byrd - nine months' note		6,000.00	
Dr. George S. Mitchell - loan		1,500.00	
TOTAL LIABILITIES			$9,772.45

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Executive Committee.

November 7, 1950 10 A. M.

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council met in the Club Room of the Phyllis Wheatley Branch of the Y.W.C.A., 599 Tatnall Street, S.W., Atlanta, Ga., November 7, 1950. The meeting was called to order by Paul D. Williams, President of the Council, at 10:00 A.M.

The following members were present: Guy B. Johnson, Msgr. T. James McNamara, Harold L. Trigg, John H. Wheeler, Paul D. Williams, and Marion A. Wright.

Mrs. James S. Crate and Mr. R. D. Wellons, members of the Board of Directors, also attended.

Staff members present were: Harold C. Fleming, Mrs. Harold C. Fleming, Mrs. Norma Huff, George S. Mitchell, Elizabeth Rogers, and Mrs. M. E. Tilly.

The invocation was given by Msgr. McNamara.

On motion of Mr. Wright, duly seconded,

1. IT WAS VOTED that, the minutes of the previous meeting having been properly circulated, reading of the minutes be dispensed with.

In the absence of Dr. Charles Johnson, Chairman of the Executive Committee, Mr. Williams took the chair.

Mr. Williams read the Report of the Executive Committee to the Board of Directors. (See Minutes of Board of Directors Meeting.)

On motion of Mr. Wright, duly seconded,

2. IT WAS VOTED that the Report be adopted as the Report of the Executive Committee to the Board.

At the suggestion of Mr. Williams, and on motion of Mr. Trigg, duly seconded,

3. IT WAS VOTED that formal business be dispensed with, and that the

meeting adjourn for informal discussion until the time of the Board of Directors meeting.

Respectfully submitted,

Norma Huff

Mrs. Norma Huff
Secretary-Treasurer

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Board of Directors.

November 7, 1950 10:45 A.M.

The Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council met in the Lounge of the Phyllis Wheatley Branch of the Y.W.C.A., 599 Tatnall Street, S.W., Atlanta, Ga., on November 7, 1950. The meeting was called to order by Paul D. Williams, President of the Council, at 10:45 A.M.

The following members were present:

Morris Abram
A. D. Beittel
Mrs. James H. Birnie
Rufus E. Clement
Mrs. Irving H. Cohn
Mrs. James S. Crate
J. M. Dabbs
A. W. Dent
C. W. Fogleman
John A. Griffin
Leonard Haas
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Gordon B. Hancock
D. Swan Haworth
Guy B. Johnson
John Long
Charles Mantinband
Benjamin E. Mays
E. A. McDowell
T. James McNamara
Alonzo F. Moron
N. C. Newbold
Vincent J. O'Connell
C. H. Parrish
Harry V. Richardson
Philip E. Shulhafer
Harold L. Trigg
Forrester B. Washington
R. D. Wellons
John H. Wheeler
W. W. Wilke
Paul D. Williams
Marion A. Wright
Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr.

Staff members present were: Harold C. Fleming, Mrs. Harold C. Fleming, Mrs. Norma Huff, Mrs. Bertha Johnson, George S. Mitchell, Elizabeth Rogers, and Mrs. M. E. Tilley.

The invocation was given by Mr. McDowell.

The Report of the Executive Committee to the Board was read by Marion Wright in the absence of Charles S. Johnson, Chairman of the Committee. There being no discussion, upon motion of Mr. Wright, duly seconded,

1. IT WAS VOTED that the Report be accepted. (See attached.)

Mr. Williams outlined the plan for this year's meetings. The planning committee had felt that in previous years the meetings have been too

formalized and have failed to tap the resources of the people who attended. The plan devised by the committee is for this meeting to divide into subcommittees, then come together as a group after lunch to hear reports of the morning discussions. Then the general discussion can modify and sharpen the viewpoints expressed in the subcommittees.

The membership meeting on the 8th will follow the same plan. The group will split up into two committees to hear reports from today's meeting, followed by discussion. The entire membership meeting will then come together in the afternoon for discussion.

The following subcommittees were set up by the planning committee:

Subcommittee No. 1: On approaches to interracial understanding through what teachers teach in the schools.

Subcommittee No. 2: On preparedness for stress -- local interracial committees.

Subcommittee No. 3: On organization, finance, and publication.

The meeting then broke up into subcommittees.

Discussion in Subcommittee No. 1

At the request of Mr. Griffin, Chairman of the Subcommittee, the Executive Director opened the discussion. He was concerned with whether the Council could improve the schooling which children in the South get in matters of race relations. He referred to the omissions and distortions in the teaching of Negro History, reminded the meeting that the Commission on Interracial Cooperation had worked at the same problem, and expressed the belief that suitable pamphlet material would be in considerable demand by teachers and students. Mr. Fleming referred to the number of requests from school people over the South for free material on race relations, the Negro, etc. Mr. Clement believed that the Council could get a grant for preparing and distributing free materials in this field. Dr. Mitchell said he would

like the Council to become known as the place for school poeple to write to for good modern information on race relations.

Mrs. Cohn described the work of the New Orleans Committee on Race Relations in training public, private, and parochial school teachers in human relations. She had had advice recently from the American Council on Race Relations and from other bodies, and the New Orleans group was addressing itself to the problem of bringing understanding to children and teachers who in a segregated school system have little or no contact with each other. They had got as far as realizing that the teaching of human relations would have to be integrated with the rest of the classroom work and not isolated as a special subject. On getting materials into the curriculum, they had found one problem to be that, even with the blessing of the top school officials, it remained very difficult to get helpful materials into the hands of the children themselves, though individual teachers could be reached. Another problem was that existing materials had been designed for an unsegregated school system and were not simple enough. The New Orleans group had also found a lack of graded materials.

Father O'Connell inquired whether the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History had done any work in this field. Mr. Clement asked whether The Races of Mankind would be helpful, but the point was made that the assumptions underlying that booklet are alien to many of the people the Council wishes to reach, and that other material ought to be developed which would take local assumptions into account. Mr. Griffin proposed that all available material be reviewed. Mr. Washington proposed that one of the major foundations be approached for funds which could be used in implementing the science of human relations in the school system. Mr. Moron emphasized the importance of teacher training, particularly in summer schools, and pointed out that instruction of the kind desired by the Council is going on in

Northern colleges, but not in the South. Mr. Griffin reviewed the experience of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith last summer in conducting, in four Southern colleges, one-day summer school institutes in race relations. These institutes had brought out the scarcity of usable materials. Mr. Richardson, Mr. Moron, Mr. McDowell, Mr. Trigg, and Mr. Mays discussed the possibility of getting the approval of State school officials for the kind of program under discussion.

Mr. Clement proposed that the Council seek funds in the amount of $100,000 or $200,000 for a special program in bettering human relations which would have three aspects; (1) the preparation of suitable materials; (2) conferences of top-level people and various teacher groups; (3) teacher training institutes and church conferences. Mr. Trigg countered with the hope that the kind of program proposed could take advantage of existing conferences of teachers and school officials. Mr. Newbold thought that a major program of this kind would be attractive to State Boards of Education.

Mr. Washington advocated, on the other hand, an entirely new kind of program, not in terms of school and college education, which would make a comparative study of school children who have and have not been exposed to racial indoctrination.

Mr. Mays inquired whether arrangements could not bequite simply made to have responsible committees in the several States read existing material and make suggestions.

Mr. Trigg advocated getting Negroes on State boards of education. He also pointed out that it is incorrect to assume that there are people in each State familiar with human relations problems. It was his opinion that the Council should ask for a grant to train personnel in each State who would in turn train other personnel.

Mrs. Cohn cautioned that white children should not be the ultimate object of the program. A great deal needs to be done in training the Negro child for citizenship and making him feel that he is part of the citizenship. She thought that the study of a control group such as Mr. Washington had suggested could be integrated into the over-all project as an evaluative study.

Mrs. Hamilton commented that, in a sense, the New Orleans project has been a pilot project. Whether or not a more ambitious program can be undertaken, a careful record of the progress that has been under way in New Orleans, what was involved in getting administrative support, etc., would be a contribution to the Council and to others working in this field. We will need all the experience we have had.

The Subcommittee then decided to report its proceedings to the Board of Directors in full, whereupon the Subcommittee adjourned for lunch.

(Detailed minutes were not kept for Subcommittees 2 and 3, but their proceedings are adequately reported in the summaries which those Subcommittees made to the general meeting.)

The Board as a whole reconvened at 1:45 P.M.

As the first item of business, President Williams put before the Board the statement on broader representation on policy boards, particularly school boards, prepared by the staff and previously circulated to members of the Board. Mr. Fleming summarized the comments received from the following Board members who could not be present at this meeting: R. B. Atwood, Wilson M. Brown, Felton G. Clark, O. D. Duncan, Armand May, E. W. Palmer, and Carter Wesley. After considerable discussion of various deletions and changes, on motion of Mr. Haas, duly seconded,

2. IT WAS VOTED that the statement be adopted. (See attached)

On motion, duly seconded,

3. IT WAS VOTED that the press release which had been prepared to accompany the statement be approved. (See attached)

Dr. Mitchell said that the statement, when printed, would be mailed to State and local school officials throughout the South.

With Mr. Griffin in the chair, the Board proceeded to the reports of the morning's discussion in the Subcommittees.

Mr. Harry Richardson, for Subcommittee No. 1 (On approaches to interracial understanding through what teachers teach in the schools): We began with an agreement that in the schools of the South, both Negro and white, the better side of Negro life and history, particularly Negro contributions to civilization, has not been presented. From requests that have come in from children and teachers, the staff knows that there is interest in this subject. But we agreed that, aside from the work of some venturesome teachers, the whole question of the Negro and his contribution to America has not been adequately taught. We discussed the matter of the Council's preparing attractive and accurate literature, for both teachers and students.

But, even though the teacher might be willing, and though we might have acceptable material, unless the teaching of Negro history from a fairer point of view is approved by county and state administrators, teachers do not feel free to teach it. This consideration brought us to the problem of educating administrators to give them a truer picture of the Negro and cause them to approve a change in teaching. We also thought that a thorough study of textbooks is needed to see what they do and do not contain.

It was agreed that such an effort would require trained personnel and a rather large sum of money. It is a task that the Council has found quite beyond its resources, and it was suggested that foundation help be sought. We agreed that such a step would be an important contribution to human relations.

Mr. Johnson, for Subcommittee No. 2 (On preparedness for stress -- local interracial committees): We discussed the number of local committees we knew to be in existence in our States. We were rather surprised to find how few were actively at work. Georgia has twenty. Texas has seven. Representatives from other States could think of few if any active committees in their States. There was some discussion of reasons for this dearth. Dr. Mitchell pointed out that perhaps these committees were most successful when they stuck to immediate and practical local problems; when they try to spell out ultimate objectives, they begin to get disagreement, fear, etc. Bishop Wright, thinking especially of ministers who work under him, discussed the importance of personal contacts and strategies in developing understanding in local communities. Mrs. Tilly described the work of the Georgia committees. Rabbi Mantinband discussed the use of college groups as a medium of contacts between people and exchange of ideas. Boiling the discussion down to a brief set of suggestions:

1. We face a time when we will need more and stronger local committees.

2. The key factor in developing local committees is strong State committees. The need is for State committees which can raise a budget so they can keep a person in the field to organize local committees and keep them going.

3. While we consider that voluntary committees are on the whole much more useful because they are freer and do not have official restrictions, we would not say that official committees have no value. Sometimes an official committee is a yes-man group, but a good official committee without any strings attached might serve a real function.

4. We would like to suggest that the Council issue some kind of statement or at least make the information available (perhaps the statement we approved today does it in some way) to do three things: (1) call attention to the need for local interracial committees, voluntary, and perhaps in some cases official; (2) point out reasons why the Council thinks the stresses and strains we are now under make it important for a community to have such committees; and (3) make it clear that the Council gives advice or can help organize them.

A discussion ensued of the relevance of official interracial committees in the South. Mr. Wheeler suggested that if one or two cities could successfully operate official interracial committees, they could become models for others.

Mr. Wright, for Subcommittee No. 3 (On organization, finance, and publication): The Council was organized at a time when it was felt that advantages would flow from having a fairly large governing body; a large Board attached to the organization people who might otherwise have been uninterested. The Subcommittee felt that the climate of opinion has changed. The problem has been gone into rather extensively at recent Executive Committee meetings, and it has been the feeling of that Committee that the governing body of the Council should be more compact and consist of those who were vitally interested, and that it should meet quarterly instead of annually.

With this meeting the legal existence of this body terminates. The Subcommittee therefore proposes:

1. That an Executive Board be established which will exercise the functions of the present Board of Directors.

2. That this Board should consist of the President and four Vice Presidents, ex-officio, with voice and vote, plus fourteen members.

3. That the Executive Director and Associate Executive Director shall not be members, and shall have no voice and no vote, but shall attend meetings and give advice and information.

4. That the quorum for meetings shall be seven.

If theBoard of Directors should approve this change and refer the matter to the full meeting tomorrow, we propose that the Board recommend to the general membership meeting that the Board and the Executive Committee be merged into a single Executive Board to be composed as indicated. Various amendments to the by-laws have been prepared which would effect these proposed changes.

The Subcommittee further recommends that the President appoint a nominating committee of five, which would place before the membership meeting tomorrow the names of fourteen members of the proposed Executive Board. We suggest that two of those members be chosen for one year, four for two years, four for three years, and four for four years.

The Subcommittee was highly sentitive to the fact that there have been on the Board for a number of years many persons who are interested in our work. We hope that it may be found possible to appoint an Advisory Board of which the organization could avail itself for advice and counsel. We would like to see some kind of relationship continue with the present Board.

Therefore, in addition, we recommend that the incoming Executive Board be authorized to appoint an Advisory Board of such number as in its discretion would be proper and that that Board be available from time to time.

Some discussion of the Subcommittee's recommendations followed. Mr. Griffin said that, in the judgment of the Finance Committee, the most effective way to reduce the size of the Board would be simply not to elect new members. The Finance Committee, he said, was conscious of the fact that this was an important year and it did not wish to lose the support of a single person now on the Board. Mrs. Hamilton, as an advisor to the Finance Committee, felt also that the reorganization plan should be studied at greater length. The cost of Board Meetings was discussed. Dr. Mitchell stated that, on the expectation of average attendance, meetings of the reduced Board and of the present Board would be about equal in travel costs. Msgr. McNamara urged the prompt adoption of the reorganization plan. Mr. Wilke asked whether State Divisions could not be called upon to finance their own delegates to the meetings. Mrs. Hamilton, Bishop Wright, and others set forth the difficulty of representing on a small Executive Board the various areas and interest groups within the South. Msgr. McNamara pointed to a moral responsibility upon the Board of Directors for whatever debts the Council incurred, and added his

view that the Council would be more likely to be supported by a Board of seventeen than seventy-two.

Mr. Dent asked whether consideration had been given to the possibility of retaining the Board of seventy-two and enlarging the Executive Committee to fourteen; amending the by-laws to give legal status to the Executive Committee; and amending policy to pay the expenses of the Executive Committee only. This plan would leave the Board unaltered in size and give the Council a Board of fourteen plus five officers meeting four times a year.

Upon motion of Mr. Moron, duly seconded,

4. IT WAS VOTED that the Board defer any change until the points raised in this meeting have been studied by the Executive Committee and brought back to the Board with recommendations at the next annual meeting.

After discussion of the cost involved in monthly publication of New South, on motion of Mr. Dent, duly seconded,

5. IT WAS VOTED that New South be issued six times a year.

At this point, the Report of the Secretary-Treasurer was read. (See Addenda.) Dr. Mitchell referred to the fact that the note to Mr. Byrd would fall due at the end of the year and that Mr. Byrd was anxious for a considerable payment on it.

On motion, duly seconded

6. IT WAS VOTED that the Report of the Secretary-Treasurer be accepted as read.

Dr. Mitchell then presented the proposed budget for 1951.

In commenting on it, he said that the item for salaries was at the present level, plus raises for some staff members. The principal reduction in cost was in anticipation of curtailed publication of New South. He went on to say that he did not propose adoption of the budget, but rather that the Council continue to operate at the level of this budget until a stated time, and

unless, by that time approximately $15,000.00 had been raised, the Executive Committee be empowered to put the Council on a liquidation basis. Fifteen thousand dollars could be raised by getting no more than 166 new ten-dollar memberships from each Southern State.

Mr. Griffin explained the work thus far done in Georgia on the "50 for '51" campaign.

At this point, Mr. Hancock introduced Mr. Arthur W. Mitchell, former Congressman from Illinois, now a resident of Dinwiddie County, Virginia. Mr. Mitchell spoke in cordial praise of the Council and reviewed his own work in getting additional members. He said he believed it would be possible for him to raise $1,000.00 for the Council within the State of Virginia by Christmas.

As a final order of business, the Council proceeded to election of staff members. Upon motion of Mr. Johnson, duly seconded,

7. IT WAS VOTED that George S. Mitchell be re-elected Executive Director of the Council, and that Mrs. Norma Huff be elected Secretary-Treasurer.

The more general topic of discussion, "The Pace of Change," having been neglected, Mr. Dabbs commented that he found the problem in South Carolina to be the lack of support because the Council goes too fast, and, on the other hand, the lack of support because it goes too slow. Dr. Mitchell commented that the South's major task is to find ways of working as a single united people.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 4:45 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

Norma Huff

(Mrs.) Norma Huff
Secretary-Treasurer

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
NOVEMBER 7, 1950

Your Committee met three times; on February 2, March 31, and June 10. We have had a number of rather important decisions to make.

At the February meeting, the Executive Committee took note of the Board's action in November, 1949, which had authorized the continuance of the reduced staff through January 31, the further course to be determined by the Executive Committee. In February we took responsibility for extending the work of the Council through March 31, but cautioned Board members that it might be necessary to summon them for an extraordinary meeting. On March 31, it appeared that the Council would have at the end of 1950 a gross indebtedness of some $18,000.00, and the Board was called to decide upon a course of action.

The Board meeting of April 22 devised a plan of State campaigns, under which $11,000.00 was pledged. Other amounts of which members felt virtually certain raised the prospective extra income to $15,500.00, and the Board thereupon authorized continuance until June, giving the Executive Committee responsibility for canvassing the situation at that time. At the June meeting, the efforts of the various States had brought in $5,000.00, and the Committee felt that additional sums which might reasonably be expected would warrant continuance through October.

The Committee was unable to convene a quorum in September or October, but President Williams requested that plans for the annual meeting be made by a local committee of Board members. Glenn Rainey, John Griffin, and Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton served most helpfully in this capacity.

From time to time during the year your Finance Committee has met. It will lay before you plans for further fund-raising activities.

The Committee at its March meeting regretfully accepted the resignation of Mrs. Agnes McKoy as Secretary-Treasurer, and appointed in her stead Mrs. Norma Huff as Acting Secretary-Treasurer.

We have given considerable attention during the year to the possibility of some reorganization of the governing bodies of the Council. Opportunity will be afforded in this meeting for discussion of proposals.

While it has been a difficult year, we have been pleased to see the earnest and sacrificing support which the Council can have for the stirring up.

Charles S. Johnson
Chairman

STATEMENT ON REPRESENTATION ON POLICY BOARDS

Discriminations long taken for granted in the South are today yielding their bitter harvest. The Southern states are discovering that equal opportunity - as defined not only in the U. S. Constitution, but also in their own laws and constitutions -- is expensive and difficult of achievement. They are learning just how unequal our "separate but equal" facilities are, in health, education, housing, recreation, and scores of other public services. Under the pressure of court action, they are discovering that the time is rapidly running out when postponement and token approaches to equalization will suffice.

The problem is talked about in terms of dollars and cents; repairing the neglect of generations is a costly business. But, as the Southern Regional Council has repeatedly pointed out, the problem is a material one -- and something more. The South has an old unpaid debt to its Negro citizens: to reward patience, service, and loyalty with recognition of full citizenship status. This debt will not be satisfied merely by bestowing upon the Negro population increased benefits long overdue (although that is an end far from attainment).

As Dr. Benjamin Mays declared recently in NEW SOUTH: "There is a growing conviction among Negroes that if one racial group makes all the laws and administers them, holds all the power and administers it, and has all the public money and distributes it, it is too much to expect that group to deal as fairly with the weak, minority, non-participating group as it deals with its own."

What is needed is a shift from paternalism to democracy. Negroes should have full and fair representation on policy-making and administrative bodies. These would include, of course, boards and commissions governing the whole range of public services. But the need today is of special urgency in the field of education.

In county after county over the South, Federal courts have ruled, or are being asked to rule, that equal school facilities must be provided for Negro children without delay. School boards and other public officials are anxiously examining their budgets and making belated starts at improvement. A few politicians, more interested in votes than in progress, are shouting defiance at the courts and seeking to incite the public to anger. Other spokesmen have taken on the futile task of justifying and explaining away the inequalities which are too plain to be denied. Still others, while deploring existing discriminations, deplore even more the filing of law suits demanding correction.

Such protestations are neither justified nor constructive. In view of the long record of evasion and inaction, it is hardly surprising that Negroes are turning with increasing frequency to the courts for the remedy to old injustices. That is a lawful and accepted procedure in our democracy, and should not cause dismay or indignation. On the contrary, it should cause some honest self-examination. School suits, by and large, are the fruits of bad faith. There is every reason to believe that the Negro plaintiffs, like the defendants, would prefer a less expensive and more cooperative method of

reaching agreement. The best way to achieve that is for Negroes to have a voice in the policy-making which determines the quality of education children are to receive.

Much attention is being focused just now on the attainment of two equal school systems. Who is to say what is equal? In past experience, our only arbitor on that is the courts. And the briefs prepared for the courts by contending parties inevitably stress the mathematics of equality: How many desks, of what model, at what cost, on how many square feet of floor space, for how many white pupils, as compared with how many of each of these for how many Negro pupils. And ultimately, a court must state a formula -- a number.

However, true equality is not static arithmetic. It is a running matter. It requires trustworthy day-to-day administration. How can that be contrived? The only answer is representation of all parties on the important policy boards. If we are to have flexibility and order and understanding in the conduct of our school system in the South, we must build a system of school administration which all concerned can believe in.

In places where boards of education are elective rather than appointive, it is up to qualified Negro persons to seek the office. It need hardly be pointed out that no representation can be effective unless it honestly expresses the feelings of the group represented. In places where boards of education are appointive, public officials will be tempted to appoint persons whose compliance and readiness to please would make for easy agreement. But such appointments will not accomplish their purpose. True agreement -- particularly in a matter as sensitive and important as educational opportunities -- can be reached only if the minority view is voiced with frankness and considered with respect.

The opportunity is before us to strengthen our region and hasten its progress by admitting all our people to the ranks of our common citizenship. There could be no more appropriate time than now, and no more appropriate field than education, for that step to be taken.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSE
JANUARY 1, 1950 to OCTOBER 31, 1950

INCOME:		
Contributions (See Exhibit "A")	$26,495.78	
Membership Dues	3,751.30	
Sale of Miscellaneous Literature	1,014.73	
Honoraria	618.75	
New South Subscriptions	423.44	$32,304.00
EXPENSES:		
Salaries	18,235.16	
Fund Raising Fee	6,000.00	
Travel	2,548.48	
Printing - New South & Misc. Lit.	1,712.65	
Office Supplies	1,174.93	
Rent	1,157.00	
Postage	1,035.30	
Telephone and Telegraph	672.59	
Press Clippings	183.00	
Audit	135.00	
Interest	75.50	
Books & Magazine Subscriptions	67.20	
Meetings and Luncheons	15.81	
Miscellaneous	14.50	
Bank Charges	9.70	
Insurance	9.00	
Special Services	5.00	
Returned checks	2.50	33,053.32
INCREASE OF DEFICIT		$ 749.32-

Exhibit "A"

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
SCHEDULE OF CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED
JANUARY 1, 1950 to OCTOBER 31, 1950

CHURCH SOURCES:			
Methodist:			
Division of Home Missions	$ 750.00		
Woman's Div. of Christian Service, Bd. of Missions	1,000.00		
Board of Education	200.00		
Woman's Society of Christian Service:			
Kentucky	25.00		
Mississippi	25.00		
Memphis	25.00		
Tennessee	40.00		
Alabama	10.00		
North Carolina	25.00	$2,100.00	
Catholic Sources:			
Catholic Missionary Union	1,000.00		
The Cardinal-Archbishop of Chicago	1,000.00		
Catholic Comm. of the South	125.00	2,125.00	
American Friends Service Committee		1,000.00	
Episcopal:			
Woman's Auxiliary, Nat'l. Council, Diocese of Fla.	15.00	15.00	
Total Church Sources			$5,240.00
FOUNDATION SOURCES:			
Phelps-Stokes Fund		1,000.00	
Edgar Stern Family Fund		300.00	
Marshall Field Foundation		2,500.00	
Sigmund Silberman Foundation		250.00	
William C. Whitney Foundation		1,000.00	
Total Foundation Sources			5,050.00
OTHER SOURCES:			
Mr. John Hay Whitney		2,000.00	
Anonymous Manufacturer		1,000.00	
United Steelworkers of American-CIO		1,000.00	
Textile Workers Union of America-CIO		500.00	
U.A.W. - CIO		500.00	
South Carolina State Division		15.00	
General Contributions		2,350.06	7,365.06

(Continued)

Exhibit "A"

Schedule of Contributions Continued

STATE EFFORTS:		
Georgia	$3,422.50 1/	
South Carolina	1,255.88 3/	
Tennessee	828.00	
Virginia	732.00	
Alabama	536.84	
Texas	495.00	
Louisiana	469.00 2/	
North Carolina	401.00	
Kentucky	285.50	
Mississippi	259.00	
Florida	156.00	$ 8,840.72
Total Contributions		$26,495.78

1/ includes Abram-Haas Atlanta Emergency Appeal - $1,520.00
2/ includes $300.00 from the Edgar Stern Family Fund
3/ includes $174.00 South Carolina dues returned to complete pledge

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STATE PLEDGES

	Pledged	Paid
Alabama	$ 500.00	$ 536.84
Florida	---	156.00
Georgia	2,350.00	3,422.50
Kentucky	1,000.00	285.50
Louisiana	500.00	469.00
Mississippi	2,000.00	259.00
North Carolina	2,000.00	401.00
South Carolina	1,250.00	1,255.88
Tennessee	1,000.00	828.00
Texas	500.00	495.00
Virginia	800.00	732.00
TOTALS	$11,900.00	$8,840.72

Exhibit "B"

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
SCHEDULE OF LIABILITIES
OCTOBER 31, 1950

Thomas F. Byrd		$6,000.00
Dr. George S. Mitchell, Loan and Interest		1,575.00
Stein Printing Company		557.95
State Divisions:		
Alabama	$18.00	
Arkansas	1.50	
Florida	7.50	
Kentucky	6.50	
Mississippi	16.50	
North Carolina	18.50	
South Carolina	2.50	
Tennessee	9.00	80.00
Salaries:		
Dr. George S. Mitchell	312.50	
Mrs. Norma Huff	116.66	429.16
Withholding Taxes		191.10
Travel:		
Dr. George S. Mitchell	37.11	
Dr. Will W. Alexander	67.00	104.11
Southern Bell Telephone Company		49.16
Gershon Printing Company		42.00
Clipping Service		28.30
Columbia Ribbon & Carbon Company		25.65
Dictating Machine Company		11.88
Milton Jones Company		9.50
Ivan-Allan-Marshall Company		6.50
F. G. Bernal Company		5.20
Elliott's Addressing Machine Company		3.27
Office Supply Company		2.25
TOTAL LIABILITIES		$9,121.03

CASH DISBURSEMENTS:

Salaries		$ 18,592.70
Printing - New South & Misc. Literature		3,344.12
Travel		3,229.20
Withholding Taxes		2,481.87
Home Town Self Survey		2,439.08
State Divisions		
Alabama	$157.00	
Arkansas	49.50	
Florida	227.50	
Kentucky	95.00	
Mississippi	156.00	
New Orleans Commission on Interracial Cooperation	137.00	
North Carolina	343.50	
South Carolina	25.00	
Tennessee	131.25	1,321.75
Office Supplies		1,222.46
Rent		1,157.00
Postage		1,063.08
Telephone & Telegraph		675.82
Fellowship of the Concerned		387.37
Loan Payable - Dr. George S. Mitchell		200.00
Press Clippings		190.70
Meetings and Luncheons		159.81
Note - Citizens Trust Company		150.00
Audit		135.00
Books and Magazine Subscriptions		67.20
Returned Checks		10.50
Cash Shortage		10.00
Bank Charges & Exchange		9.70
Insurance		9.00
Miscellaneous Literature Refunds		6.00
Special Services		5.00
Repairs		3.50
Corporate Registration Fee		1.00
Interest Expense		.50
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS		$ 36,872.36
BALANCE IN BANKS		1,331.09
TOTAL		$ 38,203.45

PRESS RELEASE ACCOMPANYING STATEMENT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
(Fleming Wa. 7963)

For Immediate Release

ATLANTA, Nov. 8 - Southerners of both races, meeting here today, urged that Negroes in the South have representation on policy-making bodies which govern public services.

The statement was adopted at the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council, an interracial organization whose members include educators, church people, editors, labor and business men from thirteen Southern states.

Releasing the statement, Council President Paul D. Williams, of Richmond, Va., declared: "This is the course for the South to follow. We are facing a crisis today because of our failure to admit Negroes to partnership in our public life. By doing so now, the South can tap new resources of ability and statesmanship and open up an era of common citizenship."

The Council particularly recommended Negro representation on school boards, elective and appointive. It termed the many school equalization suits filed in Federal courts recently "the fruits of bad faith".

"There is every reason to believe," the statement said, "that the Negro plaintiffs, like the defendants, would prefer a less expensive and more cooperative method of reaching agreement. The best way to achieve that is for Negroes to have a voice in the policy making which determines the quality of education their children are to receive."

The Council maintained that only by such representation could equality be attained in day-to-day administration of school systems. "True equality," it declared, "is not static arithmetic. It is a running matter."

ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

November 8, 1950, 9:30-4:30

AGENDA

9:30 Registration

10:00 Convening of Meeting

Invocation

10:05 Purposes of the meeting - President Paul D. Williams

10:20 Report of the Secretary-Treasurer

11:00 Discussion groups

A. Meets in Lounge, 2nd floor

Selection of summarizer

Resource people: Charles Mantinband
Harry V. Richardson
Marion A. Wright

B. Meets in Club Room, 2nd. floor

Selection of summarizer

Resource people: Mrs. James S. Crate
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Alonzo Moron

Topics suggested:

1. On approaches to interracial understanding through what teachers teach in the schools
2. Preparedness for stress -- local interracial committees
3. Statement on public school administration
4. Other program -- self-surveys; Race in the News; others

12:15 Luncheon Interval

12:30 Luncheon

1:45 Reconvene as a body

1. Oral reports from summarizers

2. Discussion

2:30 Questions to staff members

George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Mrs. Norma Huff, Secretary-Treasurer
Harold C. Fleming, Director of Information
Mrs. Harold C. Fleming, Director of Research
Mrs. Bertha Johnson, Membership Secretary

3:00 Report of Chairman of Finance Committee

3:20 Budget for 1951

3:40 Report of Resolutions Committee

3:50 Report of Nominations Committee

4:00 Election of new Board members

4:15 Adjournment

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SAME WORDING AS P. 431-32
(431-32 MISSING)

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Board of Directors

~~December~~ November 8, 1950. 4:25 P. M.

The Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council met in the Lounge of the Phyllis Wheatley Branch of the Y.W.C.A., 599 Tatnall Street, S.W., Atlanta, Ga., on ~~December~~ November 8, 1950. The following members were present:

Mrs. James S. Crate	N. C. Newbold
A. W. Dent	Glenn W. Rainey
John A. Griffin	C. Emerson Smith
Gordon B. Hancock	Forrester Washington
D. Swan Haworth	R. D. Wellons
Guy B. Johnson	Paul D. Williams
Benjamin E. Mays	Marion A. Wright

Staff members present were: Harold C. Fleming, Mrs. Harold C. Fleming, Mrs. Norma Huff, Mrs. Bertha Johnson, George S. Mitchell, Elizabeth Rogers, and Mrs. M. E. Tilly.

The meeting came to order at 4:25 P.M.

Dr. Mitchell opened the meeting by presenting the question of vacancies on the Board of Directors. There are eight persons who this year complete their second term of office and therefore are not eligible for re-election until after a break.[1] The terms of six additional persons expire this year, but they are eligible for re-election.[2] There are four other vacancies; one of these was created by resignation, two by death, and one by election of one person in 1949 who did not accept.[3] This is a total of 18 vacancies. Because of the reorganization plan, it would seem reasonable not to

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[1]R. B. Atwood; William E. Cole; Archbishop Gerald P. O'Hara; David D. Jones; Raymond R. Paty; Philip E. Shulhafer; Goodrich C. White; Josephine Wilkins.

[2]Felton G. Clark; Emily Clay; Donald M. Comer; D. V. Jemison; Edgar W. Ray; Charles M. Smith.

[3]Mrs. Jessie D. Ames resigned. Luther P. Jackson and Louis I. Jaffe died. The nominee who did not accept was E. L. Abercrombie, elected to the Class of 1953.

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fill all the vacancies, but only those created by resignation or death.

The Nominating Committee had duly prepared a long list of persons suitable for membership on the Board. Of those on the list, preference might well be given to three or four whose membership could be particularly helpful to the Council. These were:

Mrs. E. U. Robinson
Mr. Lewis Strauss
Mr. Arthur W. Mitchell
Mr. Webster Rhoads

Upon motion, duly seconded,

1. IT WAS VOTED that these persons be elected to membership on the Board, it being understood that Mr. Webster Rhoads was elected as an alternate in case one of the others refused to accept.

Upon motion, duly seconded,

2. IT WAS VOTED that the present slate of officers of the Council be re-elected, as follows:

President: Paul D. Williams
First Vice President: John H. Wheeler
Second Vice President: Guy B. Johnson
Third Vice President: Carter Wesley
Fourth Vice President: Harold L. Trigg

Mr. Griffin, for the Committee of the Board on Nominations to the Executive Committee, recommended election to the Executive Committee of the following persons:

Rufus E. Clement
Paul D. Christopher
Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton
Gordon B. Hancock
Charles S. Johnson
Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara
Marion A. Wright

Upon motion, duly seconded,

3. IT WAS VOTED that the nominations be accepted.

Upon motion, duly seconded,

4. IT WAS VOTED that Mr. Williams be empowered to appoint a committee to study the proposal made by Forrester Washington in the annual meeting earlier.

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Mr. Hancock suggested that the Durham Statement be studied, revised, and amended. Mr. Williams agreed that that Statement would be drawn upon by the committee. Mr. Washington stated that, as maker of the original motion, he would agree to that.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 4:40 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

Mrs. Norma Huff
Secretary-Treasurer

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

November 8, 1950

The annual membership meeting of the Southern Regional Council met in the Auditorium of the Phyllis Wheatley branch of the Y.W.C.A., 599 Tatnall Street, S.W., November 8, 1950. The following members were present:

Rufus E. Clement
Mrs. Weona Cleveland
Mrs. Helen Cohn
Mrs. James S. Crate
J. M. Dabbs
A. W. Dent
Mrs. F. P. Drake
Thomas Eagan
Frank Fennell
C. W. Fogleman
Mrs. Harry M. Gershon
C. G. Gomillion
Ross Groshong
Leonard Haas
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Gordon B. Hancock
Rev. Raymond F. Harvey
D. Swan Haworth
W. Hardin Hughes
Mrs. John S. Hurt
Guy B. Johnson
Lewis W. Jones
Mrs. W. H. Killian
Arthur J. Levin
John Long
Charles Mantinband
Mrs. Charles Mantinband
Lucy R. Mason
Benjamin E. Mays
Arthur W. Mitchell
Mrs. Arthur W. Mitchell
William P. Mitchell
Alonzo G. Moron
Ernest E. Neal
N.C. Newbold
Mrs. Hugh C. Owen
Lolla M. Patterson
C. H. Parrish
J. E. Pierce
Glenn W. Rainey
Florence M. Read
Harry V. Richardson
I. E. Saporta
Mrs. Boris Scherbak
Robert S. Shea
R. B. Shorts
Mrs. Philip E. Shulhafer
C. Emerson Smith
Mrs. Nathan Starr
Ruth Stone
Mrs. M. L. Stroud
Harold Trigg
Mrs. Edward Vinson
Mrs. M. L. Walker
Ray Warwick
Mrs. Ray Warwick
Forrester B. Washington
R. D. Wellons
J. H. Wheeler
Mrs. William C. White
W. W. Wilke
Paul D. Williams
Ruth M. Williams
Marion A. Wright

The following staff members were present: Harold C. Fleming, Mrs. Harold C. Fleming, Mrs. Norma Huff, Mrs. Bertha Johnson, George S. Mitchell, Elizabeth Rogers, and Mrs. M.E. Tilly.

The meeting was called to order by Paul D. Williams, President of the Council, at 10:10 A.M. The invocation was given by Rabbi Mantinband.

Mr. Williams described the order of business that had been worked out for this year's meeting. In previous years, the meeting has consisted of a series of reports by qualified persons, followed by general discussion. However, the committee which planned this meeting believed that the membership of the Council contains some of the best qualified persons in this field, and this resource of experience and ideas has not been adequately tapped. The Board at its meeting yesterday broke up into subcommittees to discuss specific topics, and in the afternoon reconvened as a whole to hear reports from each subcommittee and discuss what had been accomplished and recommended. Today, the procedure will be the same. This group will break up into two Committees to hear and discuss reports from yesterday's Board meeting. Then after lunch, the membership will meet as a whole to discuss what has been done this morning.

The Report of the Secretary-Treasurer followed.

Upon motion, duly seconded,

1. IT WAS VOTED that the Report be accepted as read, with thanks. (See Minutes of Board of Directors meeting.)

Mr. Williams, in a summary talk (printed in full in the November-December 1950 issue of New South) laid out a program for the South to follow in achieving full democracy.

Following Mr. Williams' address, the meeting divided into two committees for discussion of program and policy.

Discussion Committee A

With Mr. Wright as Chairman and Mr. Trigg as summarizer, the Committee heard from Mr. Richardson the proceedings of the Board meeting the day before, mainly on the subject of improvement of teaching materials for school use. Rabbi Mantinband made a number of practical proposals for lessening the segregation of

ideas prevailing in the South. Mrs. Cohn pointed out the importance of correcting the material available in related fields, such as civics, literature, and biology. Mr. Wright thought that the thing we ought to aim at ultimately is not a description of Negro history and Negro contributions, but the sentiment that "here is a man who happens to be Negro (or white)."

Mrs. Cohn recalled that one point made yesterday was the need for two different types of approach. There are teachers who have to have their own lack of information remedied, and perhaps the Council should furnish them with the type of information we have been talking about. But there are others who know the facts and are ready and anxious to move into teaching better human relations. They face the problem of how to bring about better feeling among children in a segregated school system. They are approaching race relations from the perspective of human relations. It is not possible to use the same material with teachers on different levels of development. On the lower level, the need is for factual material; on the higher level, human relations.

Mr. Washington spoke about the problem of approaching the people at the top in the school system, the people who supervise those who do the actual teaching. He thought that we need to make an appeal to their self-interest; to point out that white children and adults suffer from an ambivalent situation in which, on the one hand, democracy is preached, and on the other hand there is the inability to accept and understand differences. Because of this, we have poor citizens, unstable workers, and unstable voters. Mr. Washington pointed out the challenge to the Council to use a new attack. He thought that, since the foundations have shifted their focus toward human relations and away from the older intellectual education, the Council should go after large foundation sums for the purpose of making better citizens generally. Such a program would involve people who are experts in the field of human relations -- social workers, social psychiatrists, psychiatrists, etc.

Mr. Dent stressed that the first step is to define our goals. He believed that the acceptance of segregation is dangerous, and that if the Council cannot retain its respectability in the South while saying segregation must go, then it should forfeit its respectability. He thought that the natural effect of acceping segregation is that students and teachers say, "There must be some difference between Negroes and whites because we are segregated," and that the Council will get nowhere as long as it accepts the status quo. He made the further point that the South must get rid of Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents of Negro Schools; that supervisors should be appointed on the basis of areas of work rather than race. Another problem is that teachers meet separately. He thought that it makes little difference what is in the textbooks; what is important is who teaches the textbooks.

Rabbi Mantinband recommended that the Council should explore what is being done in human relations in Northern institutions with the hope of setting up something similar in the South as soon as possible.

Mr. Wellons asked whether the time was not ripe for a frontal attack to cause legislatures to do away with segregation, and if not, whether we should set that as a goal for the future -- say in ten or twenty years.

Mr. Dent urged that the Council clarify its own thinking on where we want to go. Changing textbooks could have been done twenty-five years ago. Now the Council should take the lead in social planning in the South, thinking about what the South is going to be fifty years from now. Our planning should be centered on what we want to see the South like. Even if we agree on aims, there will be disagreement on how fast change should come.

At this point it was voted that the meeting should pursue the present topic as far as it could, rather than adhere to the agenda.

Mr. Richardson recalled that the meeting yesterday agreed that there were

two thing to be considered. There is certainly a good deal of bad teaching going on, and one area for work is concerned with teachers and children. The other area is with the people who prevent good things from being taught.

Mr. Wright proposed approaching some agency which might assist in preparing textbooks. Mr. Richardson thought that it had been yesterday's consensus that the major part of any money received for the purposes under discussion would go to working with top-level people and developing a constructive attitude among them.

Mr. Wilke spoke to Mr. Dent's provious point about the effect of segregation on the attitudes of teachers and children. It had been his experience that white children who had attended school all their lives in non-segregated school systems became convinced that "something was wrong" with Southern Negro children because they do not attend school with white children.

Mrs. Stroud agreed with previous speakers that the Council should state openly that the elimination of segregation is our ultimate aim.

Mr. Fleming commented that the staff has thought a good deal about the problems which had been raised by this group, and that the Executive Committee has asked for exploration and clarification of them. He thought that two things should be taken into consideration. The first is that the "shotgun approach" is the result of lack of resources; a scientific approach such as was envisaged by the group would take a good deal of money. The second problem is whether it helps to draw a blueprint for fifty years from now when further resources have been found. The Council is dependent on a small number of people scattered throughout the South in widely varying places; any blue print that might be drawn for fifty years from now might be suitable for one place and all wrong for another.

The point was made that Southern young people are ready to push ahead, and that if the Council fails to speak out against segregation it will lose their support. Recent editorials in college newspapers supporting theadmission of Negro students and speaking against segregation were cited.

Mr. Dent thought it was not sufficient for New South to report progress in

the South, but that it should take the lead. He felt that we are much behind the younger generation, and that if we cannot state a philosophy and say what we think, we should close.

Mr. Dabbs wondered whether, if young people know where we are going, it is necessary for us to state our goals specifically.

Rabbi Mantinband proposed that the Committee urge the Council to sharpen its pronouncements, and thought that such a pronouncement could be diplomatic enough not to give offense. He believed that the Council does many good things without talking about them, and that if we talk a great deal about goals, talking may be the only thing accomplished. He thought the Council might consider revising and sharpening the statement of purpose as it appears on its publications.

Miss Read commented that the actual demonstration which the Council gives of people working together is worth a good deal more than resolutions. Multiplying the instances of cooperation would be more effective than statements which might get into the papers. The question is whether we will get where we want to be faster if we include people among us who are moderate.

At this point, the Commottee adjourned for lunch.

(Detailed minutes were not kept for Committee B, but its proceedings are adequately reported in the summary which was made to the general meeting.)

After lunch, the meeting reconvened in the Auditorium for reports and general discussion. President Williams called the meeting to order at 1:45 P.M.

Harold Fleming read the statement on representation on policy boards as amended and adopted by the Board meeting yesterday. With additional minor changes,

2. IT WAS VOTED that the statement be adopted by the membership as a whole. (See Minutes of Board Meeting.)

Mr. Williams called for reports on the morning sessions.

Mr. Trigg, for Committee A:

DR. TRIGG: Dr. Richardson summarized yesterday's discussion, emphasizing the inadequacy of much of the teaching material now in use, the problem of getting into the schools, and the need for the cooperation of teachers, principals, and superintendents.

The question of improving textbooks brought some objection from members of the group who thought that problem was settled twenty-five years ago; it was not pointed out that textbooks are newly adopted every five years. It was brought out that we have a problem of segregation not only of people, but of ideas -- we have Brotherhood Week, Negro History Week, etc., set apart from the rest of the curriculum. Intercultural education needs, it was thought, to be a continuing process and to permeate all areas of study. It was also thought that we must go into libraries, into Y's and other agencies, placing materials, and having discussions; and that our efforts to change materials in use should not be limited to Negro history, but should cover other subjects as well.

Dr. Washington indicated an approach from the self-interest point of view: getting rid of inadequacy of personality. So many people offer problems because they are inadequate; they must find someone they are better than. Mr. Washington thought we could motivate the people in positions of leadership by showing them that people make better workers when they are adequate. We should bring in psychologists, social engineers, and psychiatrists to help on the problem.

Dr. Dent thought the Council needed to redefine its objectives. What we want to do is determine who is to teach children, and not merely what is taught. This brought up the annual issue of segregation. Dr. Dent thought there should not be assistant superintendents in charge of Negro schools, and that supervisory officers should be responsible for areas of study or activity rather than for schools along racial lines.

Rabbi Mantinband thought the Council should explore the work done by other organizations in intercultural education.

Dr. Read was of the opinion that the Council serves its most important function by demonstrating, without saying too much about it, people working together on problems regardless of race.

Dr. Dent thought it was not sufficient for New South to report progress, but that it should take the lead in determining policy and trends or get out of the field.

No conclusions were reached by the group.

Mr. Moron, for Committee B:

MR. MORON: We were asked to discuss three questions yesterday morning: approaches to racial understanding through what teachers teach; preparedness for stress -- the work and status of local interracial committees; and the rest of the Council's program: organization, budget, self-surveys, publications. In the afternoon we reassembled to discuss the questions as a Board.

On teaching, the group discussed the need for materials to be put in the hands of teachers which would give them information needed on Negro history, origins, contributions, present economic and social status, outstanding accomplishments of Negroes -- material which would offset materials found in textbooks at present. It was the feeling of the group that we need to develop better materials to supplement what is being used now. This raises a number of problems:

1. The need for financial support to develop people competent in the field of educational techniques, to develop material in intercultural education, and to put material in a form that teachers can use. This would require a competent staff and would call for a grant of considerable size. The suggestion was made that this Council go on record endorsing that kind of project and suggest to the staff that it seek financial aid for such a project -- one of rather impressive size aimed at preparing materials, but also taking the necessary step of getting materials to the attention of state boards of

education, state textbooks commissions, and teachers themselves. Members of state boards of education should be called to meet as a group, then state and local superintendents, followed by meetings of teachers and, finally, a continuing job should be done with teachers. If we could announce to the state boards of education, for example, that the Southern Regional Council in cooperation with X Foundation, is sponsoring a meeting of school board officials from the entire South, it was felt that the prestige would be so great that attendance would be very good.

2. The problem of the development of resources we now have: teacher training institutes, summer schools, etc. We must give to teachers the information they need, but, most important, impart an appreciation of the need of passing good relationships on to children. The meeting was also aware of the need to do the job for Negro children, as well as white, in preparation for the time when relations will be much closer than they are now.

In the second study group yesterday there was discussion of the need for re-examining techniques we have mastered and can use in times of stress. The question of local interracial committees was discussed. There was some exploration of the number and degree of activity of the local groups we now have. In this morning's session the consensus was that the number of interracial groups is decreasing rather than increasing. Throughout the discussion it was stressed that, as we move to actual steps for getting specific things done (such as equalization of school facilities, elimination of segregation in transportation) there seems to be a tendency for the movement to become less interracial. Negroes, it was felt, are more and more going into these movements by themselves. It was brought out that, as a Council, we ought to exert every effort to keep these movements interracial. There was a feeling that we need urgently to re-examine what we are doing in our communities and see to what extent we are increasing interracial activities or splitting apart. There was considerable feeling that Negroes are becoming more concerned with getting things done now than with building solid interracial fellowship.

There were some bright spots in some communities: Houston is bringing together people of different races and religions, making use of the alliance of Negro and white ministers and of the association of rabbis.

We discussed the need for developing technique of community organization, for getting Negroes on policy-making boards, and encouraging Negroes with prestige to risk running for office. We talked about the problem of how to get people on a high social, cultural, and economic level -- people who know about the theory of government -- on familiar terms with the people who are active in politics and run the governments. We should not think of integration as being limited to racial or religious groups, but including economic and social groupings as well. Someone suggested finding out what kind of pressures politicians will recognize: one of them, of course, is the large body of voting people in the community. The first need is to bring out the vote in each election; the rest is the problem of organizing people to vote, providing leadership so that things like the large ballot, obscure language on the ballot, etc., such as occurred yesterday in the Georgia election, can be explained to them.

Finally, we discussed the need for using existing organizations within the community. Bring the churches into the picture, point out the Christian approach to the problem of race relations. The need in these times is for broadening our scope, to use our organizations to cover not only interracial relationships, but intercultural relationships as well.

The last question for discussion -- organization, and plans for the future work of the Council -- we did not have an opportunity to go into.

The general discussion which followed turned for awhile on the point made in Committee B that the split between Negroes and whites on the local level is becoming wider, that Negroes are more and more trying to get things done by themselves, and that the local movement is becoming less interracial in character. It was thought by some that there has been a widening of the gap on the local level, but a closer identification on the national

level, and that national policy has moved ahead of local policy.

Mr. Wright was of the opinion that the weakening of the local interracial groups might be partially explained by the fact that the goals which the groups had set themselves were actually being attained. For example, they came into being when it was almost beyond reason to think that Negroes would vote, or would enter State universities, so that whites and Negroes organized to attain those rights. In less than twenty-five years, those rights either exist or are just around the corner. Perhaps the slackening at the moment is due to the fact that action is being taken by the courts and has passed out of our hands.

Mr. Saporta gave an encouraging instance from his contacts with the students at Georgia Tech. He concluded that Southern young people are much further ahead than we think and are ready to accept the breakdown of artificial barriers. Mrs. Tilley gave an encouraging account of work done by local interracial committees in Georgia and said that many of the difficulties encountered were due not to any fundamental cleavage between white and Negro people, but to the artificial atmosphere created by the political campaigns. She said that if the two races are farther apart, at least more people are thinking about the subject than ever before and that one of the things we need may be leadership. Mr. Moron added that in his observation, in the last two years the barrier of segregation is being attacked by a solid Negro group rather than interracially. He observed that even after court victories there remains much work that would best be done by a corps of Negroes and whites who could work at getting bond issues and other follow-ups promoted. Mr. Shea said that the South has moved beyond the paternalistic phase. Negroes now are going to take part in government. The paternalist gets cold feet. We are losing those who don't want to stand up and be counted with us, and for the loss of an old guard we can find a new one willing to go forward. Dr. Mays thought that if interracial activities were in a slack period, that might really be a sign of progress, in that, in lieu of minor concessions of the past, the

present trend is for getting rid of segregation entirely. Mrs. Hamilton thought that the Council needed to look at the basis on which it is asking the people of the South for support and be firmer and more forthright than hitherto we have felt it wise to be.

The Executive Director said that the topic of local interracial committees had been put before the meeting in order to explore their use as a way of meeting the stresses certain to come in every Southern community in a new period of defense preparation. The strains that are so clearly ahead will require from the South the utmost it can muster of local and Southwide interracial understanding.

Mr. Dent, in referring to the morning session, said it seemed to him that the greatest single factor contributing to the lack of understanding in the South is segregation in the schools and that the Council cannot be effective until it says whether it wants ultimately to see segregation eliminated. This affects our whole philosophy of education. If we think of every situation in terms of that long-range objective, we will command more respect than we do now. He did not think public statements were necessary, but he thought we needed to commit ourselves to this long-range goal among ourselves. It was his view that human understanding between people in the South would come only as that goal is reached.

Father Eagan emphasized the important role of religious leadership in bringing about the changes desired. Mr. Neal said that at each critical period in the South, when we could have voted on the right side, we have dodged the issue. He wanted to see a motion against segregation made by a native Southern white man and seconded by another.

Mr. Washington said that the only action which had been discussed was action such as was taken years ago. He proposed that an outside group, made up of cultural anthropologists, social psychologists, and others, who could consider objectively the matters discussed today, be brought in to study the situation, reporting on what had been successful in the rest of the country

and making proposals that would end in amelioration. He believed that foundation support could be had for an inquiry of that kind. After discussion, Mr. Washington made a motion that an outside body, made up of experts in human relations selected from all over the country, be organized, and that the Executive Committee be asked to select such a committee of experts provisionally and approach a foundation for funds to enable them to study our goals.

In the discussion which followed Mr. Jones, citing the experience of the Detroit race riots, said that the problem was not one of understanding by experts, but of getting that understanding down to the people who need it.

Mr. Dent thought that the need was for experts to implement our objectives and not to determine the Council's goals.

Mr. Newbold proposed that, if there is a serious cleavage among the group present, no hasty action be taken with regard to changing the purpose and objectives of the organization, and that the Council continue along somewhat the same lines for the coming year. Mr. Williams, in response, said that he thought nothing drastic was proposed, and that the special committee could explore matters fully.

Mr. Washington having accepted the substance of an amending motion offered by Mr. Griffin,

3. IT WAS VOTED that the Board be empowered to appoint a committee to look into important matters of policy, having in mind the possibility of calling in expert guidance to finance a large program in human relations.

Rabbi Mantinband asked whether more could not be done to reduce delinquency in dues payments by members.

Mr. Fogleman reported for the newly organized Louisiana Division and Mr. Wilke for the Arkansas Division.

Mr. Rainey, Chairman of the Finance Committee, made a strong appeal for support of the 50 for '51 campaign. He said that if the membership wanted the organization to do anything, they must go out in each state and find fifty people who will give or raise $100.00 apiece. Otherwise, what has gone

on at this meeting is just wasted breath.

At this point, the Executive Director presented a proposed budget. (See Minutes of Board of Directors meeting.) He said that unless $15,000.00 is found within a matter of months, the Council cannot continue to operate, and that the amount will have to be found by the people in the States through the 50 for '51 campaign. He did not recommend the adoption of the budget, but suggested that this meeting recommend the continuance of the Council for an indefinite period, within the discretion of the Executive Committee.

On motion of Mr. Wright, duly seconded,

4. IT WAS VOTED that the organization go on record as authorizing the Executive Committee to exercise its judgment as to further continuance beyond such period as it shall define; and that, if sufficient funds are not forthcoming to warrant continuance, the Executive Committee shall have authority to act.

Mr. Wright, as Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, reported a harmonious session with himself, and the absence of any resolutions. On behalf of the Committee, he asked a rising vote of thanks to the Phyllis Wheatley Y. W. C. A., and its staff for their courtesy and hospitality, which was done.

In the final discussion of the question of elections to replace members of the Board of Directors whose terms were expiring,

5. IT WAS VOTED that, in view of the fact that the Executive Committee and the Board are studying a new structure for the Board of Directors, the full list of vacancies in the Board membership should not be filled, and that the Board of Directors be invested with the power to name new members to fill the three vacancies occurring because of death or resignation.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 4:15 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

Norma Huff

Norma Huff
Secretary-Treasurer

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Executive Committee

December 16, 1950, 10:30 A.M.

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council met at 10:30 A.M., December 16, 1950, in the Council offices, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Georgia. The following members were present: Rufus E. Clement, Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton, Msgr. T. James McNamara, and Marion A. Wright.

Staff members present were: Harold C. Fleming. Mrs. Norma Huff, George S. Mitchell, Elizabeth Rogers, and Mrs. M. E. Tilly. Also attending in an advisory capacity were Morris Abram and John A. Griffin, members of the Board, and Mrs. Helen Cohn, who has recently led the Council's work in New Orleans, and Louisiana.

In the absence of Charles S. Johnson, Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Wright took the chair.

Mrs. Huff, as Secretary-Treasurer, presented the financial report. Total income to the Atlanta office in the eleven-month period, January 1 - November 30, 1950, was $34,084. The major sources were: $7,750 from foundations; $5,365 from churches or church-related groups; $14,121 from individual contributions, including sums received from State efforts; and the remainder from sale of literature and subscriptions, members' dues, other large contributors, and lecture fees.

In the same eleven-month period, the Council expenditures were $34,010. Current (December 16) debt in salaries, travel, and bills was $2,481. Obligations to Messrs. Byrd and Mitchell were $7,500; total obligations were $9,981.

The above figures include the portion of dues received in Atlanta refundable and refunded to State Divisions.

Discussion followed on the proposal to reduce the size of the Board, partly as a matter of saving money. The members present were in favor of this change. Dr. Mitchell said that the Council would probablyadd another $500 to its current debt by the end of the calendar year, making a total debt of nearly $3,000 in addition to the Council's other obligations. In the event that further foundation sums are received this year, the current debt would be reduced by such amounts. The picture is comparatively good on current indebtedness. In previous years the Council has had at the end of the year a larger current debt, and it was to be borne in mind that during 1950 the Council had met its obligation to operated the Home Town Self-Survey project at a cost of about $3,000, notwithstanding the fact that funds for the project had not been saved over into 1950.

The progress of the "50 for '51" campaign was reviewed. There is pressing need for greater activity within the States in this campaign, and the Executive Director undertook to do everything possible to make the campaign really rewarding.

President Paul Williams had suggested that the Executive Committee at this meeting return the publication of New South to something like the frequency of recent years. In view of the stringency of funds, the Board meeting in November had authorized the publication of New South on a bi-monthly basis. Now that money is in hand to assist the publication of New South, the Committee agreed that it would be desirable to put it out with the usual frequency.

The Committee was of the opinion that from the Marshall Field grant for New South it would certainly be permissible to pay postage for mailing out the magazine and some part of Mr. Fleming's salary.

The Committee, on motion, directed that a report be sent to the Field Foundation after publication of each issue of New South, providing a copy of the issue and a financial statement of just what costs toward it were met from the grant.

The Committee members favored publication of New South as nearly once a month as possible.

Mr. Wright inquired whether, in future home town self-surveys, arrangements could not be made with the communities for the local committee to carry some part of the salary of the Council's advisor. The point was considered a difficult one, but, on the whole, the Committee was in favor of the plan, and, upon motion, instructed the staff to request payment of a per diem in addition to travel when the services of the Council's advisor were to be used. The motion, however, specifically permitted the omission of such charge in instances where in the discretion of the staff the attachment of the perdiem feature would defeat the result desired.

Members of the Committee pointed out that any per diem fees collected might be applied to making up the sumrequired to match a foundation contribution of $1,000 toward the self-survey project for 1951, the actual granting of which had been conditioned upon the raising of another $1,500.

The Executive Director turned the discussion to the recommendation he had made at the November Board meeting that unless approximately $15,000 of money not at present in sight were in hand within the first three months of 1951, the Council should consider measures toward liquidation. It was his view that the "50 for '51" campaign offered the principal reliance for obtaining such a sum.

Mr. Abram, serving in the absence of Mr. Leonard Haas as Acting Counsel, being present, discussion turned to the libel of the Council printed in the December 11 issue of the Augusta Courier. This small weekly newspaper,

operated as a personal political organ of Mr. Roy Harris, a powerful figure in Georgia governmental circles, had reprinted from the September-October issue of New South the article by Dr. Benjamin E. Mays entitled "Why an Atlanta School Suit?" In introducing the article, the Courier had stated that it had been drawn from "New South", a magazine gotten out in Atlanta by the Communist-front Southern Regional Council." On behalf of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., the Executive Director had on December 11 obtained advice from President Williams, from Mr. Haas, and from others and had addressed the Augusta Courier demanding retraction within two weeks. Mr. Roy Harris for the Augusta Courier had replied abusively and had requested back issues of New South so that he might inform himself about the Council. A number of back issues and pamphlets have been sent him by the Council on December 13, with renewed demand for a retraction within two weeks from December 11. Mr. Abram advised the Committee as to the practicability of suit for libel in case such suit appeared advisable.

After full discussion, the Committee felt that there were some grounds for hoping that the Augusta Courier would retract. In the event that the two weeks' deadline expired, the Committee desired that counsel address to the Augusta Courier a more formal demand for retraction.

Various proposals were made as to a suitable proposal to make to the Ford Foundation in requesting a grant. The one meeting with most approval was for a cooperative project with Atlanta University and perhaps Emory University for research by university staffs on materials in human relations suitable for use by teachers and students in Southern schools, coupled with an action program by the Southern Regional Council and its field forces for getting such material in use.

An alternative proposal for greatly stepping up the Home Town Self-Survey project by finding funds to pay the major part of the salaries

of paid secretaries to the several State Divisions, such secretaries to be charged mainly with developing survey projects, was liked, but it was felt that other foundations than Ford might be more favorable to it.

Mrs. Hamilton recalled that a good part of the discussion in the annual meeting in November had turned to developing a statement on goals on which all groups represented in the Council could unite. She wondered what points a research and action program would give greatest attention to. Before approaching a foundation to ask for money for a long-range program, she thought we ought to know what the program should be focused around. Dr. Mitchell said he thought that for a period of time to come, the lower schools of the South would continue to be segregated, and there was therefore need for an interim program for research on human relations geared to that situation.

Mr. Clement expressed the view that the research program contemplated could assist in obtaining answers to the various major problems of human relations in the South. The public schools are one part of it, but the program should be free to explore all areas. If the program is a three-year one, certain goals should be set; if a longer one, other goals.

The interest of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in a project of the general nature was mentioned.

Mr. Wright proposed asking Atlanta University, Emory University, and the Council staff to prepare a tentative proposal to approach one of the major foundations for a grant in such amount as the three should agree upon, the proposal outlined in the draft to be allied to the field of human relations in the South, and such draft then to be put before the Executive Committee by mail prior to the time of its next meeting, at which time the Committee can amend and revise it. Others proposed that the policy committee

contemplated in the Board meeting on November 8 be used at this time and its membership consulted as to the proposed human relations project, such consultation to be in addition to its longer range function of advising on and if possible drawing up an agreed statement of policy. The Executive Committee agreed that the project proposed should be submitted to both itself and the other committee as soon as it should be appointed by President Williams.

Dr. Mitchell, on instruction by the Committee members present, undertook to advise Mr. Williams that the committee to consider a policy should be convened as soon as practicable and should make use of correspondence to prepare a policy statement for the consideration of the Executive Committee, who would presumably then hold it over for the Board.

After luncheon adjournment, Mrs. Cohn discussed the experience of the New Orleans Committee on Race Relations in conducting teachers' institutes. From numerous detailed suggestions, she brought out the general recommendation that progress in education in human relations within a segregated school system depends ultimately upon enlarging the areas of contact of school officials, teachers, and parents as well as improving the instructional materials available for teachers and school children.

Dr. Mitchell listed for the Committee the names suggested by President Paul Williams as suitable persons for appointment to the special committee on policy, as follows;

Marion Wright	Dr. Howard W. Odum
Dr. Harry V. Richardson	John A. Griffin
Dr. Harold L. Trigg	Morris Abram
Dr. Charles S. Johnson	Dr. A. W. Dent
Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton	Rev. Vincent J. O'Connell

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

Norma Huff

(Mrs.) Norma Huff
Secretary-Treasurer

AMENDMENTS TO THE MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

MEETING OF DECEMBER 16, 1950

As no quorum was present, the staff, on instruction of the members of the Committee who were at the meeting, circularized all the members of the Executive Committee on three proposals made at the meeting. In addition, the staff queried the members on another proposal not discussed at the meeting, namely, coverage of the Council staff under Social Security. The letter sent out to the Committee members was as follows:

December 22, 1950

To all members of the Executive Committee:

Here are minutes of the meeting held December 16. A quorum is five, and only four members were present.

Nevertheless, important matters were discussed and made the subject of recommendations for action by the Executive Committee on a mail ballot.

These were as follows:

1. Motion to restore publication of New South as nearly as possible to a monthly basis. The grant from Marshall Field will almost cover such printing costs.

In favor: _____

Against: _____

2. The Council's standard offer to local committees arranging home town self-surveys has been hitherto to provide advice by someone from the Council's office if the local committee will pay the travel expenses. The Executive Committee members present December 16 concluded that the standard terms should include payment by the local committee of a salary per diem of the expert for the days such services were made available to the local committee, as well as travel costs. Provision made for exceptions where the standard terms would defeat the purposes of the survey.

In favor of charging per diem: _____

Against: _____

3. Motion that a policy committee of nine or eleven members, to be appointed by President Williams, combine the functions of early

advice to the Council on policy matters and a review of particular foundation requests shortly to be made ready for the study and approval of the Executive Committee.

In favor: _____

Against: _____

Another item of business by oversight was not taken up at the meeting. It concerns the possiblity that the Council take advantage of the new Federal act authorizing non-profit organizations to be covered under the Social Security system as to old-age benefits. The staff has by poll unanimously voted in favor of the deductions from salary payments needed to accomplish coverage. The remaining question is whether the Council is willing to add another 1½% of salary payments needed. If coverage is to begin January 1, the approval of the Executive Committee would be necessary before that date.

Arguments for coverage: the usual ones in favor of a pension plan. Arguments against coverage: the direct additional expense to the Council at a time when its support is precarious. Estimated additional expense in 1951 for coverage, $352.50.

In favor: _____

Against: _____

Please sign your name and return (self-addressed envelope enclosed)

Voting was as follows:

No. 1 9 for. 0 against. 1 not voting.
No. 2. 10 for. 0 against.
No. 3. 10 for. 0 against.
No. 4. 9 for. 1 against.

Mr. Marion Wright desired that the minutes show that it was recommended at the December 16 meeting that, if possible, free radio time over as many stations as possible be secured for an address by President Williams with the aim of securing contributions; and that favorable newspapers be asked to use editorial columns in urging gifts to the Council. The recommendation included the suggestion that such broadcasts by Mr. Williams should be by transcription and should be made in several cities. Stations which might give the Council some free time were thought to be those in Atlanta, Richmond, and Charlotte.

EXCERPTS FROM FULL NOTES

ON GENERAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING, NOVEMBER 8, 1950

Mr. Wright was of the opinion that the weakening of the local interracial groups might be partially explained by the fact that the goals which the groups had set themselves were actually being realized. For example, they came into being when it was almost beyond reason to think that Negroes would vote, or would enter State umiversities, so that whites and Negroes organized to obtain those rights. In less than 25 years, those rights either exist or are just around the corner. Perhaps the slackening at the moment is due to the fact that action is being taken by the courts and has passed out of our hands.

Mr. Saporta: We should not sit back and be complacent about what has been achieved. Rapprochement on a local level is just as important as on the national level. We have had an interesting experience at Georgia Tech. The Tech boys are a good cross-section of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and they have all the expected prejudices. We don't think a direct approach on the matter of segregation will do much good; but here is the sort of thing that is happening. This year one of their problems had to do with slum clearance. We encouraged them to talk to representatives of the Negro group during their investigation of facilities. Through that contact they have come to admire representatives of the Negro race; they saw that there is not so much difference as they had thought; they found that the Negro people they talked to were far more help than the whites. And when time came to pick a jury to judge their work, they themselves proposed that Negroes be included. Southern young people are much further

ahead than we think. They are ready to accept the breaking down of artificial barriers.

Mrs. Tilly spoke of her experiences with local group s in the past few months. The committees that have been organized recently feel that they have a real place of service because of the school situation. But it is hard to get new groups organized because of the political campaigns. She herself did not feel as pessimistic as some here seem to. The average white person may be farther away from Negroes, but, in Georgia at least, it is due to the type of political campaign that has been waged rather than to the Supreme Court decisions. We find a white person to go to bat for good things in every community. And if we are father apart, at least more people are thinking about the subject than ever before. One of the things we need may be leadership.

Mrs. Tilly mentioned also that in Thomasville, Georgia, the County Superintendent of Schools is on the local interracial committee.

Dr. Moron said that in his observation, during the last two years the barrier of segregation is being attacked by a solid Negro group and not by an interracial group. Even after the court issues an order, there remains the problem of implementing the order. The court can say there must be a new school, but we don't have anything like a corps of Negroes and whites who can work at getting a bod issue promoted. Mr. Wright's remarks, he said, caused him concern, because one of the greatest needs for interracial cooperation is in matters affected by court decisions.

Mrs. Tilly thought that the Atlanta school suit had done Georgia some good. There is a feeling that something has to be

done to improve schools so that segregation won't be broken down. A recent meeting of school superintendents in Athens had a session on Negro schools, and almost every superintendent wanted to go into that session. The suits are really bringing some groups together who feel they have to work things out together.

Mr. Shea thought that indications were that we have moved beyond the paternalistic phase; in church organization, for instance, we are beyond the stage where race relations means having suppers together. Now Negroes are going to take part in governments. The paternalist gets cold feet. We are losing those who don't want to stand up and be counted with us. The old guard is falling from our ranks, and we find the new guard willing to go forward. We can now go to those who have felt the effect of education and are willing to go along with us. Our key to the future is to emphasize our activities everywhere we can.

Dr. Mays wondered whether, if we are in a slack period, it is not a temporary inevitability. Years ago when the fight was to get high schools where there were no high schools, it was very easy to get outstanding ministers and professors to say, Yes, Negroes ought to have high schools, and to sign petitions. But when we move up on the level where we ask, not for high schools, but for high schools just as good as anybody else's, when we say that if the schools aren't just as good, then we want to get into your schools -- then segregation is being threatened. Dr. Mays believed that it is a sign of progress that there is a temporary period of falling off.

Mrs. Hamilton pointed out that an important question is the role of the Council. Perhaps the Council needs to look at

the basis on which it is asking the people of the South for support, and perhaps we must be firmer and more forthright than we have felt it was wise to be.

Pointing out that the topic of the role of local interracial committees was chosen by the planning committee for discussion with certain considerations in mind, Dr. Moron asked the Executive Director to comment at this point.

Dr. Mitchell made the point that the strain and change coming out of the war situation make it important to organize every possible resource that crosses the barriers of race. It is of the greatest importance that we organize in every community across the South. More local communities should use the Home Town Self-Survey; he mentioned briefly what had been accomplished in Greenville. Though the survey there was too limited in scope, great results have been achieved. The important thing is not to found a whole new series of interracial committees; the important thing is to find the people who can work together.

Dr. Dent mentioned his own comment in the morning session. It had seemed to him that the greatest single factor contributing to the lack of understanding in the South is the separation in schools. He thought thtat the Council could not be effective until it said whether it wanted ultimately to see segregation eliminated. This affects our whole philosophy of education. He thought that we have reached the point where, if we are going to take the leadership in social planning in the South, we have to face this problem and say that our ultimate goal is the elimination of segregation in education because we think that is the largest single barrier to understanding. If we think of every

situation in terms of that long-range objective we will command more respect than we now do. Dr. Dent did not think publicstatements were necessary, but he thought we need to commit ourselves to this long-fange goal among ourselves. It was his opinion that the South is at present moving toward the elimination of segregation in education, and that human understanding between people in the South would come only as that goal is reached.

Father Egan though that an important factor was the lack of religious leadership. The issue is a moral one, involving matters of rights and duties. With proper religious leadership, change would come faster than it is coming now, and he thought the Council should place more emphasis on such leadership.

Dr. Mays spoke in support of Mr. Dent. He thought that support would be lacking in the South whether the Council declared itself against segregation or for equality under segregation. It was his belief that if the Council takes a stand it will get more support than ever before, provided that its statement is prudent.

Mr. Neal: At each critical period in the South, when we could have voted on the right side, we have dodged the issue. I would like to see a motion against segregation made by a native Southern white man and seconded by another.

Dr. Washington made the point that the only action that had been discussed was action such as was taken years ago. He proposed that an outside group, made up of cultural anthropologists, social psychologists, etc., who can consider objectively all the ideas that have been talked about,be brought in to study the situation, the goals proposed today, and examine what has been successful in the rest of the country. The study should be one that would end in amelioration. It was his opinion that if such

a proposal were offered to a foundation, we would get the money to carry it out.

Asked to make his suggestion as a formal motion, Dr. Washington stated it as follows: That an outside body made up of experts in areas of improving human relations, selected from all over the country, be organized, and that the Executive Committee be asked to select such a group of experts provisionally and approach a foundation for funds to engage them to study our goals.

Mr. Jones cited the experience of the Detroit race riots and said that the problem is not one of understanding by experts, but of getting that understanding down to the people who need it.

Mr. Griffin offered an amendment to Mr. Washington's proposal, as follows: That this meeting propose a committee from among its own members to study the proposal more carefully than can be done at this meeting and to call on the experts.

Mr. Washington expressed himself as in agreement with the amendment.

Dr. Dent thought that the need was for experts to implement our objectives, not to determine the Council's goals.

Mr. Newbold proposed that, if there is a serious cleavage among the group present, no hasty action be taken with regard to changing the purpose and objectives of the organization, and that the organization continue along somewhat the same lines for the coming year. Mr. Williams, in response, said that he thought nothing drastic was proposed, and that the special committee could explore matters fully.

On motion of Mr. Griffin, duly seconded, it was voted tha the Board be empowered to appoint a committee to look into important matters of policy, having in mind the possibility of calling in expert guidance to finance a large program in human relations.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting

March 3, 1951

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council met at 10:00 A.M., March 3, 1951, in the Council offices, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Ga. Charles S. Johnson, Chairman of the Committee, presided, and the following members were present: Paul R. Christopher, Rufus E. Clement, Leonard Haas, Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Guy B. Johnson, Paul D. Williams, and Marion A. Wright.

Staff members present were: Harold C. Fleming, Mrs. Norma Huff, George S. Mitchell, Elizabeth Rogers, and Mrs. M. E. Tilly.

The invocation was given by Mr. Williams.

In closed executive session before being joined by the staff, the Committee had approved the salary adjustments recommended in the budget submitted to the 1950 annual meeting.

Dr. Mitchell reported that the four issues tentatively approved by the non-quorum Executive Committee meeting in December had been approved by the entire Committee when circulated by mail. One item omitted from the minutes of that meeting -- Mr. Wright's suggestion that Mr. Williams appear on the radio to appeal for funds, and that friendly newspapers be enlisted to campaign for funds for the Council -- had been added as an amendment. Reading of the minutes was dispensed with.

Upon motion,

1. IT WAS VOTED that the minutes as amended be adopted.

Report of the Executive Director

Dr. Mitchell reported on foundation contacts; recent travel on behalf of the Council; the death of Mr. G. D. Rogers, a member of the Board of

Directors; the intended resignation of Mr. Mynders as chairman of the Tennessee Division; his own forthcoming trip to Louisiana; and Mr. Arthur Mitchell's series of meetings with Council members and his fund-raising trip to Texas.

The Committee directed that resolutions of condolence be sent in its name to Mrs. G. D. Rogers.

Dr. Guy Johnson reported on the successful organization of the North Carolina Division at a meeting in February. Because of the small attendance, election of officers was to be conducted by mail.

Financial Report

The Secretary-Treasurer reviewed finances for the year 1950 and the first two months of 1951. She stated that, because of the illness of the accountant, the audit had not been completed and therefore the figures were only approximately accurate.

The following is a summary of the Report:

Sources of Income: January 1 - December 31, 1950

Contributions:		
Church Sources	$ 5,649.00	
Foundation Sources	9,600.00	
Other Sources	17,009.00	$32,258.00
Membership dues		4,997.00
Sale of Literature		1,075.00
Honoraria		586.00
New South Subscriptions		488.00
TOTAL INCOME		$39,404.00
Cash Disbursements: Jan. 1 - Dec. 31, 1950		$39,717.00

****

Accounts Payable - December 31, 1950

Current indebtedness		$ 2,376.49
Loans: George S. Mitchell	$1,500.00	
Thomas F. Byrd	6,000.00	7,500.00
TOTAL ACCOUNTS PAYABLE		$ 9,876.49

For the first two months of 1951, the figures were as follows:

Total income	$7,136.00
Total cash disbursements	6,060.00
Accounts payable	8,529.00

****

A revised estimate of income for the remaining ten months of 1951 was submitted, totalling $22,200.00, and a revised twelve-months budget for 1951, as follows:

Salaries	$23,920.00
Travel	4,400.00
Office supplies	1,300.00
Rent	1,560.00
Postage	1,300.00
Tel. & Tel.	800.00
Miscellaneous	400.00
Interest	325.00
Audit	135.00
Bank charges	10.00
Expenses of meetings	50.00
Corporate registration fee	1.00
Printing	4,500.00
TOTAL	$38,701.00

The recapitulation showed the following figures:

Recapitulation, 1951

Estimated expenditures, 1951	$38,701.00
Less expenditures Jan. and Feb.	-6,060.00
Estimated expenditures remaining ten months	32,641.00
Less, available for projects, and cash on hand	-4,600.00
Total operating money to be found for remainder of 1951	28,041.00
Plus "standing debt" Feb. 28, 1951	7,939.00
	35,978.00
Less estimated income remainder of 1951	-22,200.00
Shortfall	13,778.00
Probable additional foundation grants	-3,000.00
Total needed to be raised to end year debt free	$10,778.00

Members of the Committee expressed pleasure at the sums which had reached the Council in the last two or three months and the consequent improvement in the Council's financial position.

Mrs. Huff read a membership report as of February 28, 1951, showing 2,830 members and associate members, of whom 1, 272 were delinquent in dues.

The report on the "50 for '51" campaign, as of February 28, 1951, showed 142 new Sustaining Members; the goal had been 5,000. Leading states were Mississippi with 19, South Carolina with 18, and Georgia with 17.

At the request of members of the Committee, it was agreed that comparative yearly figures should be furnished in the future.

A variety of promising suggestions regarding fund-raising were made by Mr. Christopher, Mr. Clement, Mr. Haas, Dr. Charles Johnson, Dr. Guy Johnson, Mr. Williams, and Mr. Wright.

Discussion turned to the recommendation made to the annual meeting that if some $15,000.00 of new money were not in sight by March 15, consideration should be given to putting the Council on a liquidation basis. The Committee, taking note of the better financial prospects, authorized continuance of the Council through the next meeting of the Committee in June.

Upon motion, duly seconded,

2. IT WAS VOTED that the revised budget for the ten-month period from March through December, 1951, as presented at this meeting, be adopted.

Discussion turned to the debt to Mr. Byrd. Dr. Mitchell described conversations with Mr. Byrd in which the latter agreed to accept two stated-term, interest-bearing notes in place of the present one. Upon motion.

3. IT WAS VOTED that the matter of the Byrd notes be left to Mr. Haas Mr. Williams, and Dr. Mitchell.

On the matter of the libel of the Council in the Augusta Courier, after some discussion,

4. IT WAS VOTED that the Committee extend its thanks to the Executive Director for having called the matter to its attention, but that no legal action be taken.

The Committee recommended that the form for bequests prepared by Mr. Haas be sent out as an insert with a future mailing of New South.

After considerable discussion of the possibilities of making wider use of the press and radio in getting the Council better known and supported, it was agreed that careful inquiry should be made into the possibilities of radio and television broadcasts discussing the South's responsibilities for its problems, and its opportunities. It was Mr. Wright's desire that Paul Williams be featured on any such radio or television program.

Dr. Clement and others suggested ways in which the Council might lessen the expense of sending New South to delinquent members. The Committee recommended that delinquent members not be carried longer than two years. Dr. Charles Johnson urged that Council members be asked to send in names of friends they thought would be interested in joining.

The matter of the pending application to a major foundation was presented. On motion, duly seconded,

5. IT WAS VOTED that the Special Committee, to meet in the afternoon, be authorized to pass on the appeal, with full power to act.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 12:30 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

Norma Huff

(Mrs.) Norma Huff
Secretary-Treasurer

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of the Special Committee on Policy

March 3, 1951

The Special Committee on Policy of the Southern Regional Council met at 1:30 P.M., March 3, 1951, in the Council offices, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Ga. In the absence of Charles S. Johnson, Chairman of the Committee, Marion A. Wright presided. The following members of the Committee were present: Morris Abram, J. M. Dabbs, A. W. Dent, Rufus E. Clement, John Griffin, Leonard Haas, Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Guy B. Johnson (as proxy for Harold L. Trigg), and Harry V. Richardson.

Staff members present were: Harold C. Fleming, Mrs. Norma Huff, George S. Mitchell, and Elizabeth Rogers. Paul D. Williams, President of the Council, was also present.

Since most of the members of the Special Committee were present at the morning session of the Executive Committee, only a brief summary of the financial report was given. Mrs. Huff read the budget which had been adopted by the Executive Committee.

Mr. Williams, asked to make a brief statement of the purposes for which the Committee had been appointed, said that at the last meeting of the Board, in November, a motion had been made that a committee should be appointed to examine the over-all picture and try to sharpen the Council's purposes in terms of the present day. It was desired that the Committee should be a cross-section and should also include people in the social sciences. In addition, the Committee was authorized to review a request to a major foundation for a grant.

Dr. Mitchell read excerpts from the verbatim minutes of the annual meeting which bore on the appointment of the Special Committee.

After some discussion, it was decided to postpone discussion of policy until after the appeal to the Ford Foundation had been discussed.

It was decided that, since the appeal was new to most of those present, it should be read aloud, with discussion to follow.

Concerning the problem of presenting the report, Mr. Abram urged that the Ford Foundation group knows almost nothing about the South. He thought that the appeal should not go by mail, but that some prominent Southerner should talk by telephone with Hutchins and indicate that the Council is the organization to do something for the South, that he and other Southerners want to come to the Ford people and talk to them.

A committee of five or six was advocated, rather than the original three-man group, when the time came to talk in person to the Ford people. Dr. Guy Johnson thought that the selection of people for the committee should wait on what Mr. Williams finds when he talks to Mr. May.

It was agreed that discussion of purpose should wait on completion of the Ford appeal, because it was felt that objectives were implicit in the appeal. Mr. Wright suggested that after the completion of the appeal, it be gone over by a qualified person and the policy statement extracted. A statement of about a thousand words was favored.

Dr. Mitchell spoke of the problem of complete democratic decision. If the Negro in the South were fully represented on boards and legislatures and in office, the white and Negro people at each major point would make decisions by an open and democratic process.

Mr. Fleming added his feeling that, after final goals are determined, the problem still remains of how to move from the society which exists

to the society which is desired. He thought we should perhaps concentrate more on process and less on a blueprint of what is desired.

Mr. Dabbs advocated that, when the statement of policy is extracted from the appeal, it be recast in terms more suited to a Southern audience, since the purpose of the statement would be to coalesce opinion in the South.

Respectfully submitted,

Norma Huff

(Mrs.) Norma Huff
Secretary-Treasurer

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting

June 30, 1951 10:00 A.M.

The meeting of the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council was held at the headquarters of the Y.W.C.A., 37 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Ga., June 30, 1951. The meeting was called to order at 10:05 A.M.

In the absence of both Dr. Charles Johnson, Chairman of the Executive Committee, and Paul Williams, President of the Council, Marion Wright took the chair.

The invocation was given by Mr. Trigg.

Members present were: Paul R. Christopher, Rufus E. Clement, Leonard Haas, Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Harold L. Trigg, and Marion A. Wright. Mr. Clement could not be present after the first hour.

Staff members present were: Harold C. Fleming, Mrs. Norma Huff, George S. Mitchell, Elizabeth Rogers, Katherine Stoney, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, and Emory Via. Mr. Galen Weaver, of the Race Relations Department of the Congregational Church, attended a part of the meeting as a guest of Dr. Mitchell.

On motion, duly seconded,

1. IT WAS VOTED that reading of the minutes of the March 3 Executive Committee be dispensed with.

Report of the Secretary-Treasurer

The Committee heard the Report of the Secretary-Treasurer, as follows:

STATEMENT OF INCOME
March - June 22, 1951

				1950
Contributions:				
Church Sources:				
Methodist:				
Div. of Home Missions & Ch. Extension	$ 500.00			
Woman's Div. of Chr. Service	1,100.00			
W.S.C.S.				
Ky. Conference	25.00			
Fla. Conference	25.00			
Holston Conference	25.00	$1,675.00		
Presbyterian, U.S.:				
Bd. of Church Extension		200.00		
Christian:				
Southern Christian Institute		25.00	$1,900.00	$ 640.00
Organization Sources:				
Agnes Scott Student Assn.		2.50		
Emory University Community Chest		218.04		
I.L.G.W.U.		500.00		
Prairie View (Tex.) Community Chest		25.00		
Mentzer-Bush Publishing Co.		200.00		
Cultural Club, Columbia, S.C.		10.00	955.54	1,709.90
Foundation Sources:				
Sigmund Silberman Foundation		300.00		
William C. Whitney Foundation		500.00		
Sidney Hillman Fund		2,500.00		
Chr. Service Foundation		100.00	3,400.00	1,100.00
Individual Contributions			1,024.72	6,705.03
Total Contributions			7,180.26	10,154.93
Other Income:				
Dues		1,979.68		2,257.00
New South Subscriptions		147.83		97.06
Sale of Miscellaneous Literature		366.87		352.46
Honoraria		75.00	2,569.38	150.00
TOTAL INCOME			$9,749.64	$13,011.45

STATEMENT OF CASH IDSBURSEMENTS

MARCH - JUNE 22, 1951

		1951	1950
Salaries		$ 6,293.19	$ 7,451.49
Printing, New South & Lit.		1,932.78	1,547.45
Travel		832.06	1,576.60
Withholding Tax		1,306.98	823.65
Ga. Sales Tax on Lit. Sales		2.05	
Office Supplies		300.36	695.33
Rent		380.00	390.00
Postage		359.71	526.72
Telephone and Telegraph		240.82	402.20
Audit		165.00	100.00
Books and Subscriptions		10.05	71.40
Bank Charges		3.36	13.65
Conference Fee		10.00	
Meeting Luncheon		11.83	
Press Clipping Service			103.50
Insurance			9.00
State Divisions:			
Alabama	$142.00		
Arkansas	12.50		
Florida	140.00		
Kentucky	62.50		
Louisiana	68.50		
Mississippi	54.50		
New Orleans Com.	45.00		
North Carolina	92.00		
South Carolina	173.00		
Tennessee	75.25	865.25	310.25
		$12,713.44	$14,020.24

ACCOUNTS PAYABLE
June 22, 1951

Salary:			
George S. Mitchell		$ 937.50	
Office Supplies:			
Elliott Addressing Co.	$ 3.30		
Gershon Printing Co.	93.99		
Tidwell Company	16.50		
Office Supply Co.	7.59	121.38	
Printing:			
Stein Printing Company		351.15	
Withholding Taxes - June 22, 1951 (due July 1)		207.03	
State Divisions:			
Alabama	18.00		
Arkansas	1.50		
Florida	10.50		
Kentucky	1.50		
Mississippi	3.00		
New Orleans Committee	6.00		
North Carolina	6.00		
South Carolina	12.00		
Tennessee	14.50	73.00	$1,654.06
Loans Payable:			
George S. Mitchell		1,500.00	
Thomas F. Byrd		4,500.00	6,000.00
TOTAL			$7,654.06

Total Liabilities, June 1, 1950 - $11,621.34

SRC SPECIAL ACCOUNTS

Balance as of June 22, 1951

Fellowship of the Concerned	$1,274.46
New South	1,186.95
National Sharecroppers Fund	181.22
Home Town Self-Survey	792.68
	$3,435.31

COMPARATIVE FIGURES FOR YEARS 1945 - 1950

	1950	1949	1948	1947	1946	1945
TOTAL INCOME	39,111.46	53,033.71	42,825.00	55,744.45	56,744.45	62,257.79
TOTAL EXPENSES	41,120.38	46,318.38	49,497.96	60,952.17	49,217.00	52,773.37
TOTAL LIABILITIES	14,278.17	6,523.79	7,652.02	6,155.89		
EXCESS OF EXPENSES OVER INCOME	2,008.92		6,672.34	5,022.34		
EXCESS OF INCOME OVER EXPENSES		6,715.33			7,527.45	948.42
DEFICIT, Dec. 31	10,450.31	8,441.39	12,156.72	5,483.76		

1951

Income, January - June 22	$16,886.00
Budget for half year	19,350.00

Mrs. Huff stated that thus far the "50 for '51" campaign had brought in only 227 ten-dollar members.

Report of the Executive Director

The Executive Director reviewed his speaking engagements at various points, including luncheon meetings of the American Jewish Committee chapters at Memphis, Dallas, and Houston. He referred to Mrs. Tilly's trip with other church women to Charleston to be present at the lawsuit there on segregation in the Clarendon County schools.

Reference was made to the return to the NCCJ of the $500 granted by them to aid a self-survey at Rock Hill, S.C. As it appeared that Rock Hill would not do its survey in the near future, the grant had been returned to NCCJ and had in the last day or two been re-granted to the Council as advance payment for travel through the South to encourage additional community self-surveys.

Dr. Mitchell reported that the orginal debt to Mr. Byrd had been reduced to $4,500 and that the Council's present note to him for that sum matures December 31, 1951.

He reported that the National Sharecroppers Fund had postponed payment of the remainder of its original $1,500 grant until next fall. This causes a complication because, meanwhile, the Council has undertaken to pay for completion of a draft of a pamphlet on farm tenure legislation, but it was to hoped that final payment of the grant from the National Sharecroppers Fund will cover printing costs later on.

Dr. Mitchell reported receipt of a grant of $500 from the ILGWU, $2,500 from the Sidney Hillman Fund, and official grants from the Northern and Southern Presbyterians. A request had been made to the Episcopal Church for a grant of $1,000. Other requests pending are to the United Steelworkers and United Automobile Workers.

Plans have been made to appeal in the autumn to many Southern Colleges to assist the Council through student community chests.

Reference was made to a recent request made to the Marshall Field Fund for a pamphlet on police administration.

The staff explained also the proposal now being developed for impanelling a South-wide commission on unequal penalties under law. It was believed that a commission of twelve or fifteen members, empowered to engage its own small staff and to convene several times, could explore the whole field of unequal penalties and report its recommendations to the South. There are grounds for believing that the South could be persuaded in a few years' time greatly to alter its present practice in that regard.

Dr. Mitchell forecast income for the remainder of the year at approximately $12,000.

Various correspondence in connection with the appeal to the Ford Foundation was reviewed with the Committee.

Council Reorganization

Discussion turned to the matter of reorganization of the Board of Directors. Dr. Mitchell reviewed the proposals made at the last annual meeting for collapsing the Board and Executive Committee into a single 17- or 19-man Executive Board, the ultimate governing body still to be the annual membership meeting. He pointed out that the Committee might well consider the whole matter in the light of the possibility of substantial financial support. There is always the possibility that a widespread membership organization never well enough in touch with its membership may be veered off its normal course by a small group of members at one of the annual meetings. Dr. Mitchell thought it wise to consider asking the state organizations to pick up and cultivate closely the existing membership of the Council within the state, the Council itself to become a self-perpetuating Board. Such a Board might be composed of fifty-odd members, including the chairman and vice chairman of each cooperating state organization. This would make it possible for each state to pursue pretty much its own pace, the Council cooperating; whereas at present it is difficult for the Council to assist in the more advanced states when other component organizations within the Council are not so far along. The central office of the Council under such an arrangement would play an important part in the selection of personnel by the State Divisions; it would continue to publish a journal for the benefit of all members of State Divisions, and it would serve as a central organization for research interpretation.

It was recalled that the reorganization plan discussed in 1950

contemplated a fifty-man advisory committee. The suggestion was made that a more extensive reorganization might gear in with the plan of reorganization advanced last year, if the 50-man advisory committee were selected with the possibility in mind that it might become substantially the governing body of the Council under some further reorganization.

After some discussion,

2. IT WAS VOTED that Mr. Williams be asked to appoint a nominating committee to prepare three lists of nominations based upon the three contingencies--simple replacement of Board members whose terms expire this year; collapse of the Board and Executive Committee into an Executive Board and the appointment of a fifty-man Advisory Committee; or the setting up of a self-perpetuating Board.

Upon motion, duly seconded,

3. IT WAS VOTED that the Council be authorized to continue operations at the present level

Upon motion, duly seconded,

4. IT WAS VOTED that the next annual meeting be held November 14, 1951, at ten o'clock at Atlanta University.

The details of arrangements for the manner of the meeting were left to the President of the Council.

Staff Changes

Mrs. Norma Huff having resigned as Secretary-Treasurer effective June 30, her letter of resignation was read to the Committee, which accepted the resignation with great regret and warm thanks for her faithful services. The Executive Director recommended as interim replacement, Miss Katherine Stoney, formerly of Winston-Salem and now of Atlanta. The Executive Committee approved her appointment as Acting Secretary-Treasurer, pending confirmation at the November Board meeting.

The Executive Director introduced Mr. Emory Via, who is acting in a temporary capacity as Research Assistant until a permanent Research and

Survey Assistant can be secured.

Letter to Three Governors

Mr. Fleming read the "Letter to Three Southern Governors" proposed for inclusion in the next issue of New South.

After luncheon adjournment, the Committee reconvened and discussed at some length the proposed open letter. One or two members questioned the wisdom of addressing the letter directly to the governors, on the ground that it might give them unnecessary publicity, but after discussion the letter was approved with several minor changes.

Mr. Christopher raised the question of the desirability of including in future issues of New South or other Council publications more material which would be readily appreciated by average working people in the South.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 2 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

Norma Huff

(Mrs.) Norma Huff
Secretary-Treasurer

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting

October 26, 1951

The meeting of the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. was held at the Council offices, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE, Atlanta, Georgia, October 26, 1951.

Members present were: Marion A. Wright, Leonard Haas, Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Paul R. Christopher, Paul D. Williams, and Rufus E. Clement. Staff members present were: George S. Mitchell, Harold C. Fleming, Katherine Stoney, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Anna Holden, Emily Calhoun, and Mrs. Adella Shields.

Before the meeting was called to order, Dr. Mitchell gave a report on recent attempts to secure funds for establishing a Southern Commission on Equal Penalties in Courts of Law. Members of the Commission would be distinguished Southern leaders of both races, who would be authorized to hire a small research staff to compile for them the penalties, by race, for crimes committed in various Southern States over a period of years. The Commission would then publish its findings, together with recommendations as to how these practices should be altered. Dr. Mitchell added that he had been told informally that the $6,000 to $8,000 necessary to set up such a Commission could be had -- half in the North and half in the South. He further said that in November he should be able to travel out in the various states and consult as to who ought to be on the Commission.

There followed some discussion as to the possibility of having law students in various Southern states do some of the needed research. It was agreed that it would be well to investigate this possibility.

Mr. Wright presided until Mr. Williams arrived.

Mrs. Tilly gave the invocation.

Report of the Executive Director

The Executive Director introduced the following new staff members: Emily Calhoun, secretary to the Executive Director; Anna Holden, research assistant, who is to travel to various towns over the South soon on behalf of the self-survey; and Mrs. Adella Shields, membership secretary.

Items reviewed were: the plans of Mrs. Tilly for the Fellowship of the Concerned to meet with its supporters state by state, in lieu of holding a single Southwide meeting of the Fellowship this year; the status and plans of the State Divisions or cooperating Interracial Committees in Alabama, South Carolina, Arkansas, Tennessee, Louisiana, Kentucky, Florida, Georgia, and Texas; the Council's commitment to do a lengthy article in the forthcoming Negro Year Book on race relations in the South for 1950-51; the substantial commitment of time involved in entertaining and informing foreign visitors; summer travel for speaking engagements; the prospects for our getting out a pamphlet on race and law enforcement; Dr. Harry Richardson's effort, in cooperation with Mr. Benjamin Mays and Mr. A. T. Walden, in raising a substantial sum for the Council (now about $700); efforts to get campus community chests to help the Council; indications that the U. S. Treasury is tightening up on tax-exempt organizations; and the status of the Council's request to the Ford Foundation.

Additionally, Dr. Mitchell reported that Mr. Thomas F. Byrd, to whom the Council is indebted, had lately been paid $550 on principal, plus all interest for 1951. This action had reduced the Council's total indebtedness to Mr. Byrd to $3,950, and Mr. Byrd had agreed to renew the note, due December 31, 1951, for another six months. The circumstances under which the gift of $5,000 had been received through the American Friends Service Committee were reviewed; and the resignation of Mr. John H. Wheeler as Vice-President of the Council, because of inability to give what he deemed a proper amount of time to the organization, was discussed and directed to be presented to the Board at its December meeting.

Mr. Williams reported on additional funds which he thought would be reaching the Council before the end of the year.

Report of the Secretary-Treasurer

Miss Stoney, Acting Secretary-Treasurer, after recalling that monthly statements of financial condition had been sent to members of the Executive Committee, made the following report: (See attached)

Mr. Wright requested that the Council make every effort to reduce its indebtedness to the Executive Director (life insurance loan, $1,500).

Mr. Clement, Mr. Wright, Mrs. Hamilton, Mr. Williams, and Mr. Haas all offered suggestions as to further sources of support. The members of the Committee were united in wishing that the remaining copy of the exhibit prepared for the Ford Foundation should be shown to other persons who might assist the Council, and there was some feeling that an additional copy of the exhibit should be prepared.

Mr. Fleming reported on the publications and public opinion efforts of the Council, reviewing the influence of the "Letter to Three Southern Governors" and the June issue of New South on "Negro Municipal Workers."

Unfinished Business

Mr. Fleming read aloud the Statement of Policy and Aims, prepared by the staff in accordance with the suggestions of the Special Committee. It was recalled that the Executive Committee had commissioned the Special Committee on Policy to ready such a statement for the next meeting of the Board, and the views of members of the Executive Committee were requested on the statement.

A variety of detailed suggestions were made, and they will be incorporated in the altered draft to be circulated again to members of the Special Committee.

New Business

Various members discussed the alternatives for a more suitable organizational structure of the Council in the event that substantial enlargement of the Council's work should become possible, and Mr. Williams was authorized to appoint a special committee of the Executive Committee to prepare possible by-laws for consideration in that event. (After the meeting Mr. Williams appointed as members of this committee: Mr. Leonard Haas, chairman; Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton; and Mr. Gordon Hancock.)

Mr. Williams informed the Committee that it was his wish that this should be his last year as President of the Council, saying that as he had served six years, he thought it right that the responsibility move on now to other shoulders.

In a discussion of possible future reorganization of the Council, there was general agreement that if the Council finds itself in a position to assist constituent state organizations, it should not provide simple annual cash grants, but should be able to require from cooperating organizations policy conformity to the general purposes of the Council.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

Katherine Stoney

Katherine Stoney,
Acting Secretary-Treasurer

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSE

January 1, 1951 to September 30, 1951

INCOME:

CHURCH SOURCES

Methodist: Boards and WSCS	$ 2,465.00	
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.	225.00	
Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A.	250.00	
Episcopal Church	515.00	
Christian Church	25.00	
		$ 3,480.00

FOUNDATIONS

Anonymously, through American Friends Service Committee	$ 5,000.00	
Sidney Hillman Fund	2,500.00	
Wm. C. Whitney Foundation	1,000.00	
Edgar Stern Family Fund	400.00	
Sigmund Silberman Foundation	300.00	
Samuel & Augusta Rosenwald Fund	200.00	
Christian Service Foundation	100.00	
Ashby Jones Fund	50.00	
		9,550.00

ORGANIZATIONS

United Steelworkers - CIO	$ 1,000.00	
Through Atlanta A. J. C.	2,130.00	
Brown Root Co.	500.00	
International Lady Garment Workers Union	500.00	
Mentzer Bush Co.	200.00	
Emory University Community Chest	218.04	
N. C. Teachers' Assoc.	50.00	
Atlanta A. V. C.	25.00	
Prairie View Community Chest	25.00	
S. C. Federation of Women's Clubs	15.00	
Culture Club of Columbia, S. C.	10.00	
Agnes Scott Students	2.50	
		4,675.54

INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTIONS	3,838.82
MEMBERS DUES	4,280.18
NEW SOUTH SUBSCRIPTIONS	367.83
MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE SALES	817.33
HONORARIA	539.92
SALE OF OFFICE SUPPLIES & EQUIPMENT	182.02
TRAVEL REFUNDS	369.64
MISCELLANEOUS	103.05
TOTAL INCOME	$ 28,204.33

EXPENSE:

SALARIES	$ 18,280.30	
SOCIAL SECURITY (Cost to Council)	227.40	
RENT	1,170.00	
PRINTING	1,096.40	
POSTAGE	462.08	
OFFICE SUPPLIES	753.98	
TELEPHONE & TELEGRAPH	583.72	
TRAVEL	2,151.66	
LOANS PAYABLE, Thomas F. Byrd	1,500.00	
BOOKS & SUBSCRIPTIONS	147.48	
SPECIAL SERVICES	75.00	
AUDIT	185.00	
MEETING EXPENSE	44.35	
INSURANCE	42.82	
GEORGIA SALES TAX	4.72	
BANK CHARGES	8.31	
MISCELLANEOUS	21.34	
PAID TO STATE DIVISIONS	1,269.25	
		$ 28,289.91

ACCOUNTS PAYABLE AS OF SEPTEMBER 30, 1951

LOANS PAYABLE

George S. Mitchell	$ 1,500.00	
Thomas F. Byrd	4,500.00	
		6,000.00

ACCOUNTS PAYABLE

Elliott Addressing Machine Co.		6.30	
Office Supply Co.		7.83	
Mimeograph Co.		11.22	
Southern Bell Tel. Co.		61.20	
Western Union Co.		1.06	
Georgia Sales Tax		1.28	
To State Divisions:			
Alabama	20.00		
Florida	7.50		
Louisiana	6.50		
Mississippi	3.00		
N. O. Com.	5.00		
N. C.	11.50		
S. C.	1.50		
Tennessee	27.00		
		82.00	170.89
		TOTAL	$ 6,170.89

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL SPECIAL FUNDS

January 1 - September 30, 1951

APPROPRIATION FOR NEW SOUTH

Received for fund	$ 2,500.00		
Interest earned	9.37		
		$ 2,509.37	
Disbursements			
Printing	1,745.87		
Postage	265.60		
		2,011.47	
Balance in fund			$ 497.90

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS - Fund for pamphlet

Received for fund		$ 400.00	
Disbursements			
G. S. Mitchell, salary	50.00		
Chas. Mangum, for MS	100.00		
Albert Cotton, MS	170.00		
Albert Cotton, travel	55.48		
Albert Cotton, fee	10.00		
Misc.	3.30		
		388.78	
Balance in fund			$ 11.22

HOME TOWN SELF SURVEY PAMPHLET

Received for fund			
Alfred Starr	$ 100.00		
M. Ascoli Fund	500.00		
Elizabeth Stein	400.00		
Anti-Defamation League	500.00		
Anonymous	1,000.00		
		$ 2,500.00	
Disbursements			
Salaries	1,111.51		
Printing	1,000.00		
Travel	49.00		
		2,160.51	
Balance in fund			$ 339.49

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

Received for fund			
R. A. Dowling	$ 100.00		
Contribution	10.00		
W. M. Hanner	5.00		
Collection, Mrs. Tilly's trip to Pa.	250.00		
Independent Aid	1,000.00		
Travel refund	46.18		
		$ 1,401.18	
Disbursements			
Salaries, Mrs. Tilly and other	$388.00		
Travel	464.39		
Postage, supplies, etc.	36.26		
Court record	54.80		
		943.45	
Balance from 1950		12.23	
Balance in fund			$ 469.96

Special grant received from National Conference of Christians and Jews for travel in connection with Home Town Self Survey $500.00

No disbursements made as of October 30, 1951

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Minutes of the Board of Directors Meeting

December 12, 1951

A meeting of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council was held in the Conference Room of the Administration Building, Atlanta University at 10:10 a.m., Wednesday, December 12, 1951. Mr. Paul D. Williams, president, presided. Dr. Gordon Hancock gave the invocation.

The following members were present: Paul D. Williams, Leonard Haas, John Long, Marion A. Wright, Rabbi Charles Mantinband, J. M. Dabbs, Paul R. Christopher, A. T. Butler, Mrs. Alice N. Spearman, Harold L. Trigg, John Griffin, Forrester B. Washington, C. H. Parrish, Rufus E. Clement, Guy B. Johnson, Arthur W. Mitchell, Rev. L. J. Twomey, Gordon B. Hancock, Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Mrs. E. U. Robinson, R. D. Wellons, Rev. D. Swan Haworth, A. W. Dent, Benjamin E. Mays.

The following staff members were present: George S. Mitchell, Harold C. Fleming, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Katherine Stoney, Anna Holden, Emily Calhoun.

On motion, it was voted to dispense with the reading of the minutes of the last meeting.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE'S REPORT

At the request of Mr. Williams, Mr. Wright read the attached report of the Executive Committee to the Board of Directors. On motion, it was voted to approve the report of the Executive Committee.

SECRETARY-TREASURER'S REPORT

The acting secretary-treasurer, Katherine Stoney, gave the attached report. She pointed out the substantial reduction of indebtedness during the past year.

Current membership was given at 1,836, including 1,541 single and 295 joint members. New members during 1951 totaled 225. On the ten-daollr membership campaign, a total of 219 individuals had sent in contributions of that amount or more during the year. Members are now being dropped if dues are unpaid for a total of two years, though effort is made to renew their membership.

NEW SOUTH

The Executive Director reviewed the principal topics covered in New South during the year as an index to the Council's interests and activities. Much attention had been given to enlarging democratic practices in government in the South; to safety of the person; to police matters; to the breakdown of segregation in the colleges; to housing; to agricultural problems; and to the work of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

STATE DIVISIONS AND AFFILIATED INTERRACIAL COMMITTEES

Some review was made of the status of the State Divisions, which have shown most activity in Mississippi, South Carolina, Alabama and Florida. Dr. Mitchell also reported on conferences with representatives of the Texas Commission on Interracial Cooperation, who plan to raise money for paid staff and push their program, in continued association with the Southern Regional Council.

The Tennessee Division, it was reported, has ceased to function, but has not been formally dissolved. The Southern Regional Council retains at the Atlanta office a sum of $218., held in trust for the Tennessee Division. By authorization of the chairman of the Division, one-half of the dues from Tennessee members is no longer deducted for the Tennessee Division.

MANUAL ON POLICE PRACTICES

On future program, whether or not substantial new support is found, the Executive Director recommended that we get out a police manual and bring to bear our friendly connections over the South to improve, through its use, police practices.

COMMISSION ON EQUAL PENALTIES IN COURTS OF LAW

The Executive Director proposed that we impanel a Commission on Equal Penalties in Courts of Law, with a view to getting a widespread movement in the South to drop the old discriminatory practices.

Father Twomey, Dr. Dent, Dr. Clement, Mr. Williams, and others made helpful suggestions as to a Commission in Equal Penalties, and on motion,

it was voted that the Executive Director proceed to raise such funds as might be obtainable to conduct in the South a Commission on Equal Penalties in the Courts, upon such terms as the Commission may determine.

Upon further motion, it was voted that the Executive Committee be empowered to make the appointment of personnel for the Commission, the Executive Committee being free to establish the number of members of the Commission.

FINANCIAL POSSIBILITIES

Dr. Mitchell discussed with the Board the prospects for substantial foundation aid. He pointed out that without such aid it would be exceedingly difficult to carry forward the Council's work in the coming year. "We have now completed," he said, "two full years without any substantial backlog of foundation support; and the problem of raising the funds needed to keep the organization, even at its present level, becomes increasingly difficult. For the coming year we can forsee as expectable income no more than $17,500, and the organization cannot keep going usefully on less than about $40,000 for the next year."

Mr. Williams, Father Twomey, Mr. Davidson, Dr. Washington, Dr. Mays, Mr. Haas, Mr. Wellons, Dr. Johnson, and others discussed ways of raising money. Several speakers emphasized the value of obtaining additional contributions from labor sources. The Executive Director stated that he had estimated probable receipts from labor next year at $2,000, but was hopeful that more than that could be obtained.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Mr. Fleming reported on news coverage during the year of the Council's activities. In addition to routine coverage of various Council events, he reported that we had widespread wire service coverage of some twelve major stories during the year. The greatest attention had been given to the "Letter to Three Southern Governors", published in New South in July.

Mr. Fleming gave it as his view that the Council's publicity can be credited in considerable part to the friendship and interest of newspaper people in our work.

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON POLICY AND PROGRAM

Mr. Williams called on Mr. Wright to read the report of the Special Committee on Policy and Program, appointed at the direction of the 1950 annual meeting.

The statement submitted by the Special Committee was discussed at some length and approved by the Board in the attached form.

POSSIBLE AMENDMENTS TO THE BY-LAWS

The Executive Director laid before the Board the alternatives as to amendments to the by-laws to accomplish any desired change in the governing bodies of the Council. He described these as:

1. Reducing the Board to a single, small Executive Board to serve in place of both the Board of Directors and the Executive Committee.

2. Bringing the Board up to full strength under the present by-laws, and by amendment to the by-laws constitute the Board as a self-perpetuating body, it to be the Southern Regional Council. In that event, the present members of the Council, other than Board members, would become members of their appropriate State organizations, which would be affiliated with the Council but would lose policy control over the Board of Directors of SRC.

3. As an intermediate stage it might be possible to constitute a small Executive Board with a seventy-man Advisory Committee. In the event of future reorganization like that given under (2), above, the Advisory Committee might become the Board of Directors, which in turn might select some such body as the Executive Board for its interim business.

4. Proceed for the time being without major changes, and either bring the Board of Directors under the present by-laws up to its full strength of 72 elected members, or merely fill ten or a dozen of the existing vacancies.

After discussion of the various proposals, Dr. Mitchell read a draft of a resolution which might be presented to the membership meeting. On motion, it was voted to recommend the resolution in a somewhat altered form, as follows:

In the event that the Southern Regional Council receives substantial additional financial support, the resultant strengthening of the State organizations and the heightened emphasis on State action programs will make advisable substantial changes in the structure of the Council.

The membership of the Council, assembled in this meeting of December 12, authorizes the Executive Committee to draft by-laws to accomplish the following changes, such by-laws to take effect when and if approved by a majority vote of the current membership of the Council, polled by mail:

1. Individual membership in the regional organization to be confined to the Board of Directors, and that body to be given power to fill its vacancies, up to a limit of about 50 elected members, by its own selection.

2. Existing State Divisions of the Council to continue (either under that name or under some other approved by them and by or on behalf of the Board of Directors of SRC) as bodies governed by voting memberships within their respective States and affiliated with the Council.

3. In States where no State Divisions exist, agreements to be approved by or on behalf of the Board of Directors with existing or newly established organizations.

4. All State organizations affiliated with the Council to operate under by-laws approved by them and by or on behalf of the Board, and within general policies laid down by the Board. Each approved State organization to have its two principal officers sit ex officio on the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council, with voice and vote.

5. The regional organization to have authority to assist State Divisions and other affiliated State organizations in the employment of paid personnel and in the development of program.

6. The regional organization to carry forward a program of public information, research interpretation, and coordination of the activities of the State organizations.

ELECTION OF STAFF

The Executive Director and Secretary-Treasurer having withdrawn, the Board proceeded to confirm them for the coming year. Upon the recommendation of Dr. Mitchell, the Board also voted to increase the salaries of the secretary-treasurer, director of information, research assistant, and membership secretary, effective January 1, 1952. On motion, the president was authorized to appoint a committee of three from the Executive Committee, empowered to increase the salary of the Executive Director should the finances of the corporation make that possible.

RESIGNATION OF PRESIDENT

Mr. Williams announced his retirement as president of the Council, stating that he had put in six full years, and that he thought the job of president should rotate. He added that he would continue to support the organization in every way possible, but that he desired that the presidency move on now to other hands.

Dr. Clement moved a standing vote of thanks to Mr. Williams, which was unanimously adopted.

Several members expressed concern as to the leadership of the Council during the coming year, and it was agreed that the nominating committee would meet at 9:30 the following morning to prepare nominations.

RESIGNATION OF MR. WHEELER AS VICE-PRESIDENT

Dr. Mitchell read a letter of resignation as vice-president of the Council from Mr. John Wheeler, and the Board voted to accept Mr. Wheeler's resignation, with regret.

SUGGESTED PROJECT FOR STATE DIVISIONS

Father Twomey urged that each State Division make it a principal item of business to assist Negroes in obtaining their constitutional rights at the polls.

PUBLICATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF POLICY STATEMENT

Upon motion, it was voted that the "Statement of Policy and Aims" be printed in New South and be given the widest possible publicity.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

Katherine Stoney

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Your Executive Committee has met four times since the last meeting of the Board of Directors. The meetings were held, respectively, in December, 1950; March, June, and October, 1951.

As directed by the 1950 membership meeting, the Executive Committee advised the president in the appointment of a Special Policy Committee to review SRC policy and program and make a special report thereon to the 1951 meeting. The Committee so appointed consisted of: Charles S. Johnson, chairman; Marion A. Wright; Harry V. Richardson; Harold L. Trigg; Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton; Howard W. Odum; John A. Griffin; Morris Abram; A. W. Dent; Vincent J. O'Connell. Their next report will be made in due course to you.

On matters of staff, we regretfully accepted, on your behalf, the resignation of Mrs. Norma Huff as secretary-treasurer and approved the appointment of Miss Katherine Stoney as acting secretary-treasurer, pending confirmation by your meeting.

We also gave consent to participation by the Southern Regional Council in the Old-Age Benefit Plan of the new Federal Security Act, at an estimated net additional cost to the SRC for the year 1951 of $352.50.

We arranged that the grant from the Marshall Field Foundation toward publication of New South be used for issues on a monthly basis.

On finances, we used our best efforts toward reducing the Council's indebtedness and meeting its current bills for this year. The secretary-treasurer's report will make plain that the standing indebtedness has been reduced from $7,500 to slightly under $5,500; and on operating account the Council is, of today, virtually without indebtedness.

We have supervised closely the preparation of an appeal to the Ford Foundation, in which work, also, we have had the assistance of the Special Committee on Policy and Program. The Ford appeal and extensive exhibits to accompany it went forward to the Foundation in late May of this year. Various of the Committee and their friends have endeavored to expedite a favorable decision from the Ford Foundation. If the request is granted, it would enable the Council to set going a really active program in each Southern State, with paid personnel in a dozen State offices working through State SRC members toward accomplishment, locally and in detail, of the Council's objectives of equal opportunity for all. The State programs would be assisted and coordinated with a small staff in a central office, engaged in research interpretation and publication of a bulletin useful in all the offices and to the members, and generally encouraging and inter-relating the work of the various State movements.

This annual meeting marks the end of the second year in which the Council has carried on without benefit of any substantial lump sum grant, such as the Council had fortunately received for each year from its beginning through 1949. It has been an extremely difficult matter to find replacement for the missing annual backlog grant of roughly $25,000. The gap has been met by reduction two years ago of the Council's rate of expenditure by $12,000 or $15,000; by inducing an increasing number of the Council's members to become sustaining members, at ten dollars a year; by getting additional support from major

church bodies; through help obtained in sums of $1,000 or $2,000 from several foundations; and enlarging our support from trade unions.

Your committee is grateful that, through its own efforts and the work of the staff and through the generosity of many friends, it has been possible to carry forward the Council's work in this way. But we are sensible of the undue devotion of time to fund-raising efforts, and are anxious that means be found to release the full energies of us all to program, and more particularly, for the very great expansion of the Council's work in this present period when informed and temperate leadership can so greatly speed and ease the South's transition to full democracy.

Charles S. Johnson,
Chairman of the Executive Committee

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSE

January 1, 1951 to November 30, 1951

INCOME

Receipts for General Fund

Individual Contributions	$ 6,634.82	
Church Contributions	8,605.00	
Organization Contributions	3,654.79	
Foundation Contributions	5,000.00	
Members Dues	3,721.43	
Share of Dues to State Divisions	1,236.75	
New South Subscriptions	426.83	
Sale of Misc. Literature	940.18	
Honoraria	589.92	
Miscellaneous receipts (postage, travel refunds, etc.)	820.86	
Total		$ 31,630.58

Receipts for Special Projects

For Fellowship of the Concerned	1,411.18	
For Publications	350.00	
For Home Town Self-Survey Project	2,500.00	
For Travel in connection with Home Twon Self-Survey	500.00	
For Commission on Equal Penalties in Courts of Law	1,000.00	
Total		5,761.18
Total receipts during period		$ 37,391.76

EXPENSE

Salaries	$ 20,887.01	
Social Security (cost to Council)	234.76	
Rent	1,430.00	
Printing (New South & Mis. lit.)	4,303.67	
Travel	2,631.12	
Office Supplies	850.66	
Postage	878.54	
Telephone & Telegraph	717.71	
Books & subscriptions	156.58	
Audit	272.50	
Interest Expense	302.51	
Meeting Expense	51.85	
Insurance	42.82	
Special Services (Ford Exhibit)	75.00	
Bank charges	8.96	
Georgia Sales Tax	7.96	
Miscellaneous Expense	11.12	
Total		$32,862.77
Paid on Notes Outstanding		2,050.00
1950 Salaries paid in 1951		1,070.83
Share of Dues returned to State Divisions		1,421.75
Total expense during period		$ 37,405.35

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ACCOUNTS PAYABLE AS OF NOVEMBER 30, 1951

Notes Payable			
Thomas F. Byrd	$ 3,950.00		
George S. Mitchell	1,500.00		
			$5,450.00
Accounts Payable			
Mrs. M. E. Tilly, salary		$ 100.00	
Southern Bell Tel Co.		17.70	
Pitney Bowes Mailing Machine Co.		22.37	
Atlanta Envelope Co.		68.14	
			208.21
Due to State Divisions			
Alabama	5.00		
Florida	3.00		
Kentucky	8.50		
Louisiana	1.50		
Mississippi	10.00		
New Orleans Com.	11.00		
North Carolina	3.50		
South Carolina	3.00		
			45.50
Total			$ 5,703.71

REPORT ON SPECIAL PROJECTS

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

Receipts		Disbursements	
Individual contributions	$ 365.00	Salary	$ 388.00
Foundation contributions	1,000.00	Travel	504.39
Travel refund	46.18	Postage & office supplies	42.01
Total	$ 1,411.18	Court record	54.80
		Bank charge	.25
		Total	$ 989.45

Balance now in fund - $423.96

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FUND FOR PUBLICATION OF NEW SOUTH

Receipts		Disbursements	
Phelps Stokes Fund	$ 350.00	Printing	1,990.79
Bal. from Marshall Field fund	2,235.00	Postage	295.61
Interest earned	9.37	Total	$ 2,286.39
Total	$ 2,594.37		

Balance now in fund - $307.98

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HOME TOWN SELF-SURVEY PROJECT

Receipts		Disbursements	
Indiv. contributions	$ 500.00	Salaries	1,451.00
Organ. contributions	500.00	Travel	49.00
Foundation Contrib.	1,500.00	Printing	1,000.00
Total	$ 2,500.00	Total	$ 2,500.00

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GRANT FOR TRAVEL TO PROMOTE HOME TOWN SELF-SURVEY

Receipts		Disbursements	
Organization contrib.	$ 500.00	Travel	$ 78.28

Balance now in fund - $421.72

COMMISSION ON EQUAL PENALTIES IN COURTS OF LAW

Receipts - Foundation contribution $1,000. No disbursements as of Nov. 30, 1951

A STATEMENT OF POLICY AND AIMS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

December 12, 1951

Eight years ago, the Southern Regional Council was born out of the conscience and high resolve of a democratic nation at war. Today, in another period of international tension, we are faced with a renewed challenge to provide leadership and direction in a troubled region. It is essential that we assess clearly and wisely the role that the Southern Regional Council is to perform in this critical time.

We do not believe in the exclusive validity of any single approach or any single organization. There is not only room, but a desperate need for a wide variety of programs concerned with broadening democracy through legal, economic, legislative, religious, and educational means. Moreover, such programs are needed on all levels -- national, regional, state and local. Every group, like every individual, should chart its course with due regard for the special contribution it is fitted to make.

THE ROLE APPROPRIATE to the Southern Regional Council is evident in its origin and make-up. The Council's main asset is and has always been the people of the South who understand and want the full practice of democracy, and who at the same time know intimately the old evils that burden the South, and their causes. From such people is the Council's membership drawn. They have wanted a regional organization, not out of any provincial desire to separate the South's problems from the nation's, but out of the conviction that such an organization has unique advantages. It can express the best and often neglected elements of Southern thought and conscience; it can serve as a convincing demonstration of Southerners working together as fellow citizens without regard to race; and it can tap local resources and initiative often inaccessible to agencies outside the region.

The Council seeks to be a practical organization, emphasizing working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements. Indeed, that philosophy is basic to an organization which hopes to open closed minds and substitute reason for prejudice.

The Council, by its very nature, is not a "mass pressure" organization. The number of persons in the South who are able and willing to reject the taboos on interracial effort in their own communities is growing, but it has not yet reached mass proportions. Meanwhile, the Council's membership can function effectively as enlightened citizens acting through the civic life of their communities in behalf of our common principles. Their methods are the established ones of conference, fact-finding, and persuasion.

The Council takes no part in political activity. However, it can and does consult with public agencies and officials and makes it influence felt for truly representative government.

THE COUNCIL'S FUNCTIONS may be briefly summed up as follows:

To serve as a meeting ground for citizens of all races, occupations, and religious persuasions.

To present the facts about the region, and their implications, through newspapers, radio, magazines, pamphlets, and other public media.

To counteract appeals to prejudice and violence by demagogues, professional bigots, and hate organizations.

To provide a program adaptable to local need in both the relatively backward and the relatively advanced areas of the South.

To translate appropriate research findings from universities and other centers to the practical situations with which the action program will be concerned.

To give special emphasis to the development of leadership among promising young Southerners of all races.

To convene, by interest group, key persons in the various fields of Southern life, so that steps to genuine integration may be representatively agreed upon.

To stimulate local initiative to work for local solutions in full democracy, so that legislation and judicial rulings may be translated into justice for the individual in his everyday life.

The basic machinery necessary to enable the Council to work effectively at these tasks is: (1) trained, competent, professional persons of both races working in each Southern state as agents of improvement in public life; and (2) staff in a central office of the Council to direct and service the field people.

THE DECLARED PURPOSE of the Southern Regional Council is "to attain through research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region." This objective has lost none of its timeliness since it was first adopted. Although the past eight years have brought notable progress in the South, the job remaining is a vast one, and the pressures of national and international events demand an even speedier advance. Many of our institutions continue to make unfair and unwarranted distinctions between citizens solely on the basis of race. Outmoded traditions, unjustified fears, and ancient prejudices continue to exact a heavy toll on the unity, productiveness, and integrity of our society.

It is the ultimate hope and aim of the Council that it may help in bringing solution to regional problems that transcend the question of race -- problems economic, social, ethical, which affect impartially people of all races. But, for the present, the unique liability under which the South labors arises out of an unreasoning racial disharmony. The first task of informed and conscientious Southerners is to strive to create here the atmosphere in which artificial distinctions and discriminations based upon race will no longer persist. Only when that goal has been attained will the energies of enlightened men be fully released for the great task of realizing all our potential resources, natural and human.

THE SOUTH OF THE FUTURE, toward which our efforts are directed is a South freed of stultifying inheritances from the past. It is a South where the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race; where a common citizenship will work in democratic understanding for the common good; where all who labor will be rewarded in proportion to their skill and achievement; where all can feel confident of personal safety and equality before the law; where there will exist no double standard in housing, health, education, or other public services; where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed; where, above all, every individual will enjoy a full share of dignity and self-respect, in recognition of his creation in the image of God.

Equal opportunity, truly defined, includes all this and more. We have no illusion that it can be realized in the South quickly or easily or perfectly. Nor do we imagine that the Southern Regional Council can play more than a modest but creditable part toward its achievement. Yet it is the ideal toward which we strive and, short of which, we have a duty to remain dissatisfied. For it is nothing less than the American ideal.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Minutes of the Membership Meeting

December 13, 1951

The annual membership meeting of the Southern Regional Council was held in the Exhibition Room of the Atlanta University Library, Atlanta, Georgia at 10:00 a.m., Thursday, December 13, 1951. President Paul Williams presided. Rabbi Mantinband gave the invocation. Dr. Clement extended welcome to the group on behalf of Atlanta University.

The following members were present:

Leonard Haas
Charles C. Walker
Artemisia Bowden
Alice Mitchell
Ellen B. Armstrong
John Long
Herbert M. Davidson
Mrs. Herbert M. Davidson
Lucy R. Mason
M. A. Wright
Charles Mantinband
F. D. Patterson
A. D. Beittel
John H. Morrow
Philip S. Ogilvie
C. Emerson Smith
J. M. Dabbs
Ray Warwick
Anna Warwick
Annie Tait Jenkins
Paul R. Christopher
C. H. Parrish
Lewis W. Jones
Anna Greene Smith
Rufus E. Clement
Guy B. Johnson
A. W. Mitchell
Mrs. A. W. Mitchell
Arthur J.Levin
L. J. Twomey, S.J.
Mrs. J. C. Harris
Benjamin E. Mays
James W. May
Rhoda Kaufman
Mrs. Herman Heyman
Gordon B. Hancock
Emory F. Via
Dorothy L. Crim
Grace T. Hamilton
Norma Huff
Jane Fleming
Paul D. Williams
A. T. Butler
Alice N. Spearman
Harold L; Trigg
Forrester B. Washington
R. D. Wellons
Mrs. R. D. Wellons
Mrs. E. D. Robinson
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
A. W. Dent
George S. Mitchell
Harold C. Fleming
Katherine Stoney
Anna Holden
Emily Calhoun
Adella Shields

On motion, it was voted to dispense with the reading of the minutes of the last meeting.

SECRETARY-TREASURER'S REPORT

The secretary-treasurer, Katherine Stoney, gave the attached report. (See report to Board meeting on December 12th.) She pointed out that the Council

had ended the year 1951 in better financial condition than the previous year.

On membership, a total of 1,836 paid-up, full members were reported, in addition to which the Council had 202 associate members and several hundred New South subscribers. Membership figures were down, as many who had not paid dues since 1949 had been dropped during 1951.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR'S REPORT

The Year's Projects

The executive director, George S. Mitchell, described first the main topics discussed in New South during the year.

1. Enlarging democratic processes in government in the South. This included enlarging the electorate and getting more Negroes elected and appointed to public offices.

2. Safety of the person. Dr. Mitchell pointed out the decline of lynching and its transposition into police violence against arrested persons.

3. Negro police. Their number is increasing, and there is a good deal of evidence that they are systematically arresting white lawbreakers.

4. Fellowship of the Concerned. Mrs. Tilly had undertaken this year, instead of convening a Southwide meeting in Atlanta, to travel from state to state and reach as many of our local leaders as possible.

5. Getting people to understand the legal aspects of segregation, by various articles printed in New South.

6. Housing, from the 1950 census. In the last ten years the poorer parts of the white South have been rehoused, but the Negroes haven't. If the Korean War had not come along, we would be well along toward solving this problem.

7. What is actually happening in the land in the South? We don't know much about this, but an article printed in New South throws some light on the subject.

Self-Surveys

On the home town self-surveys, the manual issued in April has been very well received, but the staff continued to regret the slow pace at which cities and towns were taking up the idea of the survey. But when a town does do it, it is transformed. The completed survey at Dallas and the survey now under way at Shreveport were described.

State Divisions

On the work of the State Divisions and affiliated interracial organizations, it was pointed out that of the old State Interracial Committees, all but three (Georgia, Virginia, and Texas) had now become State Divisions of the Council. Virginiaand Georgia are the only ones of the State Divisions or State interracial organizations having paid executive personnel. It was suggested that the next broad advance in the interracial movement in the South is to provide paid personnel for each of the State organizations.

Projects for Next Year

As proposals for projects for the coming year, the following were described:

1. A pamphlet on farm land tenure reform. For some time this has been in preparation, under a grant as yet only partially paid by the National Sharecroppers Fund.

2. A manual on how police ought to behave in the South. Addressed to citizens, it urges them to concern themselves with police administration in their communities, to appraise it and improve it. The pamphlet should be out early next year. We will want members of the Council and of the Fellowship of the Concerned to take the pamphlet, in local committees, to the chiefs of police in their communities and try to get some action.

3. Need in the South for accurate figures on schools -- differential in Negro and white schools. If the money were available, we could do this.

4. Commission on Equal Penalties. Last summer we received a memorandum giving reactions in the European press to the Willie McGee execution. Friends in New York had written asking Dr. Mitchell what SRC was going to do about such things. This was the beginning of the idea of a Commission on Equal Penalties.

   There are two related problems: (1) the penalty in rape cases - flaring and dramatic, very unequal by race; (2) the accepted, age-old practice in the South of awarding differential penalties by race for lesser crimes. This perpetuates a stereotype of the Negro buffoon.

   Dr. Mitchell expressed the opinion that the South could, in four or five years' time, be persuaded to start awarding equal justice in the courts. We would start it by convening twelve or eighteen very distinguished persons and giving them money to do a reaearch job, showing in one category unequal penalties by race for rape in the last fifty years, and in the other category unequal penalties by race for lesser offenses. Investigation would be made in several cities, smaller towns, and states over the South. It is hoped that some of the Southern law schools would be willing to make such studies and publish the findings in law reviews. The Commission, after studying the findings, would issue a report to the Southern people, including recommendations for imposing equal penalties.

new structure — to be approved by membership, polled by mail

Council members and Fellowship of the Concerned members would show the report to their local judges, chiefs of police, and sheriffs. It would take between $7,000 and $10,000 to set up such a Commission. We have $2,000 promised, on the condition that it be matched in the South. Dr. Mitchell expressed the hope that some Negro person in the South would contribute a thousand dollars. He added that it was hoped to get the project started in January, and that he would make a trip early in the year to talk with various people over the South about whom should be on the Commission. He emphasized that the Commission would be independent. After setting it up, the Council would leave it alone.

5. Strengthening State Divisions. In order to set up strong State Divisions, we need a large sum of money, extending over a minimum of five years. To do this, we need $1,400,000. Under these circumstances, the Atlanta office would cease to be a single-membership organization. People would be members of State Divisions only. The central office in Atlanta would tie together the activities of the various State organizations. They could recruit more members from within their own states than the central office could.

SRC's Future in the Absence of a Large Grant

Dr. Mitchell pointed out that we had in sight for next year a little less than $20,000. and would need $40,000. to run the Council, even on its present inadequate basis. Every month we will be $2,000. short. It is now time to say that either the Council has got to be put in a position really to do its job, or we ought to contemplate doing without it.

REPORT ON FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

At this point, President Williams called on Mrs. Tilly to describe at greater length the Fellowship of the Concerned, particularly in connection with the courts.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

The director of information, Harold Fleming, reported on the publicity received by the Council during the year.

INTRODUCTION OF STAFF MEMBERS

Dr. Mitchell introduced the following new staff members: Anna Holden, research assistant; Adella Shields, membership secretary; Katherine Stoney, secretary-treasurer; Emily Calhoun, secretary to the executive director.

STATEMENT ON POLICY AND PROGRAM

Mr. Williams pointed out that at the last annual membership meeting it was voted that a committee should be set up to draft a statement on policy and program.

Mr. Williams called on Dr. Dent to report from that committee. Dr. Dent, on behalf of the committee, read the attached statement. (See page 493) Mr. Williams then called upon Dr. Hancock for comment, and after further discussion, the statement was, on motion, adopted.

Father Twomey undertook to contribute toward the cost of publishing the statement in a separate brochure.

DISCUSSION OF WHETHER PRESS SHOULD BE PRESENT

Mrs. Davidson, as a newspaper woman, regretted the absence of the press at so important a meeting. Mr. Fleming pointed out that arrangements made for press notice of the statement were likely to get it very wide distribution, but Mrs. Davidson still wished that the general press had been present.

MR. WILLIAMS' RESIGNATION AS PRESIDENT

Mr. Williams then announced that he had asked the nominating committee not to consider him for president for the following year. He stated that he would be with the organization in spirit and would do anything he could to further its aims, but that he had accepted the presidency somewhat in the spirit of an emergency and had remained in office for six years, and now thought it time for other hands to take over the leadership of the Council.

Rabbi Mantinband praised Mr. Williams for his fine leadership, and requested that Mr. Williams' address be separately printed by the Council.

Dr. Dent moved that the members present record their deep and sincere appreciation of the fine work Mr. Williams had done for the last six years, and this was voted.

DR. PARRISH'S REPORT

After the luncheon interval, Dr. Parrish, of the University of Louisville, reported on the integration of Louisville Municipal College with the University of Louisville, giving especial attention to the effect the merger had had on the Negro professors. He also pointed out how non-discriminatory practices had had an effect upon the community, opening more public facilities and more jobs to Negroes.

CHANGES IN THE STRUCTURE OF THE COUNCIL

The following resolution was then distributed by the executive director, who called for a discussion of possible changes in the structure of the Council:

"In the event that the Southern Regional Council receives substantial additional financial support, the resultant strengthening of the State organizations and the heightened emphasis on state action programs will make advisable substantial changes in the structure of the Council.

"The membership of the Council, assembled in this meeting of December 13, authorizes the Executive Committee to draft by-laws to accomplish the following changes, such by-laws to take effect when and if approved by a majority vote of the current membership of the Council, polled by mail.

1. Individual membership in the regional organization to be confined to the Board of Directors, and that body to be given power to fill its vacancies, up to a limit of about fifty elected members, by its own selection.

2. Existing State Divisions of the Council to continue (either under that name or under some other approved by them and by or on behalf of the Board of Directors of SRC) as bodies governed by voting memberships within their respective states and affiliated with the Council.

3. In states where no State Divisions exist, agreements to be approved by or on behalf of the Board of Directors with existing or newly-established organizations.

4. All state organizations affiliated with the Council to operate under by-laws approved by them and by or on behalf of the Board, and within general policies laid down by the Board. Each approved state organization to have its two principal officers sit ex-officio on the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council, with voice and vote.

5. The regional organization to have authority to assist State Divisions and other affiliated state organizations in the employment of paid personnel and in the development of program.

6. The regional organization to carry forward a program of public information, research interpretation, and coordination of the activities of the state organizations."

After considerable discussion, Dr. Dent gave it as his view that if large funds came to the Council, it would be highly desirable for the Council to have a slightly different structure, and moved the adoption of the resolution. The motion was amended so that the wording at the end of the second paragraph would

be changed to read: "when and if submitted by mail to the current membership of the Council, and a majority of the members voting expressed approval." The motion and the amendment were carried.

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

Mr. Wright, on behalf of the Resolutions Committee, offered a resolution expressing gratitude for the kindness and hospitality of Atlanta University in providing facilities for the meeting.

NEXT YEAR'S BUDGET

Miss Stoney presented a proposed budget for 1952.

After a discussion by Miss Mason and others, revealing again the shortfall of $20,000 to $24,000. for the coming year, the meeting authorized the Executive Committee to continue the Council on a month-to-month basis, within the discretion of the Executive Committee.

ELECTION OF BOARD MEMBERS

Mr. Arthur Levin, on behalf of the Committee to Nominate members of the Board of Directors, pointed out that the Board was authorized to have as many as 72 members, that it had 53 at present, and that there were a number of members whose terms of office on the Board were up.

Mr. Levin read the names of members whose terms had expired and who were eligible for re-election, as follows: Mr. J. M. Dabbs, Mr. Paul Christopher, Mrs. W. H. Ratliff, and of those members whose terms of office had expired and who were not eligible for re-election, as follows: Mr. C. H. Gillman, Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Rev. T. J. McNamara, Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Dr. A. W. Dent, Mr. John H. Wheeler, Mr. Wilson M. Brown, Dr. Gordon B. Hancock.

Mr. Levin added that the whole committee had been polled by mail and they had all suggested names for the Board. He then read the list of names recommended by the Committee, as follows:

Harry Ashmore, Paul Christopher, Guy Johnson, Alexander Kline, Maceo Smith, Mrs. J. Newton Rayzor, Mrs. E. J. Rauschkolb, Harold Trigg, Ed. Weyler, Paul Williams, L. E. Thomas, Ben J. Massell, Josephine Wilkins, John Page Williams

Dr. Mitchell suggested that the job of allocating terms of years to these people be given to the Executive Committee. With this understanding, the nominations were accepted, and the secretary was authorized to cast a ballot electing them to membership on the Board.*

After a call had been issued for a meeting of the Board of Directors immediately after the membership meeting, the annual membership meeting was adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

Katherine Stoney

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

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* The following allocation of terms was made: Class of 1955 - Mr. Ashmore, Mr. Christopher, Dr. Johnson, Rabbi Kline, Mrs. Rayzor, Mrs. Rauschkolb, Mr. Smith, Dr. Trigg, Mr. Weyler, Mr. Paul Williams. Class of 1954 - Mr. Thomas, Mr. Massell, Miss Wilkins, Mr. John Page Williams

These minutes read and approved by Miss Lucy Mason, Mr. John Morrow and Mr. Lewis W. Jones.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting

March 7, 1952

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council was held in the offices of the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE Atlanta, Georgia, at 10:00 a.m. Friday, March 7, 1952. Dr. Charles S. Johnson, chairman of the Executive Committee, presided. Father V. J. O'Connell gave the invocation.

The following members were present:

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Rev. V. J. O'Connell
Mrs. Cassandra M. Birnie
Mr. Marion A. Wright
Dr. Harry V. Richardson
Dr. Rufus E. Clement
Mr. Alfred Mynders
Mr. John A. Griffin (lunch only)

The following staff members were present:

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Mrs. Harold C. Fleming
Miss Katherine Stoney
Miss Emily Calhoun
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Miss Adella Shields
Miss Anna Holden

On motion, it was voted to dispense with the reading of the minutes of the last meeting.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR'S REPORT

Race and Law Enforcement

The Executive Director reviewed the success thus far of the campaign to get RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT into the hands of local action people. The pamphlet has been very widely bought by educational and religious organizations. Probably the most promising outlet thus far is the Woman's Societies of Christian Service of the Methodist Church, which, through Mrs. Tilly's work, have undertaken to get church women in every county in thirteen Southern States, plus Missouri, to carry the pamphlet to the sheriff. Other substantial undertakings were through the Catholic Committee of the South (1,000 copies) and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (667 copies) and the Georgia Teachers and Education Association (500 copies.)

Ways of Reducing Violence and Lawlessness in the South

At the Council's offices on February 22 a meeting had been held of a variety of agencies interested in reducing violence and lawlessness in the South. The group had concentrated on two corrective measures: improved housing and better law enforcement. A second meeting is planned for May, 1952, probably in Birmingham, and reports of special sub-committees will be available for that gathering. The Council, meanwhile, has undertaken to prepare and distribute a simple directory of Southern agencies interested in this field.

Self-Surveys

On survey matters, the Executive Director had lately visited Shreveport, Louisiana, where an excellent interracial survey of the needs of the Negro community is far along toward completion. The Council had lately heard also of an undertaking by Jackson County, Florida, to do a rural self-survey.

Financial Possibilities

In two New York trips made since the last meeting of the Executive Committee, the Executive Director had visited a variety of foundations, two of which have already made contributions to the Council. Other prospects were described.

Work Ahead

On work ahead, the Executive Director stressed the desirability of a pamphlet on fair employment practices, discussed the tasks involved in preparing local communities for changes in the segregated school pattern, the possibility of offering a training course in human relations, and described the present status of the proposed Commission on Equal Penalties in Southern Courts of Law.

Resignation of Mr. Dabney from the Board of Directors

Mention was made of the resignation from the Board of Mr. Virginius Dabney.

Further Distribution of Race and Law Enforcement

Mr. Fleming reported on the publicity received by RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

Dr. Johnson suggested that it would be well to single out those police chiefs who had some inclination to evangelize better police practices and get

them to write to other chiefs.

Mrs. Tilly described in better detail the arrangements with church women for distributing the police pamphlets.

Mrs. Birnie brought out the undesirability of the paternalism involved in suggesting that Negro teachers' groups get white friends to act in their stead in carrying the police pamphlet to the sheriff or the chief, and the Executive Director stated that it was hoped that Negroes would themselves make the direct approach in every community where they felt strong enough to do so.

SECRETARY-TREASURER'S REPORT

The Secretary-Treasurer, Katherine Stoney, pointed out that the 1951 excess of income over expenditures was achieved by the utmost economy in staff, travel, and supplies. She exhibited a single copy of the audit for 1951, stating that the auditor had had difficulty in getting his copying done, and that official copies would not be available for some days.

EFFECT OF POLICY STATEMENT ON MEMBERSHIP

Mr. Wright asked if the policy statement issued in December had caused us to gain or lose members. Miss Stoney replied that there was no evidence on the point, though there had been a scattered few resignations which might have been connected with the policy statement. Correspondingly, the Council had recruited new members since the statement.

FUND-RAISING

Various members, including Mr. Richardson, Mr. Wright, Dr. Johnson, and Father O'Connell, took part in the discussion of fund-raising activities.

SRC TO CONTINUE OPERATIONS

On motion by Mr. Wright, it was voted that the Council continue operations until the next Executive Committee meeting.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 12:10 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,
Katherine Stoney
Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting

May 30, 1952 Atlanta, Georgia

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council was held in the Council offices, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE, Atlanta, Georgia at 10:00 a.m., Friday, May 30, 1952. President Marion A. Wright presided.

The following members were present:

Marion A. Wright
Paul R. Christopher
Alfred Mynders
John A. Griffin
Rufus E. Clement

The following staff members were present:

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
George S. Mitchell
Harold C. Fleming
Anna Holden
Adella Shields
Emily Calhoun
Katherine Stoney

It was agreed to dispense with the reading of minute of the last meeting.

FINANCIAL REPORT

Miss Stoney, after reviewing the receipt of several large contributions during the month of April, gave the attached financial report for May.

In discussion, arrangements were made for further contact with the Ford Foundation through Mr. Griffin; and the newly-established committee of the House of Representatives to investigate foundations and foundation-assisted agencies was described.

RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

Mrs. Tilly described her current campaign by mail and by personal travel to fulfill on the commitments of the Southeastern and Southcentral Jurisdictions of the Woman's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church and have committees visit sheriffs in each county in the Southern States. In a few instances, notations have already been received of such local visits.

MEETINGS OF AGENCIES TO DISCUSS WAYS OF REDUCING VIOLENCE IN THE SOUTH

Mr. Fleming reviewed the two Southwide meetings of representatives of agencies interested in human relations to discuss ways of reducing violence in the South arising from racial and religious tensions. The February 22 meeting in Atlanta had been preliminary, and the May 15 meeting in Birmingham larger and productive of results. The minutes of the May 15 meeting were displayed. Agencies represented had been:

National Urban League, Southern Field Office, Atlanta
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Southeastern Regional Office, Atlanta
American Friends Service Committee, Job Opportunities Project, Dallas
Federal Housing Administration, Race Relations Advisor, Atlanta
National Council of Churches, Southeastern Office, Atlanta
NAACP, Southeast Regional Office, Birmingham
National Urban League, Southern Field Office, Atlanta
Public Housing Administration, Race Relations Advisor, Atlanta
Race Relations Division of the American Missionary Association, Nashville
Catholic Committee of the South, Rock Hill, S. C.
National Council of Negro Women, Birmingham
Southern Regional Council, Atlanta
Southern Regional Council, Alabama Division

Other agencies notifying the Council by mail that they were unable to send representatives to the meeting were:

Anti-Defamation League, North Carolina-Virginia Office, Richmond
The Methodist Church, General Board of Education, Nashville
New Orleans Urban League
Southern Baptist Convention, Social Service Commission
Presbyterian Church in the U. S., Division of Christian Relations
American Friends Service Committee, Southeastern Regional Office, Greensboro
American Friends Service Committee, Texas Regional Office, Austin
YWCA, National Board, Atlanta
YWCA, National Student Council, Atlanta

A special committee from the February 22 meeting, composed of Alex. Miller, of the Anti-Defamation League, Hubert Jackson, of the Public Housing Administration, and Harold Fleming, had prepared for the Birmingham meeting a statement on Blighted Housing and Bomb Violence, which, with minor changes, was approved by those present at the Birmingham meeting, acting as individuals. They proposed that representatives of the various agencies should bring the statement to the attention of their policy-making boards. It could be either adopted as agency policy or merely used in any form helpful for circulation within the various agencies. The Birmingham meeting had agreed that in mid-

June the SRC might publish the statement, showing in addition agencies which by that time adopted it as official policy.

The Executive Committee read the statement and suggested the following minor changes:

Page 2, line 13, delete "inevitable". Line 27, delete "annual". Line 28 for "per year" substitute "each year".

Page 3, line 2, after word "in" substitute "some" for "many".

Page 3, numbered paragraph 7, instead of "press for", "explore".

On motion, it was voted to adopt the statement, subject to the approval of Mr. Haas as counsel.

Dr. Mitchell reported that the group of agencies would meet again in October, at which time they would consider the use of race prejudice in elections. Special machinery had been set up to collect material on this topic during the summer months.

SRC PUBLICITY

Mr. Fleming reviewed newspaper and magazine coverage received by the Council.

SELF-SURVEYS

Miss Holden described the progress of the self-survey being made in Jefferson County, Florida, by the Florida Resource-Use Education Committee and Florida State University, cooperating with teachers and citizens of the county. The SRC manual is being used as a guide. It was hoped that other counties would follow the same device being used in Jackson County.

Miss Holden described other surveys in progress in Birmingham and Shreveport, and described further the follow-up work done by the Greenville Community Council.

DEBT TO MR. BYRD

Miss Stoney reviewed the status of the debt to Mr. Byrd. The original compensation due him had been $7,000, which he had voluntarily scaled to $6,000 at the time of the Board meeting in November, 1949. Subsequent payments

on the debt had reduced the principal to $3,950, now shown in a note to him due June 30, 1952, and bearing five per cent interest from January 1, 1952, forward. Mr. Wright raised the question of whether it would be appropriate to approach Mr. Byrd on the possibility of his reducing the debt, in view of the willingness of the Council to do what might be possible to clear it up in the near future. It was pointed out by Dr. Mitchell and Mr. Fleming that Mr. Byrd had been reluctant to accept the job of fund-raising for the Council, carefully avoiding any guarantee, and that he had voluntarily reduced the debt by a thousand dollars. Mr. Wright, Dr. Clement, and others pointed out that the fund-raising effort had not been notably successful and that in view of that, Mr. Byrd might feel some obligation to reduce the debt. Mr. Wright emphasized that the Executive Committee owed it to the Council's members to reduce the debt in so far as might be possible.

It was agreed that Mr. Wright, as president of the Council, would approach Mr. Byrd on the matter of the debt, making offer to pay in full it that were exacted, but expressing the hope that Mr. Byrd would be willing to reduce the sum due.

SHARECROPPERS PAMPHLET

Dr. Mitchell described the present status of the proposed pamphlet on the law of land tenure in the South. The National Sharecroppers Fund had, about two years ago allocated $1,500 to the Council to have such a pamphlet written and printed. Four hundred dollars had been paid to the Council, and we had secured an expert on the subject to write the pamphlet. He had completed a rough draft of the manuscript, but meanwhile the National Sharecroppers Fund found itself unable to finish its payment. The Council had lately paid from other funds the balance of $180. due on the fee to Albert Cotton as author of the manuscript. Dr. Mitchell had been to see persons in New York associated with the National Sharecroppers Fund and had hopes that they could raise enough money to enable the printing of the manuscript in revised form.

DEBT TO DR. MITCHELL

Mr. Griffin raised the question of making an attempt to reduce the Council's debt to Dr. Mitchell. This is in the sum of $1,500, borrowed in 1949 against a paid-up life insurance policy. Dr. Mitchell said he was content to let the debt remain unpaid and accrue interest for awhile longer Mr. Griffin suggested that the Council might take out a policy on Dr. Mitchell's life to cover the Council's contingent liability of $1,500, but after discussion the Executive Committee authorized the repayment of the loan at any time there is sufficient money in the treasury to make that possible.

SUMMER PROGRAM

Dr. Mitchell undertook to use the greater part of the summer in exploring in several States the availability of staff, in the event that the Council found itself in the Autumn in a position to set up the program contemplated in the Ford Foundation request. The States to be visited either by Dr. Mitchell or Mr. Fleming included Louisiana, Arkansas, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Alabama.

COMMISSION ON EQUAL PENALTIES

The status of this project was described and members of the Executive Committee were asked to help in raising money to match either of the two grants of one thousand dollars already made. Both these grants are conditioned upon their being matched from sources within the South. The hope was expressed that the Commission would be established by September or October, most of its work to be done in 1953. Mr. Wright suggested that if membership on the Commission could be announced in advance of the money-raising effort, the getting of the money might be considerably eased. He suggested as a suitable person Judge A. D. Lyle of South Carolina.

ANNUAL MEETING

The Executive Committee agreed that the annual meeting in 1952 should be held on the date prescribed in the by-laws, November 12.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Some question was raised as to the size of the Board, now reduced to 49 elected members, plus 12 ex-officio members from State Divisions, plus 5 SRC officers. By the working of the by-laws, the Board would be further greatly reduced at the end of 1952. The Executive Committee felt that reconstitution of the Board of Directors should await decision on our major request for funds.

SALARIES

Mr. Griffin brought up the matter of making provision for raising the salaries of staff members. He was sensitive to the point by reason of his own recent service on the local Wage Stabilization Board. The Executive Committee directed that the committee authorized by the Board of Directors December 12, 1951, should undertake to study the entire salary scale of the staff and make recommendations at the next annual meeting. Miss Stoney was requested to send a resolution to this effect to all members of the subcommittee.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned at 12:30 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

Katherine Stoney

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Finance report for May 1952

RECEIPTS

Contributions from Individuals		$ 104.00
Contributions from Organizations		525.00
Tulane Univ. Student Body	$25.00	
I.L.G.W.U.	500.00	
Contributions from Foundation Anonymously Thro' A.F.S.C.		10,000.00
Members Dues		778.50
New South Subscriptions		9.00
Sale of Misc. Literature		128.25
Honorarium		7.66
Sale of Equipment		18.00
Transfer of Funds (See Spec. Accts.)		11.22
Refund from Postmaster on Permit		49.18
Postage refunds from literature sold		1.26
Total receipts		11,632.07

DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries	$ 2,083.32
Social Security (cost to Council)	51.44
Travel	174.89
Rent	130.00
Office Supplies	112.25
Postage	31.66
Printing	656.42
Telephone & telegraph	63.80
Steno. services for Pres.	17.91
Albert Cotton on Sharecropper pamphlet	180.00
Books & subscriptions	23.64
Georgia Sales Tax	.75
Bank Exchange	1.10
Paid to State Divisions	99.00
Total Disbursements	$3,626.18

ACCOUNTS PAYABLE AS OF MAY 31, 1952

Southern Bell Tel. Co.	$ 31.08
Elliott Addressing Co.	1.91
Pitney Bowes Co.	22.37
Tidwell Co.	11.39
Office Supply Co.	4.76
Due to State Divisions (for May)	184.00
Total	$ 255.51

SPECIAL ACCOUNTS

Fellowship of the Concerned		
Balance May 1		$ 278.31
Travel, Mrs. Tilly	$83.97	
Postage & steno.	26.00	
		109.97
Bal. June 1		$ 168.86

New South Appropriation		
Balance, May 1		$ 1,783.70
Stein Printers	$ 394.40	
Postage	35.00	
		429.40
Bal, June 1		$ 1,354.30

National Sharecroppers Fund

Balance, May 1 $11.22

Total amount transferred to General Fund

NCCJ Travel Fund	
Balance, May 1	$ 92.63
Anna Holden, conf. fee	8.00
Bal. June 1	$ 84.63

BLIGHTED HOUSING AND BOMB VIOLENCE

Within the past few years, we have witnessed the emergence of a new form of violence. As Southerners, we are particularly disturbed by the grave aspects of this problem in our region. Since January 1, 1951, more than 40 bombings have been perpetrated in the South by terrorists and vandals, and many more have been attempted.

The threat to law and order alone compels concern. But added to that is the disturbing fact that most of these depredations have grown out of racial and religious tensions. Bigotry, even in its non-violent aspects, is a clear and present danger in a nation built on diversity and respect for differences. When bigotry is coupled with bombs, the peril becomes acute.

Since the end of World War II, much progress has been made toward securing in law equal rights for all citizens. Decisions of the United States Supreme Court have lessened segregation in interstate transportation and higher education. Barriers have been lifted at polling places. The Armed Forces are discarding racial classifications. Better economic conditions are enabling minority-group members to seek better homes, often in areas hitherto closed to them. It is clear by now that this progress toward a broader democracy will continue, probably at an accelerating pace, in the years just ahead.

However, changes in age-old traditions are not accepted gracefully by some elements in the South. By reason of narrow self-interest or blind prejudice, these elements are waging a fierce rear-guard action against all such progress. Those among them who occupy responsible positions and who deliberately provoke racial antagonism are morally as guilty as the terrorists who resort to dynamite. Tension and violence are the inevitable results of the fear and hatred which they engender.

To the credit of the South, the bombings have been widely and vigorously denounced throughout the region. But expressions of temporary public outrage by themselves are not enough. Not a single case of bombing growing out of racial and religious tensions has resulted in conviction of the perpetrators.

Two things are urgently needed: First, frank recognition of the causes of tension and violence; and, second, public determination to eliminate lawlessness at its roots.

Those roots go deep into the everyday conditions under which our people live -- and in no case more than in housing. The wretched slum dwellings of our Southern cities - nearly three-fourths of them occupied by Negroes - do us incalculable harm, morally as well as materially. Distrust, fear, rumor, and ultimately open violence are the fearful price we pay for the failure to provide long-range, constructive remedies for this problem.

Urban Housing: 1950

As revealed in reports of the 1950 Census, over three-fourths of the American cities with the worst housing are in the South. Of 77 cities in the nation with 30% or more substandard dwellings, 59 are Southern cities.

The Negro population has the worst of this problem, by far. According to the 1950 figures, Negro-occupied houses in the typical Southern city have a dollar value less than half that of white-occupied houses. Over-crowding among Negroes

is three and four times as great as among whites. More than twice as many Negro homes are dilapidated as white homes. In many Southern cities, three-fourths of all Negro-occupied houses are substandard -- that is, they are inadequate or unsafe as shelter, or they lack minimum inside plumbing.

These conditions represent no improvement, and in some cases a worsening, since the 1940 Census. The reasons are easy to find:

Expansion of Negro residential areas has been almost completely blocked. Negro families that want and can afford decent housing in better neighborhoods have had little opportunity to secure it. More often than not, real estate interests and fearful white home owners have joined forces to bar the development of suburban expansion areas for Negroes. Thus, hemmed in on one hand by burgeoning business districts and on the other by older white neighborhoods, Negroes have had no choice but to seek a block-by-block conversion of the older housing from white to Negro occupancy. It is this desperate transition process which breeds conflict. The process has been repeated in place after place, with the climax of bombing and other measures designed to terrorize Negro home buyers. First come rumors that Negroes are about to buy in a previously all-white "fringe" neighborhood. As suspicion and tension mount, "protective" associations are formed, often under the leadership of professional bigots. And, finally, at the first evidence of a neighborhood sale to Negroes, emotion explodes into violence. Ironically, even at the expense of all that effort and anxiety and unrest, the best the Negro population gets is hand-me-downs.

The public housing need has not been adequately met in Southern cities with a large proportion of substandard housing. The American people have become firmly convinced that the opportunity to secure good housing is a fundamental human right in a democracy. Low-income families share that right to good housing, at rentals they can afford.

Things to Do

Civic-minded individuals and groups, public and private agencies share an enormous responsibility in this critical situation - a responsibility so far largely neglected. As organizations concerned with Southern progress, we call on our fellow citizens to join in the following efforts:

1. Find the facts: Organize as local citizens to make a self-survey of housing conditions and tension areas in your community.

2. Insist on able and impartial police handling of housing tensions. It is a serious indictment of our law enforcement agencies that dozens of homes have been bombed without punishment of those guilty. In some instances, the police have openly sided with aroused white householders, and so have tacitly encouraged the resort to lawlessness. In other instances, the violence-minded have grown brazen on the ineptness and inactivity of law enforcement authorities. The remedies - modern standards of police training and performance - are not likely to be attained until an enlightened public opinion demands them.

3. Seek truly representative planning bodies, on which Negroes, Mexican-Americans, and other traditionally excluded groups will have an equtable voice in the official determination of community development.

4. Lend support to efforts to develop expansion for those inadequately housed.

5. Foster recognition of the facts that (a) Negroes can and will pay decent prices for decent housing; and (b) the presence of Negro residents in an area does not in itself destroy nearby "property values."

6. Urge public officials to make adequate provisions for public housing, slum clearance, and urban redevelopment.

7. Explore special Federal and private credit devices which will enable continuance of private housing construction in areas most in need of it.

8. Familiarize yourself with municipal housing standards. Strong ordinances, backed by inspection, can accomplish two important aims: (a) insure that new construction is sound and is not merely providing more slums for a few years hence; (b) require repair and improvement of existing dwellings - particularly low-rental properties whose owners have allowed them to deteriorate steadily.

Note: This is the version finally adopted by all the cooperating agencies.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting

September 27, 1952

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council was held in the Council offices, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE, Atlanta, Georgia, at 10:00 a.m., Saturday, September 27, 1952. President Marion A. Wright presided. Dr. Harry V. Richardson gave the invocation.

The following members were present:

Marion A. Wright	Harry V. Richardson	Mrs. C. M. Birnie
John Griffin	Leonard Haas	

The following staff members were present:

Mrs. M. E. Tilly	Harold C. Fleming	Katherine Stoney
George S. Mitchell	Anna Holden	Emily Calhoun

Mr. Nhlapo, leading educator from South Africa, was a visitor at the meeting.

It was agreed to dispense with the reading of the minutes of the last meeting.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

The executive director described recent conversations in New York with officials of the Ford Foundation, the Field Foundation, and the Phelps-Stokes Fund. He stated that his contact with the Ford Foundation led him to be optimistic, rather than the reverse, on the possibility of aid from them. He had been assured that an answer from that source should be available by very early in 1953.

The Washington dinner proposed for November 14, bringing together members and friends of the Southern Regional Council in that area, was described. Mention was made of the successful venture with RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT, the third printing of which, now exhausted, brought total sales up to about 15,000. Present number of counties in which committees of church women have carried the pamphlet to their sheriffs exceeds fifty, and that program is being pushed rapidly ahead.

REPORT ON WOMEN'S WORK

Mrs. Tilly described instances of visits of church women to their sheriffs and described contacts she had made with the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR in Boston. She exhibited an aritcle recently published in WORLD OUTLOOK, describing the work of the church women with RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

At the forthcoming meeting of the Council of Church Women in Jacksonville in October Mrs. Tilly expected to be able to speed up the work of the Fellowship of the Concerned considerably.

Mr. Wright asked whether Negro women were also visiting the sheriffs, and Mrs. Tilly replied that in most local situations it had been agreed that the white women would be more effective.

Mrs. Tilly spoke of the need for $5,000 to enlarge the work of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Mr. Fleming described the successful cooperation of the Council and the Anti-Defamation League with the Atlanta Police Department in sending Superintendent of Police Brown to the summer institute at the University of Chicago on "The Police and Racial Tensions."

He described also the negotiations under way here in Atlanta toward establishing a mayor's committee on human relations.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER

Miss Stoney gave the attached report. She mentioned also the allocation made by the executive director of $300.00 to the Fellowship of the Concerned, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee. Though the balance reported was no more than $54.55, she called attention to the fact that most of the Council's accounts had been paid to date. She described various economy measures effected in recent weeks, including the reducing of office rent by cutting down on office space occupied by the Council, and the collapse of staff jobs, in total reducing monthly expenditures by $125.00

The executive director gave some forecast of the income and expenditures for the remainder of the calendar year 1952. Expenses for October, November

and December would total $7,550. Income as to which he felt quite certain would amount to $2,000. Other possible sources of income might bring in $5,000. in addition. So that the shortfall forecast was $500.

Mr. Wright reviewed the several lines of action to this end in which he was engaged.

The executive director stated that for the coming year, unless quite substantial aid were available, he doubted the wisdom of continuing on the present basis, We are sure only of some $18,000 to $20,000 a year, though by the greatest effort we have for two years pas been raising twice that sum. Even with a budget of $40,000, he stated he felt that the total program that could be effected was scarcely worthy of the seriousness and urgency of the problems being attacked.

ANNUAL MEETING

Discussion then turned to the date of the annual meeting. Mr. Griffin raised the question of whether the meeting ought not to be postponed until some definite word would be available on financial support, and after considerable discussion, the Executive Committee, upon motion, authorized the postponement of the 1952 annual meeting until some date not more than sixty days after the meeting date for 1951 (December 13, 1951). The Executive Committee then, upon motion, authorized the executive director to fix the next date of the annual meeting, within the terms of the previous motion.

RATIFICATION OF STAFF ACTIONS

Additional motions, duly passed, ratified the staff changes (release of the membership secretary) mentioned earlier, and the allocation of $300 from SRC general funds to the Fellowship of the Concerned.

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON SALARIES

Ar this time the Committee went into executive session, with no staff members present, and took up the report of the special committee established by the preceding meeting of the Executive Committee, which special committee was to review the salary scale of the staff. The report of the special committee

was as follows:

The committee appointed by the president, pursuant to a resolution of the Executive Committee, met July 29, 1952, to consider the salary schedule of the officers and staff of the Council.

We have carefully surveyed the salaries now being paid by the Council. In our judgment, the salaries are inadequate in terms of the cost of living figures, and in terms of the responsibilities which the jobs entail. It is our feeling that immediate adjustments in the salary scale are urgently needed, and we recommend that a new schedule be approved now, and that payments according to the new scale be made as soon as funds are available.

Another consideration that moves us is the fact that the Council does not provide many of the so-called "fringe benefits" which so many officers and employees of other organizations enjoy. For example, we do not have any pensions or retirement program. We do not carry group insurance or provide other like benefits.

We deplore the fact that the present scale does not provide any systematic plan for periodic increases.

We feel, too, that there should be some plan providing a range for a job so that increases could be made at the discretion of the Executive Director in terms of length of service and performance.

After carefully surveying the salaries now being paid, and the extension of the program of the Council as proposed, we recommend that the following schedule be adopted:

Executive Director - $10,000 to $12,000
Director of Information - $6,000 to $7,500
Secretary-Treasurer - $4,000 to $5,000
Research Assistant - $4,000 to $5,000
Secretary to Executive Director - $3,000 to $4,000
Membership Secretary - $3,000 to $4,000
Director of Women's Work - $3,000 to $4000

It will be noted that we have provided for a range of salary for each position. In our judgment, the Executive Director should be asked to establish some criteria for increases within these ranges. We think that such a plan should be adopted at this time and made effective just as soon as funds permit.

It is the recommendation of this committee that even now some increase should be made in the salary of the Executive Director. We call attention to the fact that the salary of the Executive Director has been at the present low level since the time of his appointment in August 1947. We are also fully aware of the fact that the Executive Director has not received even this salary on a regular basis, and that he has been called upon to make other personal sacrifices in the administration of the program of the Council. It is our recommendation, therefore, that some increase should be granted to the Executive Director at once. The amount of such increase will, of course, be left to the decision of the Executive Committee.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

John Griffin, Chairman
Cassandra Maxwell Birnie, Vice-Chairman
Leonard Haas, Secretary

At the conclusion of the executive session, the following motion, duly passed, was recorded: The Executive Committee carefully considered the recommendations of the sub-committee on salaries contained in the letter dated July 29, 1952, and addressed to the president. After full discussion, it was unanimously agreed that the salary scale recommended by the committee be approved as to the minimum figures contained therein, the same to become effective as of January 1, 1953.

The executive session was thereupon dissolved and members of the staff returned to the meeting.

POSSIBLE REORGANIZATION OF SRC

The executive director put before the Committee the following outline of a plan for reorganization, to accord with the resolution passed by the membership meeting December 13, 1951:

Membership in the Southern Regional Council would become synonymous with membership on the Board of Directors. Simple individual membership would be discontinued. Associates of the Southern Regional Council (resident out of the South) would continue, but as at present, without voting privileges.

Membership on the Board would be in two categories:

From 40 to 50 persons so elected by the annual membership meeting of 1952. Suggest we call these General Members.

Two people sent by each affiliated State Organization. One would be the Chairman of such Organization, the other a person elected by the membership of the State Organization. Suggest we call these persons State Members.

The officers of the Council (President, Vice-President, Counsel, Executive Director and Associate Executive Director) would also be ex-officio members of the Board.

This is a Board having at maximum strength:

50	General members
26	State Members
7	Officers, Ex-Officio
83	Members

Continuation of the Board Of the fifty members elected in 1952, one-half would get two-year terms, and the rest four-year terms. Elections to fill vacancies would be by majority vote of the whole Board, with the Executive Director and Associate Executive Director excluded from voting (on this issue only). Vacancies among State Members would, of course, be filled by the State Organizations. General Members (and presumably, elected State Members, other than State Chairmen) would serve four-year terms, and not more than two consecutive such full terms. State Chairmen would be Board members as long as they are State Chairmen. Ditto for SRC officers.

Affiliation by State Organizations Upon written approval by or on behalf of the Board of SRC of by-laws of such organizations. Amendments to such by-laws not effective until approved by SRC. By-laws to contain prohibition of political activity.

Personnel of State Organizations paid, in whole or in part, by SRC to receive checks from central office.

Local Organizations Ordinarily, to be creatures of appropriate State Organizations, and by-laws and amendments to by-laws to be approved by State Organizations and SRC.

Executive Committee Nine, plus SRC officers, exclusive of Executive Director and Associate Executive Director. Total of 14. Quorum, five (?).

Dr. Mitchell explained that under this plan the Southern Regional Council would become a self-perpetuating Board of Trustees, with representation from vigerous State Organizations affiliated with SRC. The Council would pay, in whole or in part, the staff of those State Organizations. Mr. Wright suggested that Dr. Mitchell draw up a chart explaining the new plan, and Dr. Mitchell agreed to do so.

The executive director expressed his view that State Organizations would find it easier to build a large and stable membership than the regional organization had thus far been able to do. Mention was made by Mr. Wright of the fact of competitiveness among State Organizations.

It was agreed that the members of the Executive Committee would study the proposed plan between now and the next meeting of the Executive Committee, and at that time would determine what their recommendation would be to the members of the Board and the annual membership meeting. Mr. Wright further requested that the secretary-treasurer write a note to members of the Executive Committee one month before the next meeting of the Executive Committee, reminding them that the plan for reorganization would be considered.

NOMINATING COMMITTEES

It was recalled that it was customary to have two nominating committees every year, one from the membership of the Board to nominate the officers of the Council, and the other from the general membership to make nominations for the Board of Directors. The following were listed as suitable persons to serve on the committee to nominate members of the Board:

Gadsden Shand, Chairman, S. C.
Mrs. Rebecca Gershon, Georgia
Ernest Neal, Alabama
Ocie Lee Smith, Arkansas
Mrs. William S. Hogue, Texas
Louis Regenstein, Georgia

For membership on the committee of the Board to nominate officers of the Council, the following were listed:

Benjamin E. Mays, Chairman, Georgia
Miss Florence Sytz, Louisiana
Dan Whitsett, Alabama
Glenn Rainey, Georgia
John Long, Mississippi

Upon motion, the Executive Committee ordered these two committees to report to the next annual meeting.

POSSIBLE COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS

Discussion was then held on Mr. Wright's suggestion that the Council submit its plans for administrative arrangements under future expansion to a committee of businessmen widely known over the South. The proposal was discussed at some length, and at the conclusion, the Committee took the position that the best time to go forward with it would be when, and if, we felt secure as to substantial additional support. The discussion brought out the importance of finding among Southern businessmen a greater measure of interest in and support for the Council.

STAFF REPORTS TO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Mr. Wright suggested that the monthly staff reports to the Executive Committee be made also to members of the Board, and that the reports to the Board should request suggestions from Board members as to program. It was agreed, after discussion, that some report should be made quarterly to all members of the Board, together with requests for suggestions, while the monthly reports to the members of the Committee would continue.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Finance Report, September 1-26, 1952

RECEIPTS

Contributions from Individuals	$	13.00
Contributions from Organizations		60.00
Contribution from Church		250.00
Contribution from Foundation		350.00
Members Dues		275.00
New South Subscriptions		106.50
Sale of Literature		164.05
Honorarium		74.00
Reimbursement for travel		74.15
Total receipts	$	1,366.70

DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries	$	999.99
Social Security		23.63
Travel		179.97
Rent		105.00
Telephone & Telegraph		61.56
Postage		36.16
Office Supplies		1.13
Georgia Sales Tax		1.14
Books & subscriptions		1.10
Paid to State Divisions		133.50
Allocated to Fellowship of the Concerned		300.00
Total Disbursements	$	1,843.18

Recapitulation

Balance, Sept. 1	$ 531.03
Receipts	1,366.70
	1,897.73
Disbursements	1,843.18
Bal. Sept. 26	$ 54.55

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting

December 20, 1952

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council was held in the Council offices, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE, Atlanta, Georgia, at 10:20 a.m., Saturday, December 20, 1952. President Marion A. Wright presided. Mrs. M. E. Tilly gave the invocation.

The following members were present:

Marion A. Wright	Harry V. Richardson	Rufus E Clement
John A Griffin	Leonard Haas	Alfred Mynders
	Mrs. C. M. Birnie	

The following staff members were present:

Mrs. M. E. Tilly	Harold C. Fleming	Anna Holden
George S. Mitchell	Katherine Stoney	Emily Calhoun

It was agreed to dispense with the reading of the minutes of the last meeting.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Segregation in the Schools

The Executive Director reviewed recent speaking engagements in Florida and Tennessee and then outlined steps taken by the Council toward preparing the South for the forthcoming Supreme Court decision in the matter of segregation in the schools.

He described conversations among Atlanta friends touching on the need for an understanding of the law that would prevail in case certain of the Southern States did attempt to establish a "private" school system; the value of building a cross-over between Negro and white teacher groups, on a State basis and locally; similarly with parent-teacher organizations; and the need for greatly increased knowledge in interracial circles of the accurate facts on each State school system.

He then discussed the possibility of establishing in each Southern State a volunteer committee which would concern itself with the many problems arising from the increased activity in the school field certain to come up in the near future. As a ready review of this problem, he read a letter prepared for President Marion Wright to send to the Fund for the Republic. (See attached). Such committees, Dr. Mitchell said, would necessarily have to make plain at their launching that they would be concerned with smooth transition to an increasingly unsegregated school system in the Southern States.

Various members of the Committee suggested improvements and additions to the letter, and the final draft, attached hereto, was approved for Presdient Wright's dispatch.

Toward the end of the discussion on this point, it was decided that the Executive Director should make an early trip to New York, in an effort to find funds for getting such committees under way.

State Divisions

Report was also made on the recent meetings of the State Divisions in Arkansas, North Carolina, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Florida.

Fund for the Republic

Those present were supplied with lists of the new members of the Fund for the Republis, and various arrangements were made for laying the Council's need before these persons.

Mr. Haas described a recent visit to New York in which he had access to persons associated with the Ford Foundation. It was his view that no decisions would be reached on the Council's application before late january, at the earliest.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER

Katherine Stoney, secretary-treasurer, gave the attached report.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Harold Fleming, director of information, reviewed recent access to news columns and described some of the impact of issues of NEW SOUTH.

COMMISSION ON EQUAL PENALTIES

Dr. Mitchell reviewed the status of the proposed Commission on Equal Penalties in Courts of Law. The granted $1,000, conditioned upon its being matched by funds raised from within the South, had been in the Council's hands for nearly a year. An allocation of another thousand dollars had been made by the Doris Duke Foundation, similarly conditioned. Toward matching the Doris Duke allocation, $200 had been raised in Atlanta, and Mr. Richardson was actively engaged in raising an additional sum, which may reach the $800 needed. In that case, we would have only to raise a further $1,000 in order to realize $4,000 for the Commission, which is probably enough to launch it with.

REORGANIZATION OF S.R.C.

The proposed plan for reorganization of the Southern Regional Council, circulated to Committee members several weeks ago, was discussed. The Executive Director said that if the Executive Committee approved the plan, he would draw up a new set of by-laws, to be presented to the membership at the next annual meeting. On motion, it was voted to authorize the staff to prepare a revision of the by-laws, in accordance with the plan for reorganization.

ANNUAL MEETING

The Committee discussed at some length the date last authorized for the 1952 annual meeting; namely, February 1953. In view of the uncertainty on funds, the Committee, on motion, authorized the staff to fix the date of the annual meeting, within its discretion, at a time not later than March 30. Mr. Wright and others urged that at the annual meeting a panel discussion take place on the subject of school segregation.

The meeting adjourned at 12:30 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

* For complete plan of reorganization,
see minutes of Executive Committee Meeting,
September 27, 1952

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Finance Report -- December 1-20, 1952

RECEIPTS

Contributions from Individuals	$ 741.00
Contributions from Organizations (Miss. Division, SRC.)	150.00
Contributions from Churches	350.00
Catholic Committee of the South, $100	
Division of Home Missions & Church Extension, The Methodist Church, $250.00	
Members Dues	273.50
New South Subscriptions	15.00
Sale of Literature	36.30
Honorarium	7.59
Miscellaneous	.24
Loan, borrowed against funds definitely expected	495.00
	$ 2,068.63

DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries	$ 1,977.65
Social Security	7.18
Rent	105.00
Books & Subscriptions	11.50
Sales Tax	.74
Payment of Loan to Special Account	100.00
Travel	94.38
	$ 2,296.45

Balance, December 1, 1952	$ 228.90
Receipts	2,068.63
	2,297.53
Disbursements	2,296.45
Balance, Dec. 20, 1952	$ 1.08

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Finance Report -- January 1 - November 30, 1952

RECEIPTS

Contributions from Individuals	$ 6,040.47
Contributions from Organizations	3,303.26
Contributions from Churches	3,710.00
Contributions from Foundations	13,000.00
Members Dues	4,616.50
New South Subscriptions	438.50
Sale of Literature	1,670.68
Honoraria	343.17
Work on Negro Year Book	150.00
Sale of Equipment	18.00
Miscellaneous	4.50
Loan from Special Account	100.00
Loan from Tenn. Div. funds held by Council	190.00
Total Receipts	33,585.08

DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries	$ 20,552.17
Social Security (cost to Council)	252.25
Travel	1,530.39
Telephone & Telegraph	717.67
Printing	691.68
Rent	1,355.00
Office Supplies	628.19
Postage	395.34
Audit	75.00
Books & subscriptions	71.67
Interest on note - Dr. Mitchell	75.00
Note to Mr. Byrd	3,950.00
Interest on note - Mr. Byrd	50.00
Paid on Sharecropper Pamphlet	168.78
Police Scholarship	150.00
Meeting luncheons	24.90
Bank Exchange and Service Charges	9.95
Insurance	9.00
Stenographer's Services	52.36
Georgia Sales Tax	13.60
Miscellaneous	31.00
Paid to State Divisions	1,059.00
Allocated to Fellowship of the Concerned	300.00
Paid on 1951 Accounts	1,198.26
Total Disbursements	33,361.11

ACCOUNTS PAYABLE as of December 20, 1952

George S. Mitchell, salary	$	687.50
Katherine Stoney, salary		362.40
Mrs. M. E. Tilly, salary		100.00
Southern Bell Telephone & Telegraph Co.		64.64
Mimeograph Company		66.15
Elliott Addressing Machine Co.		11.59
Office Supply Co.		1.55
Due to State Divisions		238.00
Due to Tenn. Division Funds		190.00
Total	$	1,721.92

Loan Payable - Ctiizens Trust Co. $ 500.00
(Includes principle and interest,
Due Feb. 1, 1953)

SPECIAL ACCOUNTS

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

	Balance, Jan. 1, 1952		$ 423.96
Receipts			
	Charlottesville Interracial Com.	$ 10.00	
	Allocated from Gen. Budget	300.00	
			310.00
			733.96
Disbursements			
	Travel	$ 167.71	
	Postage	70.00	
	Office Supplies & Photos	45.53	
	Stenographis services	143.00	
	Telegram	1.44	
			427.68
	Balance, Dec. 20, 1952		$ 306.28

NCCJ TRAVEL FUND

Balance, Jan. 1, 1952	$	421.72
Travel, Anna Holden on Survey Promotion		408.28
Balance, Dec. 20, 1952	$	13.44

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting

March 21, 1953

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council was held in the Council Offices, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE, Atlanta, Georgia, at 10:15 a.m., Saturday, March 21, 1953. President Marion A. Wright presided. Mrs. M. E. Tilly gave the invocation.

The following members were present:

Marion A. Wright	Mrs. Cassandra M. Birnie	Alfred Mynders
John A. Griffin	Leonard Haas	Paul Christopher

The following staff members were present:

George S. Mitchell	Harold C. Fleming	Anna Holden
Mre. M. E. Tilly	Katherine Stoney	Emily Calhoun

It was agreed to dispense with the reading of the minutes of the last meeting.

INTERIM GRANT FROM THE FORD FOUNDATION

Mr. Wright described the various steps that he had taken to interest Mr. Chester C. Davis of the Ford Foundation in assisting the Council's present needs. These had resulted in a telephone call and letter from Mr. Davis, dated March 16, stating that the Ford Foundation had approved a grant of $20,000 to the Council, payable within the next few days. Mr. Davis's letter and the accompanying statement on terms and conditions were read to the Executive Committee.

Mr. Wright stated that he had wired all members of the Executive Committee March 16 that the meeting to convene March 21 would be a critical one in the life of the Council, and requested them to reach out for all possible resources for strengthening the organization. His wire had said that there was reason to suppose that the Council could not continue more than a short while longer unless substantial additional funds were found.

No more than a day or two after the dispatch of the wire, word had been

PAGE (s) MISSING

received from Mr. Davis of the Ford Foundation's grant. Various members of the Committee brought in substantial contributions obtained as a result of the wire from Mr. Wright. Among others, there was a letter from Dr. Gordon Hancock, enclosing a personal check and telling of other contributions which he had solicited. The sums thus brought in and other contributions coming at that time amounted to something in excess of $700.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Dr. Mitchell reviewed negotiations with the Fund for the Republic conducted since the last meeting of the Executive Committee. Two letters had been dispatched to them, one December 23 outlining a plan for State School Committees, in some sense paralleling official State school boards, but fairly representing the interests of both races in school matters in the South. These committees, the letter suggested, should be served by the paid personnel which it was hoped the Fund for the Republic would find means of making available at an early date to the Council. A later letter, also sent by Mr. Wright, dated March 2, pointed out ten specific areas in which the Council proposed to work. The various contacts made on behalf of the Council with members of the Board of the Fund for the Republic were touched upon.

Dr. Mitchell described a proposal lately made on the Council's behalf to one of the foundations, looking toward increased interest by church women in the South on use of the franchise generally.

Mention was made of the activities of the Alabama Division, the New Orleans, Committee on Race Relations, and the Texas Commission on Race Relations. Mrs. Tilly sketched in detail the recent activities of the Georgia Interracial Committee.

The terms of the Ford grant having permitted publicity on the grant under stated conditions, discussion turned to the wisdom of a public release as to the grant. Many, in the course of the discussion, seemed influenced by the argument that our supporters were hoping that at some early date very substantial

assistance would be had from the Fund for the Republic as a subsidiary of the Ford Foundation, and that confusion might arise were this interim grant given public notice. Others argued that the Council had been, for historical reasons, perhaps unduly secretive about its sources of funds, and that at this or some later time ought to follow a practice, desirable for all voluntary organizations, of informing the public regularly as to revenues and expenditures. At the end of the discussion, it was agreed that the Council would not seek public notice of this particular grant.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Mr. Fleming described the news coverage of the last several issues of NEW SOUTH and displayed exhibits which had been prepared on the various evidences of newspaper interest.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER

Miss Stoney mentioned the fact that the 1952 complete audit had been sent to the Executive Committee, and distributed the copies of the following financial report:

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
Finance report - March 1-20, 1953

RECEIPTS		
Contributions from Individuals	$	113.00
Contributions from Church (Div. Home Missions, Methodist Church)		250.00
Members Dues		466.00
New South Subscriptions		111.50
Sale of Literature		28.30
Honorarium		25.00
Total receipts	$	993.80
DISBURSEMENTS		
Salaries	$	713.32
Social Security		39.47
Travel		87.31
Postage		19.76
Georgia Sales Tax		.83
Total disbursements		860.69

Balance on hand, Mar. 1	$ 51.84
Receipts	993.80
	1045.64
Disbursements	860.69
Bal, Mar. 20	$ 184.95

She also prepared the proposed budget given below for the period April 1 to December 31, 1953, reminding the Executive Committee that for some period past the Council's existence had been dependent upon periodic continuations by the Executive Committee. She asked for approval of the budget, as it now seemed clear that the Council could continue at least through the year 1953. After some discussion, the budget figures were approved.

SRC PROPOSED BUDGET FOR PERIOD
April 1 - December 31, 1953

Salaries	$ 22,488.82	
Social Security	265.00	
Rent	945.00	
Travel	2,500.00	
Office Supplies	800.00	
Postage	450.00	
Telephone & Telegraph	750.00	
Books & Subscriptions	75.00	
Georgia Sales Tax	9.00	
Miscellaneous	100.00	$ 28,382.82
New South - printing	1,700.00	
New South - postage	400.00	2,100.00
		$ 30,482.82
Expenses for first 3 months of 1953		10,607.40
Total for 1953		$ 41,090.22

Dr. Mitchell listed the various sources of revenue, probable and possible, for the remainder of the year. Those which seemed to him probable totaled $21,450, and possible additional grants amounted to $5,000.

FUND-RAISING EFFORTS BY PRESIDENT WRIGHT

Mr. Wright reported on contacts he had made in North Carolina with people of means who he thought might quite possibly be persuaded to assist the Council substantially.

At Mrs. Birnie's instance, the meeting discussed possible ways in which substantial additional support could be had from Negro organizations and individuals, and President Wright was, in the end, requested to be in touch with Mr. John Wheeler in Durham in a request that he take the lead in an effort of this kind.

In discussion of various projects for which funds might be had, the Executive Director pointed to the Commission on Equal Penalties and the program for School Committees.

Mr. Christopher made suggestions as to ways in which additional sums might be had from organized labor.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

Annual Meeting

The executive director brought up the matter of the annual meeting which had been postponed since November, 1952. He suggested that a meeting this spring would be helpful in launching the campaign that was clearly necessary to raise additional Southern money, as well as, among other things, to sound out the membership on the proposed new set of by-laws. Mr. Wright suggested that the membership might be asked to approve the by-laws, to become effective at a time fixed by the Executive Committee.

Upon motion, it was determined to hold the annual meeting in May, 1953, at a time to be decided upon by the president and the executive director. As to whether the May, 1953 meeting would replace both the '52 and the '53 annual meetings, no decision was taken.

Miscellaneous

Mr. Wright described an invitation which he had accepted to address in New York in April a new organization called "Southerners for Democratic Action."

At Mr. Wright's instance, the staff was instructed to make early payment of the longstanding loan to the Council by the executive director.

PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

School Committees

Dr. Mitchell gave it as his view that the main issue confronting the South and the Council this year would be segregation in the schools, and that the Council would have an urgent duty to inform and lead the South on that matter. Under present conditions, we do not have the information needed. The proposal made to the Fund for the Republic about State School Committees would fully satisfy that objective, but, for the time being, funds were not in sight to enable that full program to be gone through with.

He suggested as a stop-gap measure that the Council make an arrangement with some one volunteer person in each of the States who would inform himself as fully as might be possible on school matters, using where necessary a modest expense allowance from the Council for travel and communications and clerical services involved. The Council would then be in a position to query, State by State, these informed individuals as to opportunities in each area, and it might be possible to get various of these volunteers to describe fully for NEW SOUTH the situation in their States. Such a skeleton organization would assist the whole Council in exploring the further needs of school reorganization in the South and would put us some steps farther along when, as, and if additional funds become available for a major program in that field.

Mr. Griffin had some questions as to the priority proposed to be given to the matter of selecting State school correspondents, and thought rather that our first effort ought to go into convening school officials and human relations agencies in the South on an emergency basis. It was stated that a meeting of such agencies would occur in Atlanta, partly at the Council's instance, on March 27, to talk specifically about the problems of school segregation.

Mr. Haas suggested a Kentucky person as a suitable volunteer for that State.

Question was then raised as to whether the Council would be authorized to

advocate publicly, in the event that the forthcoming decision of the Supreme Court might permit such a program, the progressive desegregation of schools, stemming from the mountain counties down. Mrs. Birnie questioned the wisdom of dividing the jurisdiction and responsibility of each State on that matter, and after discussion, it was agreed that such a program might be furthered only with the approval of a special committee of the Executive Committee, being Dr. Clement and Mrs. Birnie, with the executive director.

Another matter described was the question of super-consolidation of Negro schools now under way in various of the thinly populated Negro counties.

Industry's Stake in the New South

Mr. Wright suggested that the Council might well be at pains to get across to the major business interests in the South their longterm stake in democratic arrangements within the Southern communities, and plans were laid for developing that view.

Hiring of Additional Staff

Mr. Griffin urged that in any expansion of the Council's staff, consideration be given to returning to the Council's former practice of including in the staff paid Negro personnel. The executive director said that this policy had been neglected in recent months only because of the press of funds. We have had an active Negro volunteer at work during much of that time. The executive director undertook that any additional employment would follow the original practice. He urged that the Council be in shape to employ an associate executive director.

The meeting adjourned at 2:50 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Minutes of the Board of Directors Meeting

May 13, 1953

A meeting of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council was held at Atlanta University, Harkness Hall, 223 Chestnut Street, SW, Atlanta, Georgia, at 10:00 a.m., Wednesday, May 13, 1953. President Marion A. Wright presided. Rabbi Charles Mantinband gave the invocation.

The following members were present:

Marion A. Wright
Florence Sytz
Mrs. Alice N. Spearman
Mrs. James S. Crate
John Long
O. D. Duncan
Rabbi Charles Mantinband
A. T. Butler
Guy B, Johnson
Leonard Haas
Gordon B. Hancock
Benjamin E. Mays
C. H. Parrish
James M. Dabbs
Glenn Rainey
A. W. Dent
F. D. Patterson
Forrester B. Washington
Rev. W. Carroll Brooke
Mrs. Milton P. Adler (with proxy for Re. L. J. Twomey)
Mrs. W. C. White (with proxy for Davisson Dunlap)
Mrs. Charles Robeson (with proxy for Mrs. E. U. Robinson)
Rufus E. Clement
Paul D. Williams
Paul R. Christopher
Herbert M. Davidson

The following staff members were present:

George S. Mitchell
Harold C. Fleming
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Katherine Stoney
Emily Calhoun

The following visitors were present:

Mrs. Herbert Davidson
Mrs. W. H. Hogue
Gadsden Shand
Rebecca Reid
Mrs. R. L. Turman

Katherine Stoney gave a summary of the minutes of the last Board meeting, held December 12, 1951. On motion, it was voted to approve the summary as read.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Mr. Haas read the attached report from the Executive Committee to the Board of Directors. The report was accepted as read.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Dr. Mitchell reviewed the principal topics covered by New South since the last meeting of the Board and described particular issues which had had unusually wide effectiveness. He mentioned also the work of the Council in getting up

material for a wide variety of articles, speeches, and some books done by other persons on Southern matters, and touched upon the speech-making activities of the Council's own staff.

He reviewed the principal sources of funds in the intervening period since the Board had met and listed the programs proposed to be followed in the event that the Council is enabled to put paid personnel into each of the Southern States. These items included a follow-through on Race in the News, with the many newspapers not yet influenced by the new doctrines; the development of one or two home town self-surveys in each State each year; widening the franchise; extending economic opportunity; exploring the possibilities of getting human relations taught in the schools; and working for full compliance with whatever may be the decision of the Supreme Court in the school cases.

He reported that for the Commission on Equal Penalties, well over $2,000 was already in hand and it was hoped that the remaining pledge of a thousand dollars could be matched in a short time and this project launched. He described in detail the status of the request to the Fund for the Republic for a major grant.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER

Katherine Stoney distributed the attached financial report, showing the financial condition of the Council for 1952 and the first four months of 1953. It was pointed out that during the first four months of 1953 the Council was able to pay all debts for 1952 and all 1953 debts up to May 1, and have $13,532 in the general budget. She called the attention of Board members to the various grants received for special projects -- the Fellowship of the Concerned, the Commission on Equal Penalties, and New South.

The following budget was presented for the remainder of 1953:

Proposed Budget for Period May 1 through December 31, 1953

Salaries	$ 19,999.84
Social Security	200.00
Special salaries	700.00
Rent	840.00

Travel	$ 2,000.00
Office Supplies	700.00
Postage	400.00
Telephone & telegraph	700.00
Books & subscriptions	60.00
Georgia Sales Tax	8.00
Bank exchange	4.00
State school volunteers (expenses)	1,800.00
Printing	400.00
Board & membership meeting	1,000.00
Miscellaneous	100.00
	$ 28,911.84

MEMBERSHIP & FUND RAISING

In discussion, various members urged that more attention be given to increasing the Council's membership, which Miss Stoney had listed as 1,810 paid full members and 240 paid associate members. Suggestions included the use of advertisements in church publications, a campaign by present members and Board members, and gift subscriptions to New South by present members to their friends.

The executive director thought that the most effective way to build membership would be to have paid personnel in each State. He spoke of the difficulty of reaching from a single office in Atlanta to remote States and attempting to enlist real cooperation in a program which needed to be described personally in order to be fully understood. It was true, he said, in the days when the Council had been able to afford a membership secretary and had circularized long lists of people, that it had been possible to keep the curve of membership going up, but this had always been an expensive operation and he doubted whether resumption of it would return the cost involved. Mitchell said also that in his view, the key to our membership problem was that we didn't offer enough action programs to people out in the States.

Mr. Haas urged that a larger share of the money-raising job be taken from the executive director and put into the hands of a finance committee.

Mrs. Spearman felt that the Council could do more to assist citizens and voluntary groups in the various States in obtaining material, discussion outlines, and speakers for the various programs being conducted locally along the general lines of the Council's work.

Dr. Patterson suggested that each Board member should bring in from three to five new members during the coming few months. Others suggested that the work of the finance committee might be combined with membership recruitment.

On Mrs. Spearman's point, Dr. Mitchell's view was that the Council had been serving a useful purpose as a central organization, but that the time had come now to decentralize to vigorous State action.

Mrs. White pointed out that the serving of dues notices from the Atlanta office was, in her experience, less successful than the doing of this work by people within each State. Staff persons commented that nothing in the procedures of the Council required the collection of dues centrally, and that if any State organization felt strong enough to keep the records and bill and collect itself, the Atlanta office would be very glad to turn over the record keeping and the whole matter of dues. It had, over the years, simply fallen to the Atlanta office for lack of paid personnel in each of the States to deal with the tedious routines involved.

On motion by Mr. Williams, the president was authorized to appoint a finance committee of five or more members, at his discretion.

On motion by Dr. Clement, it was voted that a recommendation be made to the finance committee that it work out a program for getting each member to obtain from three to five new members within sixty days.

Various Board members raised the question of whether the Council's own membership figure could not justifiably be increased to take into account the approximately 1,600 members of the Georgia Interracial Committee (affiliated) and the several hundred additional members of the Texas Commission on Race Relations (affiliated) and the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Virginia Council of Church (unafilliated).

Dr. Dent and others suggested that success by the Council in obtaining large additional grants would inevitably be related to the size and influence of our membership. Dr. Dent instanced the success of the New Orleans Committee on Race Relations in increasing its membership by a purely local campaign.

Dr. Duncan suggested that the Council's name suggested too little and that we needed a name which would inform people accurately as to the Council's purpose.

Miss Sytz said she thought that we ought to be sure that we built up a strong organization, without simply breaking down into unrelated State groups. She wanted the program to remain uniform.

ATTACK ON SRC BY METHODIST EDITOR

Mr. Fleming distributed copies of the April 1953 issue of the publication One Methodist Voice, containing a libelous attack on Dr. Mitchell and several of the Board members. The publication had evidently lifted miscellaneous items from the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and other similar sources and had brought a most biased and partial charge that various Board and staff members, past and present, had been affiliated with organizations believed to have been tainted by Communist influences. Further analysis of the publication had still to be made. Mr. Fleming told what was readily available to the staff as to the history of the attacking editor. For the moment, he said, the matter was a denominational question within the North Georgia Conference of the Methodist Church, and the Council was in hopes that the Conference would itself, at the proper time, take corrective notice of the charges. Steps taken by the Executive Director and general counsel toward exploring the implications of the attack in the law of libel and in postal regulations were reviewed.

Mr. Wright warned against distributing copies of the libelous publication. He said that the Council had considered going into print to defend itself, but had decided that, for the time being, in view of the limited circulation of the publication, we would merely add prestige to the attacker by going into print. Mr. Wright made it clear that if any individual who had been libeled

felt that this was not the right course to take, he was free to act otherwise. The Council itself had approached the postal inspector and the Methodist officials to get them to take official action.

On motion by Mr. Davidson, it was voted that discussion of the matter of the attack would be kept within the confines of the Board.

Miss Sytz requested and obtained permission of the group to use her copy of the sheet in apprising her university officials of the libel against her.

Dr. Washington thought that if, at a later stage, a statement were to be forthcoming, it should carefully answer the many inaccuracies set out.

It was agreed, upon Mr. Wright's suggestion, that officially the Board would give the attack no publicity, and that individual members of the Board would not give it publicity, but might make such private use of it as they felt might be necessary to protect their reputations.

Dr. Patterson said that in the event that the Council does prepare a statement, the individuals attacked should give any information they wanted to be included in the statement, and it was agreed by Mr. Fleming that any such statement would be prepared with the advice of the persons libeled.

The meeting then adjourned at 12:20 p.m. for lunch.

After the luncheon interval, it was agreed that a statement in re the attack should be made in the report of the Board to the membership.

Miss Sytz suggested that it might be better to let people know more about the attack: "We might be crucified for trying to suppress this attack against us."

Mr. Fleming said that it should be made clear that any individual member who was troubled about the attack was free to inquire about it of the staff. What was proposed was to avoid public display and circulation.

BUDGET FOR 1953

Indiscussion of the budget, as read by Miss Stoney, Mr. Davidson moved that an extra item of a thousand dollars be included, to be spent as the discretion of the executive director, in providing expenses of individuals

circulating in various States to secure additional memberships. Others suggested that this might be made the responsibility of the finance committee or that the volunteers who would be at work on matters of schools should be provided with extra expense money to enable them to take on the recruitment task also.

Mr. Davidson's motion was passed, and the budget, with the addition of that item, was adopted.

REVISION OF BY-LAWS

The executive director reviewed the history of the proposal to adopt completely new by-laws in the event that the Council obtained large additional sums, and stated that the several drafts had been scrutinized carefully by members of the Executive Committee and the present final draft had been mailed out to all Board members previous to the meeting. On motion, it was voted to urge the adoption of by-laws at the membership meeting the next day.

ANNUAL MEETING

Dr. Mitchell pointed out that the powers granted the Executive Committee under the by-laws were exceeded in postponing the 1952 annual meetings until May 1953. He hoped that the membership meeting would sanction the postponement. He also raised the question of whether this meeting should serve as the 1953 annual meeting, thus removing the need for a meeting in November of this year. On motion, it was voted to recommend to the membership that the postponement of the 1952 annual meeting be approved and that the present meeting serve as the 1953 annual meeting, the next meeting to occur in 1954.

CO-ORDINATION OF STATE ACTIVITIES

Rabbi Mantinband urged that we arrange more coordination in the programs of the various states, particularly on the up-coming work of the school volunteers. Dr. Mitchell agreed, and suggested that the school volunteers would have a pioneer task in which they could get little help from outside bodies, and they would therefore have the greater need for comparing notes on their own achievements. Mr. Williams suggested that when each State has a Division meeting they mimeograph enough minutes to send out to other Divisions, and the executive

director agreed that this could be done with such minutes as the State Divisions may send in to the Council's office in Atlanta.

Mrs. White told of plans for calling together key people from each county in Florida to discuss and report on the school situation.

AWARD TO DR. MITCHELL BY CATHOLIC COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH

Mr. Williams told of the award given Dr. Mitchell by the Catholic Committee of the South at its convention in Richmond April 24. He mentioned previous recipients of the award and described the care and consideration by the Committee in making its choices. On motion by Mr. Haas, it was voted that the Board express its pleasure and pride that the executive director had been so honored.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,
Katherine Stoney
Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

May 13, 1953

The Executive Committee has had unusually heavy responsibilities and has held them for an unprecedentedly long time. The by-laws of the Council require an annual meeting of the membership and of the Board of Directors, as you know. At our instance, this is the first such annual meeting since December 1951. True, the by-laws grant to the Executive Committee some months of leeway in fixing the date of each year's meeting. But on our own initiative, we have exceeded that lee-way in postponing this meeting until today.

It will be recalled that the December 1951 membership meeting in reviewing budgetary figures for 1952, did not adopt them as a budget but authorized the Council to be continued from month to month, within the discretion of the Executive Committee. The uncertainty of finances as 1952 drew toward a close led us to put off summoning the Board and the membership, in the hope that it would be possible to consult you at a time when the finances of the Council would be on a stable basis and long-range planning could be undertaken. In part, those conditions are now fulfilled, and we happily at this time turn the conduct of the Council's program back into your hands.

The Executive Committee has met five times since the last meeting of the Board of Directors. The dates were: March 7, May 30, September 27, and December 20 in 1952 and March 21 in 1953.

Program

We have been closely in touch with the staff in a general educational program of the Council. It has been possible to keep New South coming out, and we think there will be agreement that its topics have been well chosen and that its clientele and interest as an organ leading the formation of public opinion in the South have increased steadily. Staff members of the Council have been in demand as speakers for scores of organizations scattered over the South, ranging from business men's luncheon clubs to church bodies, teacher's

meetings, and worker's education study groups.

Pamphleteering has suffered from lack of funds, but we saw into the press RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT, which came out in February of last year. Within a few months, 15,000 copies of this booklet had been distributed to law enforcement officers and interested voluntary agencies throughout the Southern States, and in no less than 143 separate counties, local committees of church women, stimulated by Mrs. Tilly and the Fellowship of the Concerned, have made visits to their sheriffs, booklet in hand, and discussed with him the new levels of police administration described in the pamphlet.

The Council has played a significant part in the three general gatherings of representatives of agencies in the South concerned with human relations, and has done no small part of the research and writing involved in the documents coming out of these meetings, relating successively to blighted housing and bomb violence, the use of racial and religious prejudice in political campaigns, and the issue of segregation in the public schools. These three meetings seem clearly to have established the habit of voluntary cooperation by ten or a dozen leading agencies in this field in the South on matters of program.

We have agreed that in the current year the problem of the schools and the issue of segregation will be paramount in the Council's work, and have made such arrangements as funds seemed to permit for an active effort by the Council to obtain allegiance on the part of the South as a whole to whatever may be the pronouncement of the Supreme Court and to the most rapid possible progress toward a school system defensible in the light of national and world opinion.

Organization

We have reviewed a draft of proposed new by-laws for the Council, worked out in pursuance of the resolution adopted at the December 1951 annual membership meeting, and the new draft will be available to you and to the membership for discussion. We are agreed that the new by-laws represent a desirable form of organization for the Council if and when quite substantial

additional funds become available to it. It is not our thought that the new by-laws should at this time be adopted in toto.

We selected two nominating committees, one from the membership to choose nominations for the new Board of Directors and one from your Board to make nominations for officers of the Council for this year.

We record with regret the removal from the region of one of our most valued members, Rev. V. J. O'Connell, who is now a resident of St. Paul, Minnesota.

The increase in prices necessitated consideration of rises in staff salaries. A committee from the Executive Committee, composed of John Griffin, Mrs. Cassandra M. Birnie, and Leonard Haas, reviewed the salary structure of the staff in detail and recommended substantial increases, with a salary range for each job from minimum to maximum. On our approval, the minimum figures in the new salary range were adopted and made payable as of January 1 of this year. We are happy to report to you that the salary levels are therefore now at figures which merit comparison with those of other organizations of this general type.

The Council complied fully with all requests for information from the so-called "Cox Committee," which late last year investigated tax-exempt foundations and agencies assisted by their funds. The information request was in laborious detail. We have heard no criticism of the Council resulting from the investigation of tax-exempt agencies in general.

Funds

By the hardest efforts, the Council came through the year 1952 with an excess of income over expenditures. The audit figures reveal for the operating fund (all the Council's work other than special small projects) a total income for 1952 of $34,635.92 and a total expense of $31,378.53, being an excess of income over expense of $3,247,39. This result was achieved notwithstanding the payment during 1952 of the entirety of the debt we owed to

Mr. Thomas F. Byrd.

The various projects of the Council had at the close of the year on hand in their accounts the following amounts:

Fellowship of the Concerned	$ 306.28
New South Appropriation	500.52
NCCJ Grant for travel	13.38
Commission on Equal Penalties	12,61.59
	$ 2,081.77

The audit for 1952, while disclosing balanced books for that year, necessarily recalled that we had entered the year with a deficit of nearly $6,800 for 1951, and we carried over January 1, 1953, accounts payable amounting to nearly $1,900.

General receipts thus far in 1953 in dues, small contributions, subscriptions to New South, and customary organizational grants have held up to previous years. In addition, the Ford Foundation in March 1953 made a grant directly to the Council of $20,000 "to sustain and expand" our program for the current year. This generous emergency grant was made, so far as we learn, without prejudice to the Council's major and longstanding application now before the Fund for the Republic, and we continue to be hopeful that when the Fund for the Republic is fully organized, it will look with favor upon the major request.

Various members of this Committee and many of you on the Board have been helpful to the Council during the last year and a quarter in turning up additional sources of income, and our thanks are given to you all. It should be pointed out, however, that we have reason to believe that whatever major contribution may be made later on to the Council will bear some relationship to the sources of income found during the remainder of this year, and we urge upon the Board as its principal order of business plans for large additional revenue to the Council.

In our correspondence and work with the Council we have all been impressed by the usefulness of the body at this particular juncture in Southern life, and we hope that you can make plans which will insure the much greater development of its activities, particularly in each State and in local communities.

Respectfully submitted,

Charles S. Johnson,
Chairman

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS - OPERATING FUND

RECEIPTS

Bank Balance, January 1, 1952			$ 240.61
Church Sources (Exhibit B)		$ 4060.00	
Labor Organization Sources (Exhibit B)		2600.00	
Foundation Sources (Exhibit B)		13350.00	
Organization Sources (Exhibit B)		1653.26	
Individuals (Exhibit B)		6987.97	
Members Dues		3720.00	
Sale of Misc. Literature		1725.93	
New South Subscriptions		470.00	
Honoraria		350.76	
Sale of Office Equipment		18.00	
State Divisions:			
Alabama	$ 215.00		
Arkansas	61.50		
Florida	180.50		
Kentucky	89.50		
Louisiana	42.00		
Mississippi	124.00		
New Orleans Committee	72.50		
North Carolina	155.00		
South Carolina	260.00	1220.00	
Transfers:			
National Sharecroppers Fund	11.22	11.22	
Loans:			
Citizens Trust Co.	495.00		
Tennessee Division Funds	190.00	685.00	36852.14
			$ 37092.75

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS - SPECIAL PROJECTS

January 1 to December 31, 1952

Fellowship of the Concerned

Receipts		
Balance, Jan. 1, 1952		$ 423.96
Transfer from General Budget	$ 300.00	
Miscellaneous Gifts	10.00	310.00
		$ 733.96
Disbursements		
Salaries	143.00	
Travel	167.71	
Postage & supplies	116.97	427.68
Balance, December 31, 1952		$ 306.28

NEW SOUTH APPROPRIATION

Receipts		
Balance, Jan. 1, 1952		$262.98
The Field Foundation	$ 2500.00	
Sale of Race & Law Enforcement	160.00	2660.00
		2922.98
Disbursements		
Stein Printing Co.	$ 1996.96	
Postage	325.00	
Salary, Director of Information	100.00	
Miscellaneous	.50	2422.46
Balance, December 31, 1952		$ 500.52

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

Balance, January 1, 1952	$ 11.22
Trans. to General Budget	11.22
Balance, December 31, 1952	00.00

NCCJ TRAVEL PROJECT

Receipts		
Balance, January 1, 1952		$ 421.72
Disbursements		
Travel Expense	$ 408.22	
Bank charges	.12	408.34
Balance, December 31, 1952		$ 13.38

COMMISSION ON EQUAL PENALTIES

Receipts		
Balance, Jan. 1, 1952		$ 1000.00
Mr. Louis Aronstam	$ 25.00	
Mr. Morton Weiss	50.00	
Mr. Louis Regnestein, Jr.	50.00	
Mr. Armand May	50.00	
Mr. Frank Garson	25.00	
Dr. H. V. Richardson	50.00	
Interest on savings	11.59	261.59
Balance, December 31, 1952		$ 1261.59

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Finance report - January 1 - April 30, 1953

RECEIPTS

Contributions from Individuals	$ 1,35.50
Contributions from Organizations	1,141.10
(United Steelworkers - $1,000.)	
(Emory Univ. Brotherhood Chest - $141.10)	
Contributions from Churches	1,875.00
(Methodist-Div. Home Missions -$250.)	
(" -Board of Education -$250.)	
(" -Ky. Conf. WSCS - $25.)	
(Episcopal - Natn'l Council- $1,000.)	
(" - Province of Sewanee-$100.)	
(Presbyterian Church USA - $250.)	
Contrubutions from Foundations	22,050.00
(Ford Foundation - $20,000.)	
(Sidney Hillman Fund- $1,500.)	
(Marion R. Ascoli Fund-$300.)	
(Lucius & Eva Eastman Fund -$250.)	
Members Dues	1,586.00
New South Subscriptions	230.25
Sale of literature	263.61
Honoraria	60.00
Total receipts	$ 28,441.46

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Finance report - January 1, - April 30, 1953

DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries		$ 9,899.84
Social Security (cost to Council)		112.49
Travel		704.48
Rent		420.00
Office Supplies		259.67
Postage		211.88
Printing		383.40
Telephone & Telegraph		270.07
Insurance		40.24
Books & subscriptions		89.32
Georgia Sales Tax		4.21
Expense of meetings		16.19
Bank exchange charges		2.70
Special services		28.91
Audit fee		75.00
Paid to State Divisions		668.50
Paid on 1952 Accounts		1,926.09
Paid in full - 1952 loan from Citizens Trust Co.		500.00
Paid in full - 1952 loan from Tenn. Division funds		190.00
Total Disbursements	$	15,802.99

Recapitulation:

Balance, Jan. 1, 1953	$	894.36
Receipts		28,441.46
		29,335.82
Disbursements		15,802.99
Balance, May 1, 1953	$	13,532.83

Report of Special Projects - January 1 - April 30, 1953

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

Balance on hand, Jan. 1, 1953		$ 306.28
Receipts:		
John Hay Whitney Foundation		1,500.00
		1,806.28
Disbursements:		
Salary, Mrs. Tilly	$ 100.00	
Travel, Mrs. Tilly	58.75	
Steno Services	30.00	
Bank charges	.53	189.28
Balance on hand, May 1, 1953		$ 1,617.00

NEW SOUTH APPROPRIATION

Balance on hand, January 1, 1953		$ 500.52
Receipts:		
The Field Foundation		2,500.00
		3,000.52
Disbursements:		
Printing	$ 352.71	
Postage	130.00	
Bank charge	.09	482.40
Balance on hand, May 1, 1953		$ 2,517.72

COMMISSION ON EQUAL PENALTIES

Balance on hand, January 1, 1953		$ 1,261.59
Receipts:		
Interest earned	$ 6.25	
John Rust Foundation	1,000.00	1,006.25
Balance on hand, May 1, 1953		$ 2,267.84

PROPOSED BUDGET FOR PERIOD MAY 1 THROUGH DECEMBER 31, 1953

Salaries	$ 19,999.84
Social Security	200.00
Special salaries	700.00
Rent	840.00
Travel	2,000.00
Office supplies	700.00
Postage	400.00
Telephone & Telegraph	700.00
Books & subscriptions	60.00
Georgia sales tax	8.00
Bank exchange	4.00
State School volunteers (expenses)	1,800.00
Printing	400.00
Board and Membership meet.	1,000.00
Miscellaneous	100.00
	$ 28,911.84

(Adopted at Annual Meeting - May 14, 1953)

May 13, 1953

PROPOSED BY-LAWS OF THE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

ARTICLE I. NAME AND AREA

Section 1. Name. The name of this organization shall be the Southern Regional Council, Incorporated. The terms "Council" or "Corporation" used hereafter in these by-laws shall mean the "Southern Regional Council, Inc."

Section 2. Area. For the purposes of this corporation the Southern Region shall be defined as embracing the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. All members of the corporation shall be residents of this area. This area may be increased or reduced at any annual meeting of the members as hereinafter defined.

ARTICLE II. MEMBERS

Section 1. Members

A. The members of the corporation shall be as follows:

1. Not more than 50 or less than 40 persons, hereafter called members, elected by the annual meeting at which these by-laws are adopted.
2. Two persons, hereafter called ex-officio members, from each affiliated State organization. These two persons from each affiliated State organization shall be the chairman of such affiliated organization and one additional member elected by the members of such organization.
3. The president, the vice-presidents, the counsel, the executive director, and the associate director shall also be ex-officio members.

B. A member, as distinct from an ex-officio member, shall hold office for four years (except as provided in Section 1-C of this Article) and until his successor shall have been duly chosen and qualified and until he shall have resigned or shall have been removed in the manner provided by Section 8 in this Article. No such member shall serve more than two consecutive full terms of four years each (or, in accordance with Section 1-C of this Article, one short term and one full four-year term, consecutively). Chairmen of affiliated State organizations shall hold ex-officio membership in the corporation as long as they are chairmen of affiliated State organizations, and ex-officio members elected by their affiliated State organizations shall hold membership in the corporation for not more than two consecutive four-year terms, or portions thereof.

C. The members elected at the meeting at which these by-laws are adopted shall be divided by lot in such a way that the terms of one-half shall expire at the time of the annual meeting in 1955, and the remainder at the annual meeting in 1957.

D. Successors to members (as distinct from ex-officio members) shall, upon expiration of terms or death, resignation, or removal, be elected by all members of the corporation, including ex-officio members, at the next meeting following occurance of such vacancy, provided that in such

elections the executive director and the associate executive director shall not be entitled to vote.

Section 2. Notice of Meetings and Membership Rights

A. Notice of the place, day, and hour of every regular and special meeting shall be given to each member and ex-officio member not less than ten (10) days before the meeting, by delivering the same to him personally, or sending the same to him by telegraph or telephone, or by leaving the same at his last known post office address, according to the records of the corporation. It shall not be requisite to the validity of any meeting of the Council that notice thereof shall have been received by any member and ex-officio member who is present thereat or, if absent, waives notice thereof in writing filed with the records of the meeting either before or after the holding thereof. No notice of any adjourned meeting of the Council need be given.

B. The rights of any member in the corporation shall not be assignable or transferable, except in the case of proxies, as provided in Section 4 of this Article, and his rights shall cease with death, resignation, or termination of membership for any cause.

Section 3. Voting. Each member or ex-officio member shall have one vote and, except in cases in which it is by the charter or by these by-laws otherwise provided, a majority of the votes cast shall be sufficient to elect and to pass any measure. Voting by mail may be conducted on such questions and in such manner as may be provided by the Executive Committee.

Section 4 Proxies. Any member or ex-officio member entitled to vote at any meeting of members may vote either in person or by proxy. All proxies shall be given to members of this body only, and each one shall designate the name of the member who shall act as proxy. Every proxy shall be in writing, subscribed by the member, or his duly authorized attorney, and dated, but need not be sealed, witnessed, or acknowledged. Proxies shall be delivered to the secretary of the corporation before such meeting or to the inspectors at the meeting.

Section 5 Annual Meetings. The corporation shall hold annually a meeting for the election of officers and for the transaction of general business at its principal office in Atlanta at ten 6'clock a.m. on the second Wednesday in November in each year, if not a legal holiday, or at such other place and such other time within sixty days as may be designated by the Executive Committee, provided notice of such meeting, including day, hour and place, shall be given each member of the Council in writing at least thirty days in advance. Such annual meetings shall be general meetings; that is to say, open for the transaction of any business within the powers of the corporation without special notice of such business, unles otherwise provided in these by-laws.

Section 6. Special Meetings. At any time in the interval between annual meetings, special meetings may be called by the president or any ten (10) members or ex-officio members.

Section 7. Quorum. Fifteen members and/or ex-officio members of the Council shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at every meeting of the members; but if at any meeting there be less than a quorum present, a majority of those present may adjourn the meeting from time to time, but not for a period of over fifteen (15) days at any one time, without notice other than by announcement at the meeting until a quorum shall attend.

At any such adjourned meeting at which a quorum shall be present, any business may be transacted which might have been transacted at the meeting as originally notified.

Section 8. Removal At any meeting called with that purpose stated in the call, any member may, by a majority of votes cast, be removed from office for cause, and another be appointed in the place of the person so removed to serve for the remainder of his term. Permanent change of residence or citizenship to a point beyond the area, as defined in our pursuant to Article I, Section 2, will automatically terminate the membership of one so changing residence or citizenship.

ARTICLE III. FELLOWS

The Council may award honorary fellowships, not exceeding one hundred (100) in number, to Southerners who have demonstrated exceptional talent for constructive leadership. Fellows shall be chosen in such manner as the Council may prescribe, provided they are well distributed as to race, sex, creed, occuaption, and place of residence. The duties of fellows shall be to cooperate with the Council as observers, advisers, correspondents, and special representatives. Fellows may receive such honoraria or reimbursement of expenses incurred at the request of the Executive Committee as the Council may direct. The term of a fellowship shall be for two years, unless otherwise provided by the Council, and fellowships may be renewed or withdrawn at the discretion of the Council. Fellows need not be members of the Corporation.

ARTICLE IV. AFFILIATES

Organized groups or agencies whose aims and methods are closely akin to the aims and methods of the Southern Regional Council may, at the discretion of the Council, become affiliates of the Council, upon such conditions as the corporation may prescribe. The by-laws of such organized groups or agencies shall be approved by the Council or the Executive Committee of the Council in advance of affiliation. Alterations in the by-laws of such affiliated organizations shall become valid only after written approval of the proposed altered language by or on behalf of the Southern Regional Council. The Council shall prescribe a uniform accounting and auditing system for all affiliated organizations and shall require adherence to such system by all affiliated organizations. Affiliated organizations may disaffiliate. The Council may require disaffiliation for breach of the by-laws of an affiliated organization, or in the event that (after a hearing by the Council) the Council deems the aims and methods of such organization to be no longer closely akin to those of the Southern Regional Council. In the event of disaffiliation, any property of the affiliate purchased with the proceeds of Council aid to such affiliate shall be at the disposition of the Council.

ARTICLE V. COMMITTEES

Section 1. Executive Committee. The Council shall provide for an Executive Committee of not more than nine (9) members in addition to the president and vice-presidents and counsel; the executive director and the associate executive director shall also be ex-officio members of the Committee, but without the right to vote. The Executive Committee shall serve during the pleasure of the Council and may be discharged and the Committee abolished at any time by the Council. Unless one of the members shall have been designated as chairman by the Council, the Executive Committee shall elect a chairman from its own number. During the intervals between the meetings of the Council the Executive Committee

shall possess and may exercise all of the powers of the corporation, conferred by these by-laws or the charter of the corporation, in all cases in which specific directions shall have not been given by the Council. The Executive Committee shall keep full and fair accounts of its transactions. All action by the Executive Committee shall be reported to the Council at its meeting next succeeding such action, and shall be subject to revision and alterations by the Council; provided that no rights of third persons shall be affected by any such revision or lateration. Vacancies in the Executive Committee shall be filled by the Council.

Section 2. Meetings of Executive Committee. The Executive Committee shall fix its own rules of procedure, and shall meet as provided by such rules or by resolution of the Council, and it shall also meet at the call of the chairman or of any three members of the Committee. A quorum of the Executive Committee shall consist of not less than five (5) members of the Committee. If necessary, members of the Executive Committee may be written notice appoint a proxy from among the members of the Council to attend and vote on behalf of such members.

Section 3. National Advisory Committee. The Council may establish a National Advisory Committee, composed of persons who reside outside the area of the Southern Regional Council and who are sympathetic with the aims and policies of the Council, whose purpose shall be to advise the Council on matters pertaining to its work.

Section 4. Other Committees. The Council may be resolution provide for such other standing or special committees as it deems desirable and may discontinue the same at pleasure. Each such committee shall have such powers and perform such duties, not inconsistent with these by-laws, as may be assigned to it by the Council. If provision be made for any such committee, the members thereof shall be appointed by the Council. Vacancies in such committees shall be filled by the Council or by such committee or officer as the Council may authorize to fill such vacancies.

ARTICLE VI OFFICERS

Section 1. Executive Officers. The executive officers of the corporation shall be a president; one or more vice-presidents, not to exceed four; and executive director; an associate executive director; a secretary and a treasurer. The president and the vice-president shall be chosen from among the members of the corporation. The executive director and the associate executive director need not be members at the time of their election, but by virtue of their office shall become ex-officio members of the corporation, with all the privileges of such members. The secretary and the treasurer need not be members, and the offices of secretary and treasurer may be held by the same person. The president and vice-presidents shall be elected annually by the Council. The executive director and associate executive director, secretary-treasurer, and counsel shall be subject to confirmation annually by the Council, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee. Officers shall hold office until the corresponding meeting in the next year, and until their successors shall have been fully chosen and qualified, or until they shall have resigned or shall have been removed, in the manner provided in Section 13 of this arthcle. Any vacancy in any of the above offices shall be filled for the unexpired portion of the term by the Council, at any regular or special meeting.

Section 2. President. The president of the corporation shall serve as chairman of the Council. He shall, when present, preside at all meetings of the Council, and he shall perform such other duties as, from time to time, may be assigned to him by the Council.

Section 3 First Vice-President. At the request of the president, or in his absence or disability, the first vice-president shall perform all the duties of the president; and when so acting shall have the powers of the president; and shall perform such other duties as, from time to time, may be assigned to him by the Council.

Section 4, Additional Vice-Presidents. Each additional vice-president, if any, shall perform the duties of the office in order of his rank and shall have such powers and perform such duties as may be assigned to him by the Council.

Section 5. Executive Director. The executive director shall be charged with the execution of the program and policies of the Council as defined by the Council, and shall be responsible directly to the Council. He shall have general charge and supervision of the employed personnel of the Council; he may sign and execute, in the name of the corporation, all authorized deeds, mortgages, bonds, contracts, or other instruments, except in cases in which the signing and execution thereof shall have been expressly delegated to some other officer or agent of the corporation; and he shall perform such other duties as from time to time may be assigned to him by the Executive Committee or by the Council.

Section 6. Associate Executive Director. The associate executive director shall work in cooperation with the executive director in the administration of the program and policies of the Council. At the request of the executive director, or in case of his absence or disability, the associate executive director shall perform the duties of the executive director, and he shall perform such other duties as, from time to time, may be assigned to him the the Executive Committee or by the Council.

Section 7. Secretary. The secretary shall keep the minutes of the meetings of the Council and of the Executive Committee, in books provided for the purpose; he shall see that all notices are duly given in accordance with the provisions of these by-laws, or as required by law; he shall be custodian of the records and of the corporate seal or seals of the corporation; he shall see that the corporate seal is affixed to all documents, the execution of which, on behalf of the corporation, under its seal, is duly authorized, and when so affixed may attest the same; and, in general, he shall perform all duties incident to the office of a secretary of a corporation, and such other duties as, from time to time, may be assigned to him by the Council or by the by-laws.

Section 8. Treasurer. The treasurer shall have charge of and be responsible for all funds, securities, receipts and disbursements of the corporation, and shall deposit, or cause to be deposited, in the name of the corporation, all monies or other valuable effects in such banks, trust companies, or other depositories as shall, from time to time, be selected by the Council; he shall render to the president and to the Council annually, and at other times whenever requested, an account of the financial condition of the corporation; and, in general, shall perform all duties incident to the office of a treasurer of a corporation, and such other duties as may be assigned to him by the Council.

Section 9. Controller. The office of controller may be created by the Council, and the duties and authority of such officer shall be fixed by the Council.

Section 10. Counsel. The duties and authority of the counsel shall be fixed by the Council, and he shall be a member of the Council, by virtue of his office.

Section 11. Assistant Officers. The Council may elect one or more assistant secretaries and one or more assistant treasurers. Each assistant secretary, if any, and each assistant treasurer, if any, shall hold office for such period and shall have such authority and perform such duties as the Council may prescribe.

Section 12. Subordinate Officers. The Council may elect such subordinate officers as it may deem desirable. Each such officer shall hold office for such period, have such authority, and perform such duties as the Council may prescribe. The Council may, from time to time, authorize any officer to appoint and remove subordinate officers and prescribe the powers and duties thereof.

Section 13. Removal. Any officer or agent of the corporation may be removed, with or without cause, by a vote of a majority of the entire Council at a meeting called for that purpose, with the purpose stated in the call, or by an officer upon whom such power of removal may have been conferred.

ARTICLE VII. FINANCE

Section 1. Checks, Drafts, Etc. All checks, drafts, or orders for the payment of money notes, and other evidences of indebtedness, issued in the name of the corporation, shall, unless otherwise provided by the Council, be signed by the treasurer and countersigned by the executive director or the associate executive director.

Section 2. Fiscal Year. The fiscal year of the corporation shall be the calendar year, unless otherwise provided by the Council.

Section 3. Audit of Books. An audit of the books of the corporation shall by made at least annually by a ceritfied public accountant to be selected by the Council or by some officer of the corporation authorized by the Council to make such selection.

Section 4. Bonds. The Council may bond any officer, agent, or employee of the corporation, conditioned upon the faithful discharge of his duties, with one or more sureties and in such amount as mya ne satisfactory to the Council.

Section 5. Board of Trust. The Council may, if by them deemed advisable, elect and establish a Board of Trustees, who need not be members of the corporation, with such powers and consisting of such number of members as the Council may determine, for the purpose of holding as trustee for the corporation the legal title to property or money donated to or otherwise acquired by the corporation, as an endowment fund, and of investing, re-investing and otherwise meeting the requirements and conditions attached to such donations that have been approved and accepted by the Council. Separate Boards of Trustees may be so established, for separate endowments, so that there may be a number of such Boards if necessary or proper. Vacancies on such Boards shall be filled by the Council, or as provided in the trust where such provisions are included therein.

ARTICLE VIII. CORPORATE SEAL AND AMENDMENTS

Section 1. Seal. The corporate seal of the corporation shall bear the name of the corporation and the words, "Incorporated 1944, Georgia."

Section 2. Amendments. These by-laws, or any of them, may be altered or repealed, and new by-laws may be adopted at any annual meeting of the members, or at any special meeting called for that purpose, by the vote of a majority of the members represented in person or by proxy and entitled to vote thereat, provided that such proposed change has been submitted to the membership at least thirty (30) days prior to the meeting.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Minutes of the Membership Meeting

May 14, 1953

A meeting of the membership of the Southern Regional Council was held at Dean Sage Hall, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia, at 10:05 a.m., Thursday, May 14, 1953. President Marion A. Wright presided. Dr. Gordon B. Hancock gave the invocation. Dean S. M. Nabrit gave the welcoming address to the members on behalf of Atlanta University.

The following members were present:

Marguerite Woodruff
Freeman Drake, Sr.
Rhoda Kaufman
Mrs. William H. Hogue
Mrs. James S. Crate
John Long
Ocie Lee Smith
S. M. Nabrit
M. A. Wright
Paul D. Williams
Forrester B. Washington
Gadsden Shand
George S. Mitchell
Rabbi Charles Mantinband
A. T. Butler
Roscoe Giffin
Paul R. Christopher
Emily Calhoun
Katherine Stoney
Harold C. Fleming
Anna Holden
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
J. M. Dabbs
Mrs. William C. White
David Scull
Mary Jane Willett
Gordon B. Hancock
Herbert M. Davidson
Mrs. Herbert M. Davidson
Howard G. McClain
Anna Greene Smith
Mrs. Alice N. Spearman
Rebecca Reid
W. Carroll Brooke
Norma Huff
Mrs. Harold C. Fleming
A. W. Dent
C. H. Parrish
Mrs. M. J. Lyells
Mrs. Edward M. Vinson
W. H. Frey
Mrs. A. A. Hardy
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Mrs. Milton P. Adler
O. D. Duncan
Mrs. George S. Mitchell
Morris B. Abram
M. Mae Neptune
Ruth Stone
Bishop James Clair Taylor
Anne L. Taylor
I. E. Saporta

The following visitors were present:

Paul M. Marshall
Mrs. Jessica Ada Marshall
Rev. G. W. McMurray
Rev. Elias S. Hardege
Rev. A. E. Harris
Irene Osborne
Perry G. McClelland
George Deadwyler
Mrs. Richard Hocking
Dorothy Pitman

Katherine Stoney gave a summary of the minutes of the last annual meeting held December 13, 1951. On motion, it was voted to approve the

minutes as read.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Mr. Wright, as president of the Council, gave his address(printed in the June 1953 issue of NEW SOUTH).

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Dr. Mitchell said that the proposal made for an expanded program should be well known to the membership, We would turn our present membership over to active State organizations, each of which would be assisted in obtaining three paid staff members. The Council itself would become a Board of Trustees managing the subsidy to the State organizations and coordinating their work and directing a program of research integrated with the action of the State groups. This whole program would cost on the order of $300,000. a year for each year of five years. Some of the things that might well be done by the State organizations would be the following:

1. Persuade newspapers all over the South to do better on writing up Negro news. Most of the big city papers have improved greatly since Race in the News came out, but many of the smaller papers have not.

2. Home town self-surveys. It takes years to get one going. With paid State personnel we could get one or two towns in each to do surveys each year.

3. Extending the franchise. Work on local boards of registrars to persuade them to remove the narriers to Negro voting.

4. Employment. While the Council would hardly take up a detailed program of assistance to employment by members of minorities, we could be useful in the general economic policy, which would broadly assist this movement.

5. Introduce in Southern schools some kind of teaching of human relations.

6. Schools. For discussion later in this meeting.

7. Commission on Equal Penalties. We have within $160 of getting $4,000 to get the project going.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK

Mrs. Tilly spoke of the advance in race relations which provided a favorable climate for the nomination of Negroes in the recent city primary in Atlanta.

She described the work of the church women visiting the sheriffs in the interest of improved standards on race and law enforcement, exhibiting a map of the Georgia counties in which this had already been done. Mrs. Tilly talked also of the work of the women through the Fellowship of the Concerned in sitting in the Courts as observers. She hoped that in the near future it would be possible for the Fellowship of the Concerned to assist in extension of the franchise in particular areas of the South in which it remains limited, and she described the interest of the church women and the Fellowship of the Concerned in the issue on school segregation.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Mr. Fleming described the impact of various of the recent issues of NEW SOUTH and reviewed the Council's assistance to others influential in shaping public opinion in the South.

INTRODUCTION OF PRESIDENT RUFUS CLEMENT OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

Dr. Clement, victor only that morning in a race for membership on the Atlanta city school board, came into the meeting at this point and discussed some of the events and issues raised in the campaign.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER

Katherine Stoney distributed the attached financial report, giving the financial condition of the Council for 1952 and for the first four months of 1953. (See report attached to minutes of Board of Directors' meeting). The long-standing deficit, which had been $9,940 at the beginning of 1951, had been reduced to something under $7,000 at the beginning of 1952 and had further come down to something under $4,000 in the beginning of 1953. During the first four months of 1953 our income had been $28,400, including the grant

od $20,000 from the Ford Foundation and $700 raised as an emergency measure by the Executive Committee. During 1952 the Executive Committee had authorized raises in staff salaries which took effect January 1, 1953.

Miss Stoney mentioned the still outstanding debt of $1,500 to Dr. Mitchell.

Under special projects, she reported that the Fellowship of the Concerned had lately received from the John Hay Whitney Foundation $1,500 and that the Field Foundation had sent $2,500 to assist publication of NEW SOUTH for period May 1953 through May, 1954. The Commission on Equal Penalties had a present bank balance of slightly over $2,200.

The Council had had no membership secretary since the summer of 1952, and the secretary-treasurer had been adding that duty to her other work. Currently paid membership stands at 1,810 within the South and 240 outside the South. Georgia, Louisiana, and South Carolina have the largest membership, in that order.

She noted that NEW SOUTH subscriptions continued to sell at a good rate, particularly to colleges and universities.

REPORT OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS TO THE MEMBERSHIP MEETING

Mr. Fleming presented the attached report from the Board of Directors. On motion, it was voted to accept the report.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR HONORED BY CATHOLIC COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH

President Wright called upon Paul Williams, former president, to describe the award conferred upon the executive director April 24 by the Catholic Committee of the South at its Richmond convention. Mr. Williams reviewed for the Council's membership his remarks as made at the Catholic Committee of the South meeting.

The meeting adjourned for luncheon at 12:20 and reconvened at 1:45.

THE SCHOOLS AND SEGREGATION

What Needs to be Done

The executive director said that the normal American solution to public controversy involving services to minority groups was for the minorities to be fully represented on appropriate deciding boards and agencies. While in spots in the South, happily, a tendency in this direction has begun to appear, a great expansion of such representation was needed in the near future. Unless, contrary to all experience, such representation should be forthcoming on an adequate scale, the next best step would be to arrange informal committees, local and State, fairly representing all interests and directing their attention particularly to school problems.

One of the Council's first concerns, therefore, should be to get going in each Southern State a volunteer school committee, composed of white and Negro teachers, parents, and other concerned individuals. From time to time, as authorized public bodies made proposals or dispositions in school matters, the volunteer committee could propose alternative courses. These State committees could only be truly successful if they had available to them full-time paid staff, and the provision of this staff would be the main use of any additional resources which might become available to the Council.

As, for the moment, adequate funds were not in sight, the Council was proposing merely that within each State our present forces select a volunteer who would rapidly build up as much knowledge as possible of the school situation and begin also to make notes as to the proper group to serve on a future volunteer State School Committee. The Council would be in position for the present to pay the reasonable expenses of these volunteer State school persons. Several of the States had already selected these persons, and they were here at the meeting to report and describe the problems in their schools. We had brought down also Irene Osborne from the Community Relations Program of the American Friends Service Committee in Washington, as that group had

already made substantial progress in a citizens' movement for integration of the schools in the District of Columbia and had probably the richest experience of any agnecy in this direction.

Reports from State School Volunteers

The several volunteers then spoke. Roscoe Giffin of Berea College reviewed the situation in Kentucky. Howard McClain described the South Carolina school situation as it related to segregation. Mrs. Ruby S. Lyells spoke for Mississippi. In the absence for the moment of the Rev. W. Carroll Brooke of Staunton, Virginis, Dr. Mitchell said that Mr. Brooke was chairman of a committee selected by the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Virginia Council of Churches to take on this responsibility for the time being and until a permanent volunteer person could be chosen in that State. Dr. Mitchell also spoke of the plans of Mrs. William C. White of the Florida Division to have county meetings to discuss problems, county by county, in Florida.

Miss Osborne from the American Friends Service Committee in Washington described in some detail the development in that city and the work of the Community Relations Program in connection with it.

ADOPTION OF AMENDMENT FOR ELECTING BOARD

A proposed amendment to present by-laws had been circulated by mail to all members of the Council and had been reviewed by the Board meeting May 13, which was recommending to the membership meeting today the adoption of the following amendment:

> Article IV, Section 1, of the present by-laws is suspended and a new Board of Directors shall be elected, in accordance with Article II, Section 1, Subsections A, B, and C of the draft by-laws, prepared in pursuance of the resolution directing such draft adopted at the membership meeting December 13, 1951. But the words in Subsection A, "The members of the corporation shall be as follows" shall not apply. In the election May 14, 1953, the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Virginia Council of Churches (unaffiliated) shall have participation as though it were an affiliated State organization.

Mr. Scull raised the question of whether granting the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Virginia Council of Churches full participation, as though it were a State Division, was fair to SRC members in the State who were not members of the Council of Churches. Dr, Mitchell explained that the old Interracial Committee did not become a part of the Southern Regional Council, but was dissolved and was now operating through the Virginia Council of Churches. He regretted the consequent formal exclusion of Council members not attached to the church groups working through the Virginia Council of Churches and hoped that eventually an all-inclusive interracial organization would be formed in Virginia.

Upon motion, the amendment to the present by-laws was adopted.

ADOPTION OF NEW BY-LAWS

Mr. Wright spoke of the long-range plan of the Council for altered by-laws in the event that we had substantial additional resources, and said that the proposed new by-laws about to be read would tighten the organization in the interest of efficiency.

Dr. Mitchell explained that the draft of new by-laws followed the intent of the resolution adopted by the 1951 annual meeting requesting by-laws of this kind. In effect, they would make of the Council a federation of active state organizations. Members would be members of their state groups, and the Southern Regional Council itself would become a Board empowered to fill its own vacancies, the core of which Board would be elected at this meeting. Other Board members would include the chairman of each state organization and one other person elected by the members of each state organization. It would be the duty of the Council itself to co-ordinate the work of the state organizations, assist them in paying full-time staff personnel, publish a journal, and direct a program of research geared to the needs of the action people to work for the state groups. The Board of Directors had been sent copies of the new by-laws, and the Executive Committee had studied them with some care.

The Board at its May 13 meeting had urged that today's membership meeting adopt these new by-laws.

On motion, the following resolution was adopted unanimously:

Resolved, that the membership of the Council, in annual meeting assembled, adopt the proposed draft of by-laws as read today, with the proviso that the effective date of the same shall be within the discretion of the Executive Committee, and until such date, the existing by-laws, as today amended with respect to election of the Board of Directors, shall continue in full force and effect.

POSTPONEMENT OF 1952 ANNUAL MEETING

The executive director stated that the by-laws under which the Council had been operating gave only a modest leeway to the Executive Committee in postponing the convening of the annual membership meeting, and by reason of uncertainty of funds, the Executive Committee had exceeded the stated leeway in postponing the 1952 meeting until May 1953. Dr. Mitchell requested the membership meeting to give approval to the action of the Executive Committee in this postponement. Upon motion, the membership expressed concurrence with the action of the Executive Committee.

NEED FOR MONEY AND MEMBERS

Mr. Wright and other present appealed to the state organizations and individual members to put forth real effort in the coming months to increase the Council's membership rolls and its funds. Mr. Wright referred to the fact that the Board of Directors had by resolution urged each member to increase the present membership by at least three, and hopefully five, persons within the next sixty days. The president hoped that all Council members would take part in the effort. Dr. Gordon Hancock reminded the membership of a suggestion made by Board member C. H. Parrish that persons wishing to assist the Council could take out complimentary memberships for their friends.

ELECTION OF BOARD MEMBERS

The amendment to Article IV, Section 1, as adopted, required the election at this meeting of a new Board of Directors. On the appointment of the Executive Committee, a nominating committee composed of Gadsden Shand, of Columbia, chairman; Mrs. William H. Hogue of Houston; Louis Regenstein of Atlanta; Ocie Lee Smith of Little Rock; Rev. E. G. Mackay of Oxford, Georgia; and Ernest Neal of Tuskegee Institute had, in some travail, made nominationsfor this new Board. Mr. Shand then read the following list of nominations:

John A. Griffin, Atlanta
John G.Lewis, Baton Rouge
Morris Abram, Atlanta
R. B. Atwood, Frankfort, Ky.
Charles S. Johnson, Nashville
Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta
B. E. Mays, Atlanta
O.D. Duncan, Stillwater, Okla.
Harry V. Richardson, Atlanta
Rabbi Chas. Mantinband, Hattiesburg
Rev. A. S. Turnipseed, Montgomery
Mrs. E. H. Spearman, Columbia
Mrs. C. M. Birnie, Atlanta
Clyde Milner, Guilford, N.C.
Paul R. Christopher, Knoxville
E. W. Palmer, Kingsport
Harry Ashmore, Little Rock
Rev. Maurice V. Shean, Rock Hill
Bishop Charles Clingman, Louisville
H. M. Davidson, Daytona Beach
James L. Coker, Hartsville, S.C.
Mrs. G. T. Hamilton, Atlanta
Guy B. Johnson, Chapel Hill
Z. A. Looby, Nashville
L. D. Milton, Atlanta
Bishop A. J. Moore, Atlanta
Mrs. J. F. Tillman, Lewisburg, Tenn.
Will Clayton, Houston
Henry M. Bullock, Nashville
Charles A. Shaw, Houston
Alonzo Moron, Hampton, Va.
E. A. McDowell, Wake Forest, N.C.
C. H. Parrish, Louisville
Bishop E. A. Penick, Raleigh
Mrs. J. N. Rayzor, Houston
Jacob L. Reddix, Jackson, Miss.
Mrs. E.U. Robinson, Franklin, Tenn.
Morton L. Weiss, Atlanta
Mrs. W. F. Bates, N. Little Rock
Mrs. H. H. Tucker, Little Rock
U. S. Bond, Madison, Ark.
Miss Florence Sytz, New Orleans
John McCann, New Orleans
L. E. Thomas, Miami
John H. Wheeler, Durham
E. C. Colwell, Atlanta
Josephine Wilkins, Atlanta
Paul D. Williams, Richmond
Thomas W. Young, Norfolk
J. McD. Richards, Decatur, Ga.
Rev. Paul Hardin, Birmingham
A. J. Clement, Charleston
C. G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Inst.
John D. Rust, Pine Bluff, Ark.
Ralph Barbare, Rock Hill
J. Edwin Smith, Houston
Mrs. Tommie Stroud, Waco
Tom Friedman, Houston
R. O'H. Lanier, Houston

It was noted that while this meeting was to fill only fifty places on the Board, the nominating committee had been unable to reduce their list below 59 names. The meeting agreed that the Executive Committee should establish an order of priority for inviting those elected to serve, with a

view to producing finally a total of not to exceed fifty Board members, chosen by this meeting. The nominations as above given were approved, and the secretary was instructed to case a ballot electing them to the Board.

DATE OF NEXT MEETING

Upon motion, it was voted to consider the meeting of May 14 as the annual meeting for 1953. That had the effect of making the next annual meeting come in November of 1954.

VOTE OF THANKS TO ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

Upon resolution of Dr. Hancock, the meeting expressed its gratitude to Atlanta University for the facilities which it had most graciously provided for the meeting.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 3:20 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

REPORT OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS TO THE MEMBERSHIP MEETING, MAY 14, 1953

The Board is happy to be able to report that the financial condition of the Council is healthier today than at any time in the last few years. We believe that this improvement will be reflected in the increased effectiveness of our action and information programs throughout the South. At the same time, however, we wish to urge upon the membership the need for greater and more widespread support of the Council within the Southern region. Our hope for favorable action on our major application to the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Republic is dependent to a large extent on securing substantially larger membership and increased contributions from Southern sources. Toward this end, your Board is establishing a strong Finance Committee and proposes an organized effort to secure additional members throughout the States. Both of these efforts, which will be discussed at greater length today, will require the utmost cooperation of the membership, and we sincerely urge you to assist in them.

We have given careful study and consideration to the proposed new by-laws which will come before you today, with our endorsement. This change, as you will note, is contingent upon the Council's receiving the major grant requested for a five-year program, and if approved by you, will be put into effect by the Executive Committee at the appropriate time.

Your Board must report that in the past week the Council has been the object of a scurrilous published attack. The attempt was made -- by falsehoods, half truths, and innuemdo -- to picture our organization as Communist-tainted. This charge is, of course, utterly false, and your Board has agreed upon courses of action designed to repudiate it. Since the publication in question is grossly defamatory and emanates from an obscure and irresponsible source, we feel that it should not at this time have wider circulation or discussion.

On behalf of the Council, the Board has officially recorded its pride and pleasure in the recent award presented to the Executive Director by the Catholic Committee of the South for significant contribution to the welfare and advancement of the South.

The Board has approved the budget which will be presented to you by the secretary-treasurer and the various projects and programs for which it provides.

Respectfully submitted,

Marion A. Wright,
President

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Minutes of the Board of Directors Meeting

May 14, 1953

A meeting of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council was held at Dean Sage Hall, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia, at 3:30 p.m., Thursday, May 14, 1953.

The following members were present:

Marion A. Wright	J. M. Dabbs	Gordon B. Hancock
Paul D. Williams	Rabbi Chas. Mantinband	John A Griffin
Paul R. Christopher	Florence Sytz	John Long
Mrs. James S. Crate	Mrs. Milton Adler	Herbert M. Davidson
	Mrs. Alice N. Spearman	

The following staff members were present:

George S. Mitchell Harold Fleming Emily Calhoun

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Mr. Long read the following nominations submitted by the nominating committee:

President - Marion A. Wright

Vice-Presidents - Gordon B. Hancock, Alfred Mynders, A. W. Dent, Carter Wesley

Counsel - Leonard Haas

Executive Committee - Harry V. Richardson, Mrs. C.M. Birnie, John A. Griffin, Rev. Andrew Turnipseed, Paul R. Christopher, Rev. Maurice Shean, Rufus E. Clement

On motion, it was voted to accept the nominations submitted by the nominating committee.

PUBLICITY ON MEETING

Rabbi Mantinband asked if a statement was being prepared for the press as suggested by the Board the preceding day. Mr. Fleming said that he would prepare such a statement.

FUND RAISING

Mr. Davidson - "If we don't get the hoped-for grant, will there be a meeting of the membership called and the members asked what action to take?" Several persons agreed that this plan should be followed if the grant were not forthcoming.

There followed some discussion of what action should be taken if the Ford Foundation should grant an amount much smaller than the amount asked for. Dr. Mitchell explained that he did not see how less than three paid workers in each state would be effective. "We need to do everything double in this bi-racial society," he said.

NOTIFYING MEMBERS OF ACTIVITIES AT ANNUAL MEETING

Miss Sytz asked if the president's address would be sent out to all members, and the staff undertook that it would be printed in the next issue of New South.

APPRECIATION TO THE STAFF AND THE PRESIDENT

Dr, Hancock expressed a debt of gratitude to the staff for carrying on during financial crises over a period of years. Dr. Mitchell pointed out that the Council was the child of Dr. Hancock's thinking.

Mr. Williams expressed his appreciation of Mr. Wright's leadership as president of the Council.

REGIONAL MEETINGS

Miss Sytz spoke of the need for regional meetings of two or three neighboring State Divisions between the yearly membership meetings. "We get inspiration from these meetings. In our own States we get overwhelmed with our own problems. We feel that we are too small to do anything."

THE SCHOOLS AND SEGREGATION

Dr. Mitchell pointed out that, in his thinking, the school problem was the most important thing to be worked on during 1953.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 4:00 p.m.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting

September 25, 1953

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council met Friday, September 25, 1953, in the Council offices at 10:15 a.m. President Wright presided. Father Shean gave the invocation.

Present were:

Marion A. Wright	Rev. Maurice Shean
John A Griffin	Alfred Mynders
Mrs. Cassandra M. Birnie	Leonard Haas
George Mitchell	Harold Fleming
Katherine Stoney	Mrs. M.E. Tilly
Anna Holden	Mrs. Anna Owens

The selection of the Chairman of the Committee was postponed until later in the meeting awaiting a full attendance.

Morris Abram, a member of the Board of Directors of SRC, having recently visited New York for an interview with Mr. David Freeman of the Ford Foundation' Fund for the Republic, reported on the trip and his conversations with the Ford Foundation people. He was persuaded that useful points had been made with the Ford Foundation officials and on the whole felt that future aid would be forthcoming from them for the Council. He cautioned, however, that he had received pretty strongly the impression that it would be necessary for the Council to show substantial fund-raising success in the South at an early date. Various persons present stated to the Executive Committee the relation the SRC had been bearing to the study being made under the auspices of the Foundation on the school systems in the South. The Council was persuaded that the report of the Fund for the Advancement of Education would be helpful in getting wider understanding in the South.

Harold Fleming reported on the matter of articles by business executives. While it has not been possible to get articles from Mr. Wheeler of Mr. Coker, it was hoped that at a later time considerable writing could

be done by a Birmingham executive.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Dr. Mitchell reported that the sum of $4000. was on hand for the Commission on Equal Penalties and requested Mrs. Birnie's assistance in the near future in getting that project under way. Mr. Wright suggested that special effort be made to include the Southwest in the development of this project. This was agreed.

Progress with the appointment of State school committeemen was reviewed and the sales thus far of the QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS - The Schools and the Courts - pamphlet. Discussion turned on possible ways of interesting other user of that pamphlet and its sequel - A CHECKLIST FOR YOUR LOCAL SCHOOLS for local discussion groups.

Dr. Mitchell reviewed the events leading up to the use of the facilities of Highlander during the week Irene Osborne of the AFSC was present. Some question had been raised as to the propriety of the association of the Council and the Highlander folks. Dr. Mitchell stated that his decision in the matter, somewhat hastily taken, was now recognized to have been of doubtful wisdom; but that the conference itself had been helpful. Dr. Mitchell had a hand in developing the interest of Highlander in the school segregation question as a means of assisting the Labor movement in the South to take the more progressive side of the issues that will be coming up.

Reference was made to the charge of one Paul Crouch, before a Special Committee of the Subcommittee on Un-American Activities, that the Communist Party at one time published a pamphlet called "New South". Dr. Mitchell said he had written to Senator Jenner asking for whatever part of the testimony might be available in order that the difference between the publications could be established. On the matter of the charges made last spring by the Rev. Blake Craft that the Council was "honeycombed with Communists", it was agreed that the action of the Methodist Church in failing to re-appoint Mr. Craft

to a charge had sufficiently established in the public's mind the un-truth of Mr. Craft's accusation; and the Executive Committee was authorized to address the United States District Attorney to the effect that the Council had no present interest in pushing charges against Mr. Craft for violation of postal statutes in circulating his defamatory material.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER

The secretary-treasurer gave the attached report showing a balance on hand of approximately $1600.

ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Dr. Rufus Clement of Atlanta University was unanimously chosen to be Chairman of the Executive Committee of SRC for the coming year.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Harold Fleming gave a resume of publicity received during recent months. He noted special interest in school matters, stating that many editors had quoted from Dr. Guy Johnson's speech printed in May 1953 NEW SOUTH, and that an unusually large number had asked for copies of the issue "The Court Takes More Time"; and that he was impressed generally with the moderate and constructive tone of the editorial comment on the whole school question. He also reported on a TV appearance he had made in Atlanta dealing with the question of the schools.

REPORT OF MRS. TILLY FOR THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

Mrs. Tilly described a meeting by the Georgia Council of Church Women at which the school issue was discussed. She also told of plans for a meeting of leading women to be held in Atlanta on October 20, 1953, at which time she is to launch a program for special interest in Southern States in local discussion groups. She reported that the Fellowship of the Concerned is continuing with its program of visiting courts; and she hoped that the local groups would pick up interest in the matter of the schools also.

NEW BOARD

The Executive Director distributed to the members of the Executive Committee a list of the Board members chosen thus far. Of sixty nominated, forty-six had, as of the date of the meeting, accepted membership, and remaining acceptances were expected within a few days.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting
February 10, 1954

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., met in the Council's office on Wednesday, February 10, 1954 at 10:00 a.m.

Present were:

Marion A. Wright	Leonard Haas	Paul Christopher
Rev. Maurice Shean	Alfred Mynders	Mrs. C. M. Birnie
John A. Griffin	Harry V. Richardson	George S. Mitchell
Harold C. Fleming	Mrs. M. E. Tilly	Anna Holden
Katherine Stoney		Helen Hain

Mr. Wright presided in the absence of the chairman, Dr. Clement. The invocation was given by Father Shean.

The meeting opened with a finance report and report on membership given by Dr. Mitchell and the secretary-treasurer. The secretary-treasurer presented copies of the audit report for 1953 and a report of finances for January 1954. She reported that as of the end of the year 1953 the deficit had again been reduced by approximately half. Outstanding bills at the end of the year were for salaries and printing - all others having been paid. Receipts for January were low and the accounts due at the end of January high because of necessary purchases of supplies.

Dr. Mitchell reported that the membership figures for 1953 were distressingly low. This was accounted for in part by the fact that the Council has had no membership secretary for the past year and so only limited work could be done on correspondence for recruiting. The main factor, however, is the necessity of personal invitation and recruiting for any real additions to our membership. With the present state divisions either weak or inactive and with no field staff to work in the states, little has been done to keep active membership.

The opinion was also expressed that people are afraid of joining any sort of organization in these days when all are being subject to question.

In his report on activities for the end of 1953 and beginning of 1954, the Executive Director called attention to the round-up of the Council's work for 1953 which was distributed. He reviewed the history of the idea of local discussion groups which the Council has been giving attention to, told of events leading to the publishing of the QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS pamphlet, and of the distribution and evidence of wide usage of this pamphlet. He cited groups - labor, church, civic, and educational, which had ordered large numbers for distribution, and gave reports on the progress of local discussion groups where such information has been sent to the Council.

He reported also on the work done by two staff members of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America who had been loaned to the Council for actual visiting in Kentucky and South Carolina. These men had visited key people in towns and cities in these states, urging them to promote discussion groups and to work toward a calm, sensible action program to comply with the decision of the Supreme Court. A detailed report by Mr. Vastine was sent to the members of the Committee and much favorable comment was made upon this work. Mr. Haas suggested that the report be given wide circulation.

Father Shean commented on the work of Mr. Hunt in South Carolina, especially around Rock Hill and Dr. Mitchell said that a more detailed report would be coming from Mr. Hunt after the trip was completed.

Dr. Mitchell also reported that the Council had undertaken to finance a similar trip to be made by Dr. C. L. Parrish, University of Louisville professor of sociology, who is on leave for this term. Dr. Parrish will visit through Alabama for three weeks, seeing as many of the Negro leaders and white church and educational leaders as he can. Dr. Parrish is an ideal person for this since he is the one Negro professor retained at Louisville when the college merged.

Promise has been made by the National Council of the Episcopal Church to lend one of their staff members for such a visit, the National Council of Churches will send a third man, Al Kramer, to work in South Virginia; their head of race relations, Oscar Lee, will tour the South, urging Negro church leadership to join in the discussions, and the Friends have promised that Anne Queen can work in Western North Carolina.

In all of this work the Council will act as coordinator, trying to see that all the territory is covered and that necessary information is given, and SRC will receive a copy of the report which the person will make to his own organization. In this way it is hoped that the whole South will be covered. The National Council is working with the various denominations to get similar cooperation from them.

Dr. Mitchell then discussed with the group his plan for training teachers or teaching supervisors who would be experts in human relations. He advanced the idea that there are now no people in the school system who could deal with the many problems which will come up in the change-over. His proposal was that some teacher training group, such as Peabody Teachers College, pick outstanding teachers whose ability and experience made them pecularly fitted for such jobs, and give them six weeks or so in special training in human relations. They would then be available to go to places of tension and work out the problems, and counsel with the school's staffs.

He then reported on an instance of integration in a veterans training program in one of the Southern states. News of this program had come to him from a friend. He then called people in several other states to suggest that such a program might be feasible there and asked them to investigate the possibilities.

One of the outstanding ideas which was brought out at a Greensboro meeting he had attended was the necessity of having Negro representation in on the

planning of all school matters. Dr. Mitchell said that because this had seemed to be an important matter he had called heads of the various denominations, suggesting that they pass along this word and asking that groups discussing the matter of school segregation give serious consideration to pushing for Negro representation on policy making bodies. It is hardly reasonable to suppose that we can ever have a solution so long as policy is made by an all-white group.

Some discussion was then given to the matter of acceptance and adjustment by the children should de-segregation become a fact. It was pointed out that children reflect the prejudices of their parents and that on the parents fell the responsibility for helping the children accept these "other" children in the classroom. The group felt that the Church had a responsibility in light of its teachings on brotherhood, to give such guidance as it might in this regard. Several members of the Committee called attention to opinions and incidents which would support the belief that Southern parents are fearful of the outcome and actually do not want their children to have such experiences. Mr. Christopher gave some review of his travels over the South during the past few weeks and the alarming amount of negative opinion which he had found among people who might be expected to feel otherwise. He felt that the matter was one of serious import and that with the increase of unemployment and tension, sspecially in the textile towns, the need for construcitve teaching was great.

Father Shean said that programs were being carried on in the parochial schools to reduce prejudice amont the children and other members called attention to work in their various denominations. But the Committee agreed that this was an area in which much needed to be done. Dr. Richardson suggested calling together a few leaders from the various denominations to discuss the matter.

Mr. Griffin reported on a meeting which was held under the sponsorship of the Fund for the Advancement of Education to which the school officials

of the 13 states were invited. He said that this was the first time a discussion of the school situation had been held with all the members of both the Negro and white school officials present. The officials seemed to be glad that the Ashmore report on the schools was to be published even though it gave a report that the situation is not good.

Dr. Mitchell then discussed the publishing of the Ashmore report, saying that it was to be printed in book form by the UNC press and that negotiations were under way to have SRC publish a boil-down with emphasis on what should be done, and the Public Affairs pamphlets do one which is more factual. Funds for this have already been promised SRC by the Fund for the Republic.

Mr. Griffin then discussed the possibility of calling together, within 30 days after the Court announces its decision, a group of representative people from over the South to discuss the problems and ways of dealing with them. What will be needed to meet the problem in the way of teaching aids, pamphlets, training experiences, etc. He suggested that there might also be a round-table of editors and conferences of church groups to deal with the same matter.

Further report was made on work with the Fund for the Republic and a report that they have asked Frank Loescher to act as their advisor in matters of race relations. Dr. Mitchell had considerable time with Mr. Loescher when in New York and felt that we could safely trust his judgment. He announced that Mr. Loescher was to come to Atlanta to inquire into the work of the Council and to get information for his recommendation - this to be done in late February.

The Committee was told that Miss Anna Lord Strauss had given the Council 25 shares of St. Regis Paper Company stock - it having come at the end of 1953. The Committee agreed that the stock should be sold at market and accordingly passed unanimously the following resolution which was proposed by Mr. Haas and seconded by Mr. Griffin.

"RESOLVED, that the Southern Regional Council, Inc. through its Executive Director, George S. Mitchell, sell through Courts & Co. twenty-five (25) shares of the Common Stock of St. Regis Paper Co. represented by Certificate No. CO-37431, at market".

Harold Fleming then reported on the publicity which had been given to various issues of NEW SOUTH and spoke especially of the last issue on library facilities.

Mr. Mynders reported on the statue of the library in Chattanooga, saying that it is now fully open to all citizens.

Mrs. Tilly reported on the meeting of leading church women which was held in October and the spread of the discussion groups by the womne who attended. She reported on several meetings to be held by the Methodists and Presbyterians. She presented to the group a pamphlet called "A Moral Issue" which has been put out by the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. and suggestion for which came out of the discussions in that meeting. She reported on various meetings of the local groups of the Georgia Committee and of the work they are doing.

Harold Fleming having been asked to retire from the room, Dr. Mitchell then proposed that in recognition of his service to the Council he be given the title of Assistant Director. This would not preclude the possibility of having an Associate Executive Director, but would give Mr. Fleming a title more in keeping with his duties. He would still be responsible for information and publicity. Discussion was given to the possibility of an increase in salary and the group being aware that an increase was hardly possible at this time, made recommendation for one later on.

The recommendation was proposed by Mr. Haas and seconded by Mr. Mynders, later amended by Dr. Richardson, and adopted unanimously by the groups as follows:

"That the Executive Committee confer on Mr. Fleming the title of Assistant Director as of this date and that from June 1, 1954, he be paid a salary at rate of $6,500. per year".

The group then considered a suggestion by Mr. Wright that the Executive Committee at this meeting issue a statement urging the South to abide by whatever decision the Court might make. After consideration the decision was not to issue any statement on the basis that the timing was not right.

Dr. Mitchell made an appeal for funds to tide the Council over the coming lean months and Mrs. Birnie offered to approach the Atlanta Life Insurance Company for a donation.

The meeting adjourned at 12:30 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Minutes of Meeting of the Executive Committee

April 6, 1954

The meeting was called to order at 10:00 a.m. at the Council's office in Atlanta, with President M. A. Wright presiding in the absence of the chairman. Present were:

Mrs. C. M. Birnie	Paul Christopher	Harold Fleming
John A. Griffin	Leonard Haas	Anna Holden
Alfred Mynders	M. A. Wright	George S. Mitchell
Katherine Stoney	Mrs. M. E. Tilly	

After the invocation by Mrs. Tilly, on motion the minutes of the meeting of February 10, 1954 were dispensed with. President Wright reported on his preparations for the Commission on Equal Penalties in Courts of Law. Correspondence with deans or professors of four law schools having elicited only a disappointing show of interest and activity, he had corresponded with Professor Ira Reid, Haverford College, with the view of getting the services of several students to do the job which the Commission might require. Arrangements having been made for the group of students to give their time during this coming summer with an allowance of $50.00 per week and travel from Haverford to point of work and return. He further reported on his interview with Judge Spirer of Miami. After further discussion and description of the plans, on motion it was agreed that the details of the Commission be left to Mr. Wrightand the staff; Mr. Wright to continue to work out the matter in conjunction with the staff of the Southern Regional Council.

Report of the Executive Director

Review was given of the contacts made of the leading religious denominations on the matter of education of children toward incoming children in the event of integration in schools. Another program reviewed was the work with the National Council of Churches and various other denominations in getting travellers to go out, not at SRC expense, and bring together local and, wherever possible, interracial discussion groups on issues coming up with the forthcoming Supreme Court decision. The National Council has sent three men. The Congregational Church has sent one, the Episcopal Church has promised one, and the Methodist Church has promised up to seven women leaders for work of this kind. Interest has been shown, also, by the Northern Presbyterians, the Lutherans, the Quakers, and the Disciples of Christ.

Report was made of the encouraging movement underway in Rock Hill, S. C. towards a possible self-survey in that city.

Dr. Mitchell reviewed the various negotiations with the officials of the Fund for the Republic and described in detail the terms of the grant of $240,000 by the Fund to the Council for a first period of aid to State programs by the Council, reaching over 18 months from April 1, 1954. Stress was laid upon the importance of the sums to be raised by each organized State group and by the Central Office.

Mrs. Morris Abram, a member of the Board, having come into the meeting, reviewed for those present the sense of urgency he had received in contacts with Mr. Freeman as to the funds to be raised by the Southern Regional Council itself.

The Committee then reivewed in some detail a statement soon to be issued by the Executive Committee as to the Fund for the Republic, and approved it as follows:

"We are pleased to announce that the Fund for the Republic has approved a grant of $240,000 to assist the Southern Regional Council's educational program in twelve Southern states for an 18 month period, The Fund for the Republic, which was established by the Ford Foundation in December 1952, is concerned with preserving and extending those individual rights which are the essence of our American heritage. The Southern Regional Council, since its founding in 1944, has expressed that concern as it exists among thoughtful people of both races in the South. As the successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the Council goes back, in experience and good-will, to 1919. Its aim is the attainment of equal opportunity for all people of the South.

Throughout these years the Council, like the Commission before it, has sought to unite the best of Southern thought and leadership, without racial distinctions. It has employed the familiar methods of fact-finding, conference, and persuasion, and has fostered the development of state divisions and affiliates through which its members might work in their respective states and communities. The central office in Atlanta coordinates and services the state groups and individual members throughout the region.

The grant from the Fund for the Republic, together with contributions from other sources, will make possible stronger and more independent state bodies. It is contemplated that each state organization affiliated with the Council shall have its own membership, governing board, and officers. The greater part of the newly available funds will be used to enable the state groups to employ professional staff persons, white and Negro. Thus each Southern state will have a full-time human relations service, available to both public officials and private citizens, maintained and directed by local leadership. The states to be included are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

The grant of funds is in reality a challenge to the strengthened state bodies to win the local support necessary to become self-sustaining human relations agencies.

The Southern Regional Council proper will now consist of a widely representative board drawn from both races and every state in the region. The Atlanta office will continue to perform fact-finding, information, and coordinating functions.

We believe that this approach is well suited to the human relations needs of the South. It puts major reliance where it belongs -- on local responsibility and initiative -- and it gives opportunity for the constructive forces in every Southern state to work effectively.

This pattern has characterized the activities of the Southern Regional Council from the beginning, and with heartening results. It has helped secure the right of the Negro citizens to vote without hindrance. It has provided a network of Southern people with the will and the know-how to curb racial tension and violence. It has helped make possible the employment of Negro policemen and other municipal workers in scores of

Southern cities. It has spread the example of self-survey, through which a number of communities have achieved cooperation and progress across the lines of race. It has mobilized church women in a Southwide effort for impartial law enforcement and equal justice in the courts. It has stimulated local groups to study and seek correction of school inequalities. It has made widely known every Southern precedent for the dropping of racial barriers -- in professional associations, higher education, transportation, public libraries, and the like.

The impending Supreme Court decision on public school segregation -- whatever it may be -- will call for all that is best and most responsible in Southern life. Fortunately there is abundant and growing evidence today of Southern willingness to find positive, democratic solutions to the problems of the region. It is our hope and belief that the Southern Regional Council through its expanded state services, will make an important contribution to this effort.

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council expresses its gratitude to the Fund for the Republic for putting this new strength into the growth of human opportunity in the South".

Dr. Mitchell then reported on the proposed conference at Williamsburg, May 6,7,8,and 9, drawing together twenty-odd people over the South who would draw up plans for maximum advantage from whatever may be the forthcoming decision of the Court. He stressed that the conference is not specifically a SRC gathering but it a service being performed by the Southern Regional Council, without any special organizational interest.

It was stated that the reduced version of the Ashmore Report, done by Mr. Fleming for the Public Affairs Committee, had been completed and that the Council was proceeding with its own reduced version, for which a grant of $5,000. previously announced to the Executive Committee, had been received some time back. The Executive Director displayed a map based on the Census of 1950, showing the distribution of the white and Negro population in the Southern states. And afterwards, it was agreed by those present that the map should be included in the issue on the Ashmore Report.

Mention was made, also, of the idea of strengthening the traditions in the mountain areas of an independent attitude on questions of civil liberties and educational programs.

Report of the Director of Women's Work

Mrs. Tilly reviewed the various speaking engagements she had filled with Church groups on matters of school segregation and otherwise. It was her view that the feeling is widespread that segregation was approaching its end, and people are anxious to work out the best ways of peaceful adjustment.

Report of the Assistant Director

Harold Fleming reviewed the various pick-ups of material carried in New South, speaking particularly of the issue on library integration and the one carrying the article by Dr. Benjamin E. Mays. He mentioned the reprinting made by the Council of Ralph McGill's column on segregation.

By-Laws

The Executive Committee, after discussion of the By-Laws adopted at the membership meeting May 14, 1953, and to be implemented at the pleasure of the Executive Committee, made the following suggestions:

1. An amendment defining the duties of the Executive Committee.

2. An amendment defining the duties of the Assistant Director.

3. Elimination of the word all in description of members who are elected to vacancies on the Council.

On motion, the Executive Committee brought the By-Laws of May, 1953 into effect as of April 6, 1954, by making the proviso that amendments to accomplish the purposes set out in 1,2,and 3, above, be drafted, presented, and voted upon at the next annual meeting.

Securing Funds

When the Committee reconvened after lunch, it was stated, on motion, that the banking and all security of funds now on hand from the Fund for the Republic be left to the staff, acting on the advice of the Counsel, Mr. Haas.

Upon motion, it was voted to increase the bond now carried on the Executive Director and the Secretary-Treasurer to $50,000.

Mr. Christopher called attention to the need for having Workmen's Compensation for employees and the Executive Director and Secretary-Treasurer were asked to take care of this matter through Mr. Haas. The Executive Director reviewed the matter of times when various new state programs could be set in motion, explaining that while the total grant was made available for 18 months, money was available which would only cover about 12 months of operation for each state, and it would therefore be necessary for the state programs to get underway with SRC assistance at a date around October 1, 1954.

Mr. Wright asked those present to draw up workable plans for bringing in the sums needed to be raised for the Central Office. He further proposed that each State Division meet sometime during the coming month for planning programs and staff, and means to get the money they will need to raise.

The matter of a choice of an Associate Executive Director

Dr. Mitchell proposed the selection of Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton, currently Director of the Atlanta Urban League, and it was agreed that a final decision would be made after consultation with additional members of the Executive Committee.

In the discussion on New South, it was noted that the staff proposed that the magazine run as at present during 1954, but that it be expanded and improved beginning January 1, 1955.

The Committee agreed that the annual meeting of the Council be planned for November, 1954. There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting

July 30, 1954

The meeting was called to order at 10:00 a.m. in the Conference Room of the Southern Education Foundation Building, 811 Cypress St, Atlanta, with the Chairman, Rufus E. Clement, presiding.

I. Executive Session. Members of the Committee went into executive session the first few minutes of the meeting, and announced that hereafter an executive session of this kind would be the rule.

II. Report on Program and Organizational Status

The Executive Director reviewed his travel and activities since the last meeting of the Committee. He spoke of the addition to the staff of Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton as Associate Executive Director, effective June 1st, and of her purpose to remain in that capacity to September 1, when it was proposed that she be made Assistant Director for Program Planning, serving the Council part-time from the position of Secretary to the Atlanta Urban League -- to which she will return September 1.

He described additions to the clerical staff, and spoke of Miss Anna Holden, the Research Assistant, as currently on leave at the University of North Carolina to complete her thesis.

C. H. Parrish, of the University of Louisville, has been engaged for the summer months to travel in selected states and advise the Council on personalities and programs helpful in the strengthening of our own state organizations.

Robert Menefee, an economist at Berea College in Kentucky, has been sent on a trip through the mountain areas to talk with school officials and community leaders about the special opportunity of the mountain counties to bring about unsegregated schools at an early date.

Earl Brewer, of Emory University, had been engaged for a brief period to travel and make a report on official human relations agencies in selected Northern states and cities.

Plans were described for enlarging New South for 1955, and approaches to various sources of funds for this purpose were described.

State by State within the South, the efforts of our local people to prepare for use of paid staff by October 1st were described.

Louisiana having had funds available already in the New Orleans Committee on Race Relations, has employed Milton Vigo as its secretary. And the Georgia Interracial Committee has employed Guy Wells as its secretary, proposing to raise sufficient additional money to enable his employment from the period June 1 - August 31, directly by the Committee. Most of the other states have had meetings and have made promising programs for picking up in strengthened condition in the early autumn months.

Mrs. Tilly reported that the Georgia Interracial Committee is planning to raise sufficient money for a full-time Associate Secretary.

Marion A. Wright reported on the North Carolina meeting, which had been well attended and had appointed various committees to draft program and select personnel.

Harold C. Fleming reported on the period of special activity for the Council, and for his office, in the days and weeks just after the Supreme Court's decision. The Council has served importantly in briefing a variety of journalists and writers on the issues involved. He referred to a scrapbook of clippings, which shows the Council's major activities, which is now being kept. Report made of a trip he made to New York in connection with a Ford sponsored Conference on Behavorial Sciences.

He described the various attacks made in recent weeks by the Reverend Blake Craft who had, in April 1954, renewed his slanderous misstatements. This had been followed by a series of attacks made by a weekly political sheet, called The Augusta Courier, operated by Roy Harris, a Georgia political figure. Mr. Harris had built his attacks around the charge that the Southern Regional Council is "the successor in fact to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare." Harris had proceeded, by innuendo and erroneous history, to build up a picture of the Southern Regional Council as the bearer of an evil purpose on the part of the Ford Foundation to subvert the traditions and customs of the South. Additionally, it had been charged in Harris' paper that the Council was Communist.influenced. Various staff members, Board members, and officers had been listed by Harris as having this or that "Red-front" connection. Mr. Fleming stated that the charges had been so absurd that reputable papers had not cared to carry them, though the two Macon papers and a Savannah paper had carried resumes of the charges, along with fairly effective answers, sent out by the United Press. The Talmadge publication in Georgia, The Statesman, had also carried slanderous attacks against the Council and this had been recited in part by the Northside News. And word has been received of this or that broadcast mentioning the charges.

Mrs. Tilly reported on her work with women in various denominations affiliated with the National Council of Churches, and exhibited a voluminous collection of statements made re segregation in the schools by Church bodies.

Marion Wright reported the completion of the field work in six selected counties by sociology students from Haverford College, and arrangements made with Guy Johnson, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, for the statistical tabulation of the resulting material. He then consulted the members of the Executive Committee as to 48 nominations which had been made, mainly by state chairmen of SRC as persons suitable to be on the Commission itself. Mr. Wright thought the Commission should have nine members. Various additional proposals of suitable persons were made by members of the Executive Committee, and Mr. Wright undertook to review all names available and select at an early date a Commission of approximately nine persons.

III. Secretary-Treasurer's Report

Miss Stoney reported on arrangements made with the approval of Mr. Haas for deposit in various banks of the balances available from the grant from the Fund for the Republic. In reivew of the reports attached hereto: She stated that the operating fund income for the first three months had

been $14,200, income for the second three months was $7,400 in addition to the amount received from the Fund for the Republic, and that for the month of July receipts have been approximately $1,600. She pointed out that the amount received, other than from the Fund for the Republic, had been from SRC regular sources of income. An additional $1,500 was received from the Field Foundation. She also stated that in order to comply with the terms of the grant from the Fund for the Republic, as to fund-raising from the central office, it would be necessary for the Council to produce an income in the remaining months of the year in excess of $12,000.

The balance remaining for the Commission on Equal Penalties was $563.00

IV. Central Office Operations

Proposed Revision of Staff Structure - The Executive Director presented a proposed reorganization of the central office staff showing the Executive Director reporting directly to the Executive Committee and they, in turn, to the Board. The Secretary-Treasurer would report to and through the Executive Director directly, also to the Executive Committee. It was proposed to drop the title of Associate Executive Director, and to establish four positions of Assistant Director; two in charge of program development; one in charge of program planning; and one in charge of information and research. The Research Assistant will report to the Assistant Director for Information and Research and the staff member in charge of Women's Work will report to the Executive Director. Clerical persons will be under the direction of the Secretary-Treasurer.

The proposed organization sheet was exhibited as attached.

Change in By-Laws - The Executive Director then read changes in the By-Laws which would, if adopted, bring this structure into being. After full discussion it was, upon motion, agreed that the Executive Committee would recommend to the November 10 meeting of the Council that Article VI of the By-Laws, Section 1 - Executive Officers, be amended to read:

"The executive officers of the corporation shall be a president; one or more vice-presidents, not to exceed four; an executive director; assistant directors; a secretary; and a treasurer. The president and the vice presidents shall be chosen from among the members of the corporation. The executive director and the assistant directors need not be members at the time of their election, but by virtue of their office shall become ex-officio members of the corporation, with all the privileges of such members. The secretary and the treasurer need not be members, and the offices of secretary and treasurer may be held by the same person. The president and vice-presidents shall be elected annually by the Council. The executive director and assistant directors, secretary-treasurer, and the counsel shall be subject to confirmation annually by the Council, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee.

Officers shall hold office until the corresponding meeting in the next year, and until their successors shall have been fully chosen and qualified, or until they shall have resigned or shall have been removed, in the manner provided in Section 13 of this Article. Any vacancy in any of the above offices shall be filled for the unexpired portion of the term by the Council, at any regular or special meeting."

Article VI, Section 6, to read:

"Assistant Directors. The assistand directors shall work in cooperation with the executive director in the administration of the program and policies of the Council. In the absence or disability of the executive director, one of the assistant directors will be designated by the executive director, or by the executive committee, to perform, temporarily, the duties of executive director.

The Executive Committee discussed in some detail proposed job descriptions for the positions of Assistant Directors and they approved the attached job descriptions for Assistant Director for Information and Research, Assistant Director for Program Planning, and two Assistant Directors for Program Development.

Office Space - Interracial Commission files

After an adjournment for lunch, discussion turned to a proposal to place the files of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, to which the Southern Regional Council is lawful successor, in the custody of the Atlanta University Library, with the stipulation of the right of access to the files by personnel of the Southern Regional Council at times convenient to the library of Atlanta University, and with the provision for review by the Southern Regional Council of proposals for extensive research in the files of the CIC. The Executive Committee agreed that a proposal of this kind might be made to Atlanta University.

The space occupied by the Council at 63 Auburn Ave. then came under consideration. Other possible locations for its now somewhat expended Atlanta office have been explored, but the rent appears prohibitive. No other entirely suitable accommodations seeming to be available, the staff proposed an expenditure of an estimated $1700 be made for remodeling the present space. It was stated that the Council had, on entering the original space at 63 Auburn Ave., made such changes as were suitable then to the Council. The appropriate officials of the Wesley Memorial Building have agreed that the Council might make the desired changes now.

The present rental, plus proportionate parts of the remodeling expenditure, stretched over a three year period, would produce a total expenditure per year less than that budgeted for that purpose in the request to the Fund for the Republic.

Upon motion the proposed renovation of the office, at about $1700. was approved by the Committee.

Procedure for Professional Hiring - After considerable discussion, the Committee, upon motion, appointed a Personnel Committee of the Executive Committee composed of the President of the Council, Marion Wright; the Executive Director, George Mitchell; and the Chairman of the Executive Committee, Rufus E. Clement, to engage and fix salaries of new personnel at the professional level.

Loyalty Questionnaires - The Executive Director told of correspondence between himself and the President of the Council re methods of satisfying the Council's interest in the loyalty of the prospective person. The president of the Council emphasized the importance, in the expenditure of tax-exempt funds, of satisfying ourselves that no person being employed by the Council would be disloyal to our form of government. Various proposals for questioning personnel on this point were discussed.

Upon motion, it was decided that the following questions would be required to be answered by all incoming personnel.

1. Are you now, or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

2. Are you now, or have you ever been, a member of an organization whose purpose it was to overthrow the Government of the United States?

Discussion showed that the staff and the Personnel Committee should be guided on matters of loyalty by the answers given to these questions.

SRC Brief Before the Supreme Court - It was stated that the staff had given discussion to the question of whether the Southern Regional Council should put in a brief amicus on the matter of segregation in the schools. The Executive Committee was of the opinion that the Council's time would be best used in providing means of implementing the ultimate decrees when they should come down.

Consideration of Policy Statement - The Executive Director stated that a letter had been received from a Board member suggesting that the time had come for an additional policy statement by the Southern Regional Council. In discussion the Executive Committee made it clear that they considered the key clause of the policy statement of December, 1951, as adequate.

V. Report on Organization of States

Criteria for Affiliation - Members of the Committee spoke in favor of clarity in the requirement of the Council that affiliated bodies actually raise the rest of the covenanted funds; that members of affiliated bodies should subscribe, also, to New South; and have reasonable flexibility state by state, as to the exact type of organization set up. Miss Stoney described a uniform monthly report sheet which had been prepared for use by state organizations. The Executive Director stated that a monthly narrative report would be required from each state group.

VI. Discussion of Fund-Raising - The Secretary-Treasurer presented the attached proposed budget which, after discussion, was adopted by the Executive Committee.

Upon motion, it was agreed that the Personnel Committee would be authorized to engage staff in accordance with the reorganized plan, within the limits of the funds available, under the budget adopted.

One of the members of the Committee suggested that each member of the Board of Directors of the Council be requested to contribute $100 toward raising the sums that will be needed by the end of this year. Appropriate paragraphs, re urgency of raising money from within the South, from the letter of grant from the Fund for the Republic were read to the Committee.

Dr. Clement, in particular, said that an attempt should be made to get the Southern Regional Council put in the annual budgets of those persons who sometimes contribute to it. Upon motion, the Executive Committee requested the President of the Council to make an early visit to Atlanta, stay for several days, and interview persons with the object of having them accept positions on a Finance Committee, and empowering the President of the Council to launch such a Committee.

VII. Annual Meeting, November 10, 1954

It was agreed that the 1954 meeting would be held on Wednesday, November 10, at Atlanta University.

Nominating Committee - The President was by motion empowered to appoint a nominating committee, with proper instructions.

VIII. Other Business

The Executive Director stated that it was his feeling that one of the reasons why the Council was subjected to a spate of attacks was because of a policy in previous years of making no permanent annual report. He said that doubtless this policy had been well grounded, but that he was of the view that in consideration of the sums now available to the Council, and of the magnitude of the tasks before the Council, that it would be no less than proper to make an annual report, which would be publicly available. He had taken a tentative step in this direction when the January, 1954 issue of New South carried a form of financial report.

The Executive Committee felt that the present attacks were a phase of the disturbed political situation in Georgia and, as they were absurd, it offered little encouragement to proposals to answer the attacks in detail. One member suggested that a statement, giving the true facts, might be sent out to Board members and subscribers and other persons most intimately associated with the Council. Another proposal was that various persons influential in public opinion in the South, and knowledgeable as to the Council's origin and purpose, should be asked to come to the Council's defense.

The Committee received with pleasure the announcement that a brief descriptive pamphlet about the Council was not in press. The staff stated that the expense of a longer pamphlet had been considered prohibitive in view of the many changes underway, particularly with the state organizations.

Upon motion, it was agreed that "the matter of public statements be the responsibility of the staff who if they feel a need of consultation should consult Mr. Clement and Mr. Haas, and that the Executive Committee places full confidence in whatever decision may be reached by this group."

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

November 10, 1954

The Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council was held in the Board Room at Atlanta University on Wednesday, November 10, 1954, at 10:00 a.m. Mr. Marion A. Wright, president, was in the chair.

There were present:

BOARD MEMBERS

Abram, Morris B.
**Aycox, Mrs. N. B.
Barbare, Ralph
Bates, Mrs. W. F.
**Beckman, F. Woods
Birnie, Mrs. Cassandra
**Brazeal, B. R.
**Brimm, Hugh
Brooke, W. C.
**Brooks, J. T.
**Clement, A. J.
Clement, R. E.
**Crate, Mrs. James S.
Dent, A. W.
Duncan, O. D.
**Foster, Richard J.
Gomillion, C. G.
Griffin, John A.
Haas, Leonard
Hancock, Gordon B.
**Lewis, Miss Elsie
**Mantinband, Charles
Moron, A. G.
Richards, J. M.
**Sanders, Irwin T.
Shean, M. V.
**Smith, C. Emerson
Sytz, Miss Florence
Wheeler, John H.
Wilkins, Miss Josephine
Wright, Marion A.
Young, Thomas W.

**From State Organizations

STAFF MEMBERS (CENTRAL AND STATE)

*Brantley, Mrs. Elizabeth -- stenographer
*Fleming, Harold C. -- assistant director for information and research
*Hamilton, Mrs. G. T. -- assistant director for program.
*Holden, Miss Anna -- research assistant
Hughes, Mrs. Robert -- for her husband, the executive secretary of the Alabama Division of SRC, who was ill
Jones, Harry S. -- executive secretary of the North Carolina Division
*Mitchell, George S. -- executive director
*Parrish, C. H. -- assistant director for state organizations
*Routh, Fred B. -- assistant director for state organizations
Spearman, Mrs. Alice -- executive secretary of the South Carolina Division
*Stoney, Miss Katherine -- secretary-treasurer
*Tilly, Mrs. M. E. -- in charge of women's work
Vigo, Milton -- executive secretary of the Louisiana Council on Human Relations
Wells, Guy H. -- executive secretary of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation

*Central Office Staff

Invocation was offered by Rabbi Charles Mantinband.

Rufus E. Clement, on behalf of Atlanta University, extended a welcome to those present.

Marion A. Wright, as president, made the attached statement.

Mr. R. E. Clement, as chairman of the executive committee, reported to the Board as attached. The Board, on motion, accepted the report of the executive committee and ordered it carried in the Minutes of the meeting.

The president asked for opinions from the group as to the actions taken by the executive committee in the matter of the various charges made against the Council. Rabbi Mantinband and others sustained the view of the executive committee that so long as the charges came from irresponsible sources it was not incumbent upon the Council to answer them publicly; but brought out the opinion that individual Board members were not relieved of the duty to make known through private channels the untruth of the various charges.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR'S REPORT

The executive director after making arrangements for a special luncheon gathering of the state chairmen and vice-chairmen reported as follows:

New South. He reviewed the principal issues of New South since the last Board meeting, stating that various issues had pushed inquiry into the breakdown of segregation into the fields of public recreation, public libraries and churches. He announced the receipt from the Field Foundation of a grant of $15,000 to be available to the Southern Regional Council covering the three year period beginning January 1, 1955, with the first year's grant set at $7,000 and diminishing amounts for the succeeding two years. This grant had been made to encourage the expansion and improvement of New South.

Special Travel. Reference was made to the arrangement under which Mr. Robert Menefee of Berea College had been engaged to travel in the Appalachian South during the Summer of 1954. Then attention was called to a report on that travel in the October, 1954 issue of New South. The travel had strengthened the view of the executive director that the most fruitful way to proceed in all these matters was by the comparatively expensive method of personal interview. This was the more sustained by the excellent experience the Council has had in arranging with the National Council of Churches and other religious bodies to send into the South, for brief periods of directed travel, a succession of ministers or lay people with a special interest in getting the view of churchmen more widely understood in the present controversy on the schools.

Williamsburg Conference. The conference held at Williamsburg, Virginia, May 6-9 was described. The Council served merely as the convening agency in a meeting of some twenty-odd persons to discuss next steps and program plans in the light of the then impending decision of the Supreme Court on public school segregation. The report of the Williamsburg Conference was exhibited and the statement made that a considerable number of presently on-going programs appeared to have their genesis in that gathering.

Foreign Guests. Reference was made to a request by the Council to a foundation for modest assistance to the Council in caring for the staff effort required in the entertainment and instruction of the considerable series of foreign visitors who were now in the habit of coming to the Southern Regional Council for information on Southern matters.

Information Proposal. Further reference was made to a request for funds to enable the Council to enlarge its information program. This would include employment of special staff to rework for maximum effectiveness in the South the past and present research material in the field of intergroup relations. Another component of the same program would be the drawing up from the Council's new state staff of further needed research projects, and the parcelling out of such projects to appropriate universities or other agencies.

Labor Institutes. The activities of the executive director in devoting a good deal of time during the past year to institutes held by the two principal labor organizations -- A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. -- were described. These had included a one-week training session for the A. F. of L. in Kentucky, two sessions with C.I.O. schools in North Carolina, and a Southeastern A. F. of L. Labor School in Virginia. The executive director reported that he had been pleased to find the labor movement disposed to be quite helpful in assisting the expansion of unsegregated education and other civil rights.

Church Conferences. Further report was made on work done by the executive director, by Mrs. Tilly, and by others on the staff in reaching, on invitation, various church conferences held in the South.

Attacks on SRC. Touching upon the matter of the charges against the Council by various political figures in Georgia, the executive director stated that it had been with some difficulty that he had, on each occasion, bowed to the wish of the executive committee that the charges be not further spread by specific answer on behalf of the Council itself. He stated that there was under review in the staff and the executive committee a proposal to issue at an early date a pamphlet reviewing the ten-year history of the Southern Regional Council. Which pamphlet, it was hoped, would be an alternative answer to the baseless accusations so loosely made.

Personnel. The enlargement of the staff of the central office was described and the new personnel and their principal duties touched upon. The central office staff now consists of the executive director, an assistant director for program, two assistant directors for state organizations, and an assistant director for information and research. The clerical personnel has also been modestly enlarged.

Equal Penalties. Poor progress was reported with the project of the Commission on Equal Penalties. The bulk of the funds collected for the project had been spent during the Summer in an effort to obtain additional factual information which might serve as a basis for the findings of the Commission to be impaneled. In the tentative judgments of the staff, the findings were not yet of sufficient volume to warrant their impaneling a specific commission on them, and the only present plan was for continued effort to obtain further facts, and the impaneling at a later date of a Commission which might advise the South as to appropriate consideration by the provision of the law, by the courts, and by the public in the South.

State Organizations. Turning to the new programs with the state organizations, the executive director spoke of the beginning of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, to which the Southern Regional Council is successor, in starting in nine Southern states an agency to deal with the problems of race. The Southern precedent thus set had borne fruit in the expansion in the years during and since World War II into the North and West of quite similar agencies. In those areas the new agencies as state or municipal commissions had had expanding life or ready support, whereas the Southern Regional Council had not found the resources and opportunity to cause state organizations to grow appropriately in the South itself. The grant from the Fund for the Republic, said Mr. Mitchell, had been obtained on a plea that the Council would use its energy and the major part of the proceeds of the grant to get going in each of a dozen Southern states voluntary agencies in the field of race relations which, it was hoped, could continue independent growth after an initial three-year period of subsidy.

State Representatives. Seven of these new state agencies the Council regards as established, and it was possible to introduce as their executive secretaries: Thomas Sutherland, Texas Commission on Race Relations; Mrs. Robert Hughes, representing the executive secretary of the Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council; Mrs. Alice Spearman, executive secretary of the South Carolina Division of the Southern Regional Council; Mr. Guy Wells, executive secretary of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation; Harry S. Jones, executive secretary of the North Carolina Division of the Southern Regional Council; and Milton Vigo, executive secretary of the Louisiana Council on Human Relations. The Kentucky Council on Human Relations was described as being fully organized, but as having by choice refrained as yet from employing personnel. It was represented by its chairman, Mr. Hugh Brimm, and an additional active member, Mr. Irwin Sanders. The Department of Christian Social Relations of the Virginia Council of Churches was represented by its chairman, Reverend W. C. Brooke, and its secretary, Reverend C. Emerson Smith. The Tennessee Division of the Southern Regional Council, has lately been re-organized and was represented by its temporary president, Mr. F. Woods Beckman, and an active member, Dr. Elsie Lewis. Plans for development of state programs in Arkansas, Mississippi, and Florida, were touched upon.

In the question period on the report of the executive director, matters considered were: The delays in getting programs going in certain of the states; the attacks on the Council, which were, in most remarks, regarded as of slight weight; the importance of the helpful service that the Council is rendering, in cooperation with others, to foreign visitors; and, most particularly, the evident fact that the professional staff thus far engaged by state groups was entirely of the white race.

Bi-racial Staffing. The executive director explained that enough money had been asked for originally to enable the employment of two staff persons in each state at identical salaries, but that the final grant had been a very much lesser sum than had been requested. The Council staff had no alternative but to offer to each state sufficient funds for them to employ one and one-half persons with equal salaries. The Council had at no time suggested that those employed be of either race or either sex. The present personnel employed by the states has been taken on in what had been believed to be in each of the states the best and most effective arrangement. Nevertheless, the staff of those states was conscious of the importance to each state organization of the employment of co-equal professional personnel, and the staff earnestly recommended that each state obtain additional funds to enable employment of personnel in this pattern.

Mr. A. J. Clement of South Carolina, Mr. Dent of Louisiana, Mr. R. E. Clement of Georgia, Mr. Fred Routh, Mr. C. H. Parrish, Rabbi Mantinband, Mrs. G. T. Hamilton, Miss Florence Sytz, Mrs. James S. Crate, Mr. Guy Wells, Mr. M. A. Wright, and others, took part in a full discussion of this matter. At the conclusion of the discussion, on motion the president was asked to appoint a committee to draft , during the noon hour, a resolution which should express the Council's interest in the establishing of bi-racial professional staff in each of the twelve existing state organizations.

The president appointed to this committee, Mr. R. E. Clement, Mr. A. W. Dent, and Mr. J. H. Wheeler.

Dr. Howard Odum. A resolution was introduced by Mr. Gordon B. Hancock and carried unanimously, as follows:

> WHEREAS, Howard W. Odum, the profoundest student of Southern life and its most illuminating teacher, has been taken from us,
>
> And WHEREAS, Dr. Odum was one of the principal organizers and the first president of the Southern Regional Council,
>
> Now THEREFORE, we who continue in the Southern Regional Council resolve to follow with renewed vigor the broad humanitarian goals which were Howard Odum's goals for the South.

Finance Report. Miss Katherine Stoney, secretary-treasurer, laid the attached finance figures before the Board and gave a verbal review of the more important items. The various members of the Board and the executive director emphasized the importance of obtaining added support, both for the central office and for the new state organizations.

State Programs. Mrs. Hamilton said that we have entered upon a new period in the South, a new era in which paternalism is dead. And the various state organizations as they struggle more deeply into their work would perceive that the task ahead of them requires sums greatly in excess of the small amount called for in the finance figures. She then suggested that the sums attained would depend upon the sort of program which would be developing in the states, and that the same applied to the operation of the central office. Mr. Foster, Mr. Dent, Rabbi Mantinband, Mr. Moron, and others suggested the importance of further program and policy leads from the central office. The executive director read from Memorandum #1, a basic document issued to the state organizations shortly after receipt of the grant from the Fund for the Republic as follows:

PROGRAM

Any or all of the following specific programs are clearly desirable.

1. Education of public opinion toward implementation of whatever may be the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in the school segregation cases. Negotiation with responsible local or state officers toward such implementation.

2. Extension of improved agricultural opportunities

3. Informed comment on undemocratic features of state or local government.

4. Community self-surveys. (We strongly urge that in each state at least one such self-survey be worked out each year.) This can be a means of finding the most important local needs and local interests, as well as a means of getting representatives of all racial groups in a community to work together on discovering and meeting problems of common concern.

5. The development of opportunities for education in human relations in the schools.

6. Police administration and training.

7. The improved handling of race in the news.

8. Furthering equal justice

9. Implementation of laws and regulations against segregation in interstate common carriers.

10. Opening of occupational and professional associations to members of racial minorities.

11. Increasing employment opportunities based on merit.

12. Extension of social welfare opportunities.

13. Increasing and improving housing.

14. Education for representation of minorities on Boards and Commissions and other normal channels of government.

Further discussion by Miss Sytz, Mr. Foster, Mr. R. E. Clement, and others, looked toward stronger leadership from Atlanta as to state programs.

The meeting adjourned for lunch at 12:30 p.m. and reassembled at 1:45 p.m.

Amendments to the By-Laws

Upon motions duly made and seconded the following amendments to the By-Laws were made:

ARTICLE I. NAME AND AREA to read: ARTICLE I. NAME, AREA AND PURPOSE

Add Section 3 as follows:

Section 3. Purposes. The purposes of the Southern Regional Council are to exist and function as an eleemosynary organization, and more particularly to organize and maintain a Regional Council and to cooperate with affiliated state organizations in the Southern Region for the improvement of economic, civic, and racial conditions, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts towards regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tension, the basis of racial tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust; to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship; and to cooperate with local, state, regional, and national agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives. The Council shall not engage in carrying on propaganda or otherwise attempt to influence legislation nor engage in any form of political activities.

ARTICLE II. MEMBERS

Amend Section 1. Members. A3 to read:

3. The president, the vice-presidents, the counsel, the treasurer, the executive director, and assistant directors shall also be ex-officio members.

ARTICLE V. COMMITTEES

Amend Section 1. Executive Committee. to read:

The Council shall provide for an Executive Committee of not more than nine (9) members in addition to the president and vice-presidents, treasurer and counsel; the executive director and the assistant directors shall also be ex-officio members of the Committee, but without the right to vote. The Executive Committee shall serve during the pleasure of the Council and may be discharged and the Committee abolished at any time by the Council. Unless one of the members shall have been designated as chairman by the Council, the Executive Committee shall elect a chairman from its own number. During the intervals between the meetings of the Council the Executive Committee shall possess and may exercise all of the powers of the corporation, conferred by these by-laws or the charter of the corporation, in all cases in which specific directions shall not have been given by the Council. The Executive Committee shall keep full and fair accounts of its transactions. All action by the Executive Committee shall be reported to the Council at its meeting next succeeding such action, and shall be subject to revision and alterations by the Council; provided that no rights of third persons shall be affected by any such revision or alteration. Vacancies in the Executive Committee shall be filled by the Council.

Correct Section 2. Meetings of Executive Committee. to read:

The Executive Committee shall fix its own rules of procedure, and shall meet as provided by such rules or by resolution of the Council, and it shall also meet at the call of the chairman or of any three members of the Committee. A quorum of the Executive Committee shall consist of not less than five (5) members of the Committee. If necessary, members of the Executive Committee may by written notice appoint a proxy from among the members of the Council to attend and vote on behalf of such members,

ARTICLE VI. OFFICERS

Amend Section 1. Executive Officers. to read:

The executive officers of the corporation shall be a president; one or more vice-presidents, not to exceed four; an executive director; assistant directors; a secretary; and a treasurer. The president and the vice-presidents shall be chosen from among the members of the corporation. The executive director and the associate executive director need not be members at the time of their election, but by virtue of their office shall become ex-officio members of the corporation, with all the privileges of such members. The offices of secretary and treasurer may be held by the same person, but if filled separately, the secretary need not be a member of the corporation. The president and vice-presidents shall be elected annually by the Council. The executive director and assistant directors, secretary-treasurer, and counsel shall be subject to confirmation annually by the Council, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee. Officers shall hold office until the corresponding meeting in the next year, and until their successors shall have been fully chosen and qualified, or until they shall have resigned or shall have been removed, in the manner provided in Section 13 of this Article. Any vacancy in any of the above offices shall be filled for the unexpired portion of the term by the Council, at any regular or special meeting.

Amend Section 6. Associate Executive Director. to read:

Section 6. Assistant Directors. The assistant directors shall work in cooperation with the executive director in the administration of the program and policies of the Council. In the absence or disability of the executive director, one of the assistant directors will be designated by the executive director, or by the executive committee, to perform, temporarily, the duties of executive director.

The executive director then presented a proposed resolution to the Board re nominating committee, as follows:

WHEREAS Article V. Section 4, of the By-Laws provide that "The Council may by resolution provide for such other standing or special committees as it deems desirable and may discontinue the same at pleasure," therefore

BE IT RESOLVED that a Nominating Committee of not less than five members, three of whom shall be elected by the Council at its annual meeting, one of whom shall be its "ex-officio" member from an affiliated organization, and two of whom shall be appointed by the joint action of the president and the Executive Committee, shall be constituted.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Nominating Committee shall meet at least thirty (30) days before the annual meeting for the purpose of nominating: (1) members of the Council; (2) officers of the Council; (3) members of the Executive Committee; and (4) members of the succeeding Nominating Committee.

Mr. Dent suggested that this resolution would be more binding and more apparent if included in the By-Laws, and upon motion it was requested that the president and the executive committee be empowered at the next meeting of the Executive Committee to reshape this resolution and incorporate it appropriately into the By-Laws of the Council.

Office of Treasurer

The executive director stated that the proposal for the creation of the office of treasurer was advanced in order to facilitate fund-raising by the Council. He stated that an appropriate individual for this office had been selected and approached, but had not agreed to take it.

Upon motion duly made and seconded the following resolution was adopted.

RESOLVED that for the current year the Executive Committee is hereby authorized, empowered, and directed to elect a treasurer whose duties and term of office shall be as set forth in the By-Laws of the Corporation.

RESOLVED ALSO that the election and installation of the treasurer of the Corporation shall be accomplished as soon as possible after the annual meeting of the membership being held on November 10, 1954.

Resolution on Bi-Racial Staff

Mr. Wheeler, for the special committee appointed by the president at the morning session, reported as follows, and upon motion this resolution was adopted:

RESOLVED that the Council in annual session hereby urge the several state organizations or committees which are affiliated with the Council to give careful and thoughtful consideration to the statement made by the Executive Director in his memorandum #6 of September 23, 1954, having to do with the matter of bi-racial staff for the state organizations, believing that only by this means may the maximum be achieved both to effective development of program and formal support -- the full text of his statement being as follows:

> "We have recognized that the 'effective human relations service' which state organizations will be establishing in the months ahead requires the assistance of both white and Negro professional staff members. This is necessary in order that the staff of state organizations provide evidence in their makeup of a working relationship of equals in behalf of the common welfare, and for perhaps the even more important reason, that the insights of both Negro and white staff members are needed in the task of extending the areas of communication across racial lines throughout the state -- a basic purpose of our state organizations."

RESOLVED ALSO that the central staff is hereby requested to see that this policy is implemented on the regional level and to offer its assistance and encouragement towards its implementation on the state level.

Nominations and Elections

The president called for the report of the nominating committee which was composed of Mr. J. H. Wheeler, Mr. Morris Abram, Mrs. E. U. Robinson, Mrs. Marion Paul, and Mr. Guy Johnson. Mrs. Paul, and Mrs. Robinson had not been present at the meeting, but it had been possible to consult with Mrs. Robinson usefully by telephone as to the nominations proposed.

For the seven vacancies on the Board, the committee placed in nomination: Dr. Philip Weltner, former chancellor of Oglethorpe University, Atlanta, Georgia; Mr. Philip Hammer, the Hammer Company, Atlanta, Georgia; Mr. I. H. Burney, Afro-American Life Insurance Company, Jacksonville, Florida; Mr. Edward Norton, Birmingham, Alabama; Mr. Hodding Carter, Editor of the Delta Democrat-Times, Greenville, Mississippi; Bishop W. T. Watkins, M. E. Church, Louisville, Kentucky; and Mr. Jerome K. Crossman, Ryan Petroleum Corporation, Dallas, Texas

There being no further nominations from the floor from the Board at large, these nominees were duly elected

The committee then made further nominations of three alternates in case any of those just elected might fail in acceptance, and these nominations were: Attorney Hugo Black, Jr., Birmingham, Alabama; Attorney Hollis Rinehart, Miami, Florida; and Mr. Thomas Robinson of the Charlotte News, Charlotte, North Carolina. The alternates were then duly and conditionally elected.

Mr. Wheeler for the nominating committee suggested the following persons to serve on the nominating committee in accordance with the amended procedure: Dr. B. E. Mays, Morehouse College, Atlanta; Mr. Philip Hammer, Glenn Building, Atlanta, Georgia; Reverend Hugh Brimm, Carver School of Missions and Social Work, Louisville, Kentucky. These persons were duly elected.

For membership on the executive committee, the following nominations were made by the nominating committee: Miss Josephine Wilkins of Atlanta, Georgia; Mr. Morris Abram of Atlanta, Georgia; Mr. McDowell Richards at Columbia Seminary, Decatur, Georgia; Mr. Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta, Georgia; Mrs. C. Birnie, Atlanta, Georgia; Very Reverend Maurice V. Shean, Rock Hill, South Carolina; Mr. John Griffin, Atlanta, Georgia; Mr. H. V. Richardson, Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Georgia; Mr. Paul Christopher, Knoxville, Tennessee. These persons were duly elected.

These officers were elected by the Board: president - Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, North Carolina; vice-president - Carter Wesley, Houston, Texas; vice-president - Gordon B. Hancock, Richmond Virginia; vice-president - Harry Ashmore, Little Rock, Arkansas; and vice-president - Albert W. Dent, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Various of the new persons in from the states were then introduced to the Board.

Central Direction of State Programs

Discussion turned to the degree to which policy control over the state organizations should be exerted from the central office. Miss Sytz, Mr. Abram, Mr. Dent, Miss Wilkins, Father Shean, Mr. Parrish, and others, voiced the general view that the program being engaged in was like a grant-in-aid program which ought to carry with it a considerable degree of leadership and, if need be, direction in policy and program. The executive director, while agreeing to the importance of central direction, emphasized also the importance of so launching and working with the state movements that they would have the maximum opportunity to grow into independent agencies. At the conclusion of the discussion a motion was proposed and carried that each state organization be asked to submit to the central office a plan of its program for the year 1955, and that this be submitted by January 1, 1955.

Reference having been made to the arrangement under which the state organizations will be sending in monthly activity reports, upon motion the responsibility was placed upon the central office staff to make available to all state agencies the information contained in monthly reports from each group which the central staff considers useful and necessary.

Mr. R. E. Clement having referred to the address which Mr. Marion Wright had delivered at the recent testimonial dinner in tribute to J. Waties Waring, a round of applause was given to Mr. Wright.

Mrs. Tilly reported on her work with church women. Further words of praise for this were added by Miss Sytz.

Personnel Questionnaire

Scattered discussion then took place on the matter of the direction of the executive committee, at its meeting July 30, that employed professional and clerical personnel in the central office and in the state organizations execute a form attesting that they had not been and were not presently affiliated with organizations disloyal to the form of government of the United States.

On question from Board members as to the power to overrule the action of the executive committee, Article V, Section 1 of the By-Laws was read to the Board as follows:

> ". . . All action by the Executive Committee shall be reported to the Council at its meeting next succeeding such action, and shall be subject to revision and alterations by the Council; provided that no rights of third persons shall be affected by any such revision or alteration. . . ."

Various members expressed reluctance to overrule the action of the executive committee, and the meeting moved to adjournment without action other than the original acceptance of the report of the Executive Committee.

Enclosures - (1) Address of the President of SRC
(2) Report of the Chairman of the Executive Committee
(3) Finance Report

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

November 23, 1954

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council met on the call of the chairman of the Committee, Mr. Rufus Clement, November 23rd, 1954, 11:00 a.m., at the Council's offices.

There were present:

	Paul Christopher
Morris Abram	John Griffin
Mrs. C. Birnie	Miss Josephine Wilkins
Rufus E. Clement	Marion A. Wright

After invocation the first action of the Committee was the following resolution:

RESOLVED THAT, after full discussion, the Executive Committee advises the Chairman of the Executive Committee, the Executive Director, and the Chairman of each State Affiliate that the following shall constitute compliance with the policy of the Executive Committee to assure the employment of loyal American citizens only:

With respect to all persons now employed and paid in whole or in part out of the funds of the SRC, and in the case of persons hereafter employed and so paid, the the Chairman of the Executive Committee with respect to the Executive Director, the Executive Director with respect to the Central Office staff, and the Chairman of each State Affiliate with respect to the staff of that Affiliate, are requested to sign and submit to the SRC the following statement:

In the case of the following persons employed by me in my capacity of (Chairman Executive Committee, Executive Director, or Chairman of State Affiliate), I am satisfied that every such employee is a loyal American citizen.

_____
Signature

The Committee then on motion requested Ralph Barbare, C. G. Gomillion, and Alonzo Moron, to serve as a reviewing committee for the minutes of the meeting of the Board on November 10, 1954, for interim approval of the minutes subject to the action of the 1955 meeting of the Board.

The Committee on motion directed the dispatch of a resolution to Mr. Alfred Mynders expressing appreciation for his years of service to the Southern Regional Council, as a Board member, a vice-president, and a counselor.

The Committee on motion, pursuant to the authority conferred upon it by the Board meeting November 10, directed incorporation of the following as an amendment to the By-Laws of the Council:

ARTICLE V

Present Section 4 should become Section 5.

Section 4. Nominating Committee. There shall be a Nominating Committee of not less than five members. Three members shall be elected by the Council from its membership at its annual meeting, and one of these shall be an "ex-officio" member of the Council from an affiliated state organization. Two members shall be appointed by the joint action of the President and the Executive Committee.

The Nominating Committee shall meet not less than thirty (30) days before the annual meeting for the purpose of nominating (1) members of the Council, (2) officers of the Council, (3) members of the Executive Committee, and (4) three members of the succeeding Nominating Committee.

The Committee on motion appointed as a subcommittee of the Executive Committee to advise the staff on program planning, Morris Abram, Philip Hammer, Cassandra Maxwell Birnie, John Griffin, and Harry Richardson.

The Committee informally expressed preference that its next meeting be in late February, 1955.

The Committee on motion asked those of its members who had been concerned in the effort to choose a treasurer to continue their activities, and meanwhile urged the president, Marion Wright, to press forward with the organizing of a Finance Committee.

After some further brief discussion of the implications of the Board meeting November 10th, the Committee adjourned.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Southern Regional Council
February 17, 1955

The meeting was held at 10:00 a.m. in the Lunge (First Floor) of the Wesley Memorial Building, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta.

Ten members of the Executive Committee were present as follows:

Marion A. Wright, President
Rufus Clement, Chairman
Gordon Hancock, Vice-President
Carter Wesley, Vice-President
Leonard Haas, Counsel
Morris Abram
Paul Christopher
John Griffin
Mrs. Cassandra M. Birnie
Philip Hammer
Miss Josephine Wilkins

After the brief Executive Session, members of the staff came into the meeting as follows:

George Mitchell
Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Harold Fleming
C. H. Parrish
Anna Holden
Katherine Stoney
Elizabeth Brantley

Invocation was given by Mr. Gordon Hancock.

The Minutes of the preceeding meeting, having been circulated to members, were taken as approved.

The Executive Director reported that the Minutes of the Board meeting November 11, 1954, had been sent out for approval to three members of the Board; Dr. Ralph Barbare, Dr. C. G. Gomillion, and Dr. Alonzo G. Moron, and that as two of them had returned the minutes with approval they would be put in this form before the next meeting of the Board for formal approval.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR AND OTHER STAFF PERSONNEL

Mitchell

The Executive Director spoke of travel to Norfolk, Virginia,

Anderson, South Carolina; Alexander City and Sylacauga, Alabama; Petersburg, Virginia; Arlington, Virginia; Montgomery County, Maryland; Shreveport and Baton Rouge, Louisiana; and other points generally to meet with small groups and further the idea of informal open interchange between local white and Negro citizens on methods to bring about integration in the schools. In addition to these general groups, he had been invited to appear before several trade union bodies.

Other travel had included a meeting of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, several trips to Virginia in the interest of getting the Virginia Council on Human Relations going, a trip to Kentucky for the meeting of the Southern Police Institute, and other meetings of people at work in this general field.

State organizations with staff were listed as: North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Kentucky, and Texas. Those organized, but without staff were: Tennessee, Arkansas, and Florida. In Virginia it was expected that a meeting to occur in Richmond February 22nd would launch A Virginia Council on Human Relations. The staff had made it clear to the states slow in getting organized that financial assistance to these states would be on a pro rata basis for the months of organized activity, although some assistance would be given these states in meeting the expenses of the organization.

Some members of the Committee called attention to the portion of the finance report showing the smallness of sums collected by the various states. It was explained that these sums represented monies collected in January, 1955, with many of the states still in an organizational stage.

Parrish

Mr. Parrish had been in seven or eight of the states since the last meeting of the Executive Committee, usually in company with Fred Routh. His particular role, he felt, was that of building up a communications resource between white and Negro

persons. He described the form of organization in use in Kentucky saying, among other things, that it had a particular use in making it possible to send white consultants to Negro communities and Negro consultants to white communities. In his view, not enough news was reaching the people of the South about the valuable developments toward desegregation, and he hoped that the Council's efforts could result in some correction of this imbalance.

Mrs Hamilton

Mrs. Hamilton described two visits to conferences of the Kentucky consultants, and spoke in praise of the planning underway in that state. She said that the one thing that the Southern Regional Council has to sell is a process, the working together of individuals of both races in equality and with a common concern. She gave some discussion of the work underway in North Carolina, Tennessee, and several other states.

Fleming

Described the newly issued Changing Patterns in the New South; the prospect for the Southern Regional Council to assist the distribution of Lillian Smith's new book, Now is the Time; and discussed the new format and contents of New South, the February issue of which was made available to members of the Committee. Mr. Wesley, Mr. Clement, Mr. Wright, and others urged that a major proportion of the time and resources of the Council go into promotion of the Council's publications.

Mrs. Tilly

Mrs. Tilly described the forthcoming meeting of church women on February 24th and 25th in Atlanta. The women would be coming from most of the states in the lower South, from some parts of the upper South, and a chosen few leadership people from the various denominational or inter-council offices. Mrs. Tilly stated that her work is hampered by the small amount of money she has to work with, and expressed a desire for increased resources for the work with church women.

REPORT ON PROGRAM PLANNING COMMITTEE

Mr. Abram, as Chairman of this Committee established by the preceeding meeting (November 23, 1954) of the Executive Committee, and composed of himself, Mrs. Birnie, Miss Wilkins, Mr. Griffin, Mr. Hammer, and Mr. Richardson. They had met five times and had reviewed with conscientious care and detail the program and planning activities of the Council. A series of questions put forward by the Committee for information and discussion were read as follows:

1. In the opinion of the Executive Committee, what were the specific and binding commitments implicit in the grant to the SRC from the Fund for the Republic?

2. Did the Supreme Court decision of May 17th have significance for the Southern Regional Council in meeting these commitments?

3. Are there critical situations in the South which broaden the obligations.

4. What is the responsibility of the Board in fulfilling the Southern Regional Council's commitments implicit in the Fund's grant?

5. The individual responsibility of a Board member?

6. What is the responsibility of the Executive Committee, as the body empowered to act for the Board?

7. The individual responsibility of a member of the Executive Committee?

8. To what extent is the Board assuming its responsibilities?

9. To what extent is the Executive Committee assuming its responsibilities?

10. What information between meetings do the members of the Board need?

11. The members of the Executive Committee?

Mr. Abram, in review, said that it could not be said that they had reached any conclusions; that they, realizing that the work of the Council had been cut out for it since the decision of May 17 had recognized that it had been necessary to expand the Council very rapidly and that it was still working with limited funds; they had been aware of the good work done in setting up state organizations, and they had all agreed that a good job had been done by the staff. Various factors, mostly relating to the Supreme Court's decision, had made it difficult for the SRC to get prestige support for its program. He suggested greater participation by members of the Board, improvement of finances, and improvement of the form in which matters are brought before the members of the Executive Committee for decision and discussion.

Mr. Hammer, as another member of the Planning Program Committee, said that a good deal of discussion had been given to whether the flow of events subsequent to May 17th had had theeffect of changing the real conditions on which the grant from the Fund for the Republic had been made to SRC. Before the decision of the Supreme Court, he said, the Council's program was conceived without considering this change, and should now be regeared. That might mean going back to the Fund for the Republic and urging reconsideration as to whether the Council should continue with its present three efforts at information, development of state organizations, present three efforts at information, development of state organizations, and trouble-shooting (what he called "across the board" type of commitment), as against concentration of all effort and funds on expediting compliance with the Supreme Court's decision. If the latter were done, it would mean a far different role for the central staff. If it were still a basic principle that we go across the board, it means that a lot of our efforts are going to be focused on the long-run effort in the states. He said that the biggest thing discussed in the Planning Committee was the participation of the Board, because if the Council is going to continue with something like its present program, the job is so vast and the Council's efforts so scattered, it will mean a very close relationship between the Executive Committee and Board and central office, and the full participation of all. There is still some question, he said, as to the extent of participation in the organization as a whole, and the

matter should become the concern of each member of the Council.

Mr. Abram felt that the central staff could use some additional money so that it could do an effective job in the various hOt spots as they appear. For instance, if funds were available, the thought that the Council staff could work against the Citizens' Councils in Mississippi which, if permitted to jell, will impede integration for a long time to come. He felt that the needed funds could be raised if members of the Executive Committee and members of the Board assumed responsibility for doing so.

Mrs. Birnie said that the members of the Executive Committee had in the past inadequately discharged its own responsibility, leaving too many things to central office staff personnel.

Mr. Abram, in summary, expressed the view that it was a great mistake for the central staff to have to worry about money for minor details of organizational effort. He wondered whether there could not be a reassignment or reallocation of funds? Could not enough money be raised or found so that the central staff could function under the terms of the grant? If the central office is undernourished because of funds, he believed that SRC should go back to the Fund for the Republic and ask for reallocation of unused state funds, for operating the central office, stating that the Supreme Court's decision made this imperative.

At this point the Committee adjourned for the luncheon interval.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER

Miss Stoney said that copies of the annual audit had been mailed to members of the Executive Committee before February 17th. She quickly reviewed the principle figures in the audit, and presented January and some February figures. For this meeting of the Executive Committee it had not been possible to get out current finance figures in advance, but for future meetings, she would plan to let the Executive Committee know the finance figures as currently as possible, at least a week before each meeting. Attention was called to the item of interest earned on the funds

held by the Council.

TAX-EXEMPTION

The Executive Director brought up this matter which had arisen by reason of an application by the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation, now currently assisted by SRC, for formal tax-exemption. Only partial exemption had been granted in the Treasury's preliminary ruling, and an appeal had been made on behalf of the Georgia Committee for a hearing in order that full tax-exemption might be obtained. Suggestions were made of other states on which the test issue of tax-exemption might suitably be made. Among them were Tennessee and Kentucky.

LOYALTY CERTIFICATES

The Staff had circulated to members of the Executive Committee, previous to this meeting, a notice that in one instance a state chairman had, on grounds solely of conscience, refused to comply with the request for a statement that the employed staff of his state organization were believed by him to be loyal. This was necessary for compliance with the arrangements made by the November 23rd meeting of the Executive Committee.

Mr. Wright moved that the Executive Director be authorized to suspend the requirement in any instance when the person felt that he would violate his conscience by signing such a statement.

A substitute motion by Mr. Christopher that the Committee rescind its former action was withdrawn upon the ruling of the Chairman of the Executive Committee that the Executive Committee had no power to annul the action of the Board of Directors. The motion formally passed was "That it is the policy of the Board in cases where in local organizations on conscientious grounds the certificate is not made, that the Executive Director of the Council be empowered to make the certificate, if, in his opinion, the person is loyal."

FURTHER DISCUSSION ON REPORT OF PROGRAM PLANNING COMMITTEE

The Executive Director stated that he deplored the age-old thinking that the South is unique, and saw no long-range necessity for an SRC. The emerging pattern for human relations programs in most parts of America is local organizations. The present effort of the Southern Regional Council is to get going, while the Council continued in life, state agencies which could look forward to becoming permanent and perhaps state-aided bodies. The money received from the Fund for the Republic had been for central office expense and for setting up state organizations. A clear commitment had been given to the Fund for the Republic not to spend for central office operation a greater proportion of the total grant than had been agreed upon. If more funds are needed for the operation of the central office, it was the Executive Director's opinion, such funds should be raised by the Countil itself. He thought that it would be a breach of trust if money earmarked for the states was used for the central office. He rejected all reasoning that the Supreme Court decision had not been expected, stating that for months before the Supreme Court decision he and other members of the staff had said repeatedly and in public that the decision would be a stern declaration of principle, with provision for moderate delay and adjustment in application. This had been the decision which had come from the Court, and the type of organization forecast and undertaken by the Southern Regional Council had been, in his view, neatly adapted to the situation presented by the Supreme Court's decision. He said that the state organizations were weak as yet, and in some instances not as aggressive as he had hoped that they might be. But he thought that they were wisely and constructively planned and would be taken up by the better forces in the South. Generally speaking, he stood firmly by what had been committed and said that unless directed otherwise, he would continue to administer the Council's program toward the fulfillment of those commitments.

Mr. Abram said that at the last meeting of the Program Planning Committee, the Committee had been convinced that the staff personnel had a clear grasp of the pre-planned program. But that the point of difference was that the Committee thought it important that the central office get funds necessary to enable it

to do the things that they k new ought to be done, and to free all members of the staff for full performance in accordance with their duties. He thought that for lack of those funds the Southern Regional Council would suffer and increasingly so. He suggested that if the matter of promotion of Changing Patterns, for instance, were laid before the Fund for the Republic, that they would regard a freeing of funds for that purpose as statesmanship rather than as a breach of faith. He agreed that it would be a mistake to go back and request more funds, but suggested that it was practicable and in keeping with the total commitment to make it known to the Fund for the Republic that the central office needed so many thousands of dollars to do the things which the Council ought to be doing. The Executive Director said that the right answer to that is that the Southern Regional Council ought to raise x-thousand of dollars.

Mr. Abram said that the role of the Council is that of working with other organizations to meet a crisis, and required greater resources than at present seem practicable. He moved that the Executive Director should feel morally and legally free to charge to state organization funds, not only travel and direct expenditures in connection with the organization of and services to state organizations, but also the attendant overhead and other costs of operation of the central office, and that sufficient funds therefore be made available to the central staff. And that it is the consensus of the Executive Committee that the Executive Committee be made responsible for the allocation of these funds.

The Executive Director stated that he would consider the motion as advisory and not directive, and in the absence of direction on that point would not comply. After discussion Mr. Abram withdrew his motion.

The Executive Director said that it was necessary for the Southern Regional Council to raise money within the South to get these jobs done. He suggested that as a starter the Executive Committee make it clear to the Board that each Board member should get or give $100 before Spetember 30, 1955, and that the Executive Committee should begin this itself.

To further questions by Mrs. Birnie and Mr. Griffin as to why travel expense in assistance to state organizations could not be charged to the, it was replied that in certain instances this was being done -- but under carefully circumscribed limitations.

Upon motion of Mr. Abram, it was recommended to the Board by the Executive Committee that "It is the policy of the Executive Committee that each member of the Council be asked to get or give $100 a year." It was amended by Miss Wilkins to say that "In our meeting of February 17th, the Executive Committee pledged itself to get $100 each, and we are asking the other members of the Board to join us." The motion was carried as amended.

Mr. Wright asked the Program Planning Committee to draw up recommendations and present them to the next meeting of the Executive Committee. He said that in particular it was an urgent need for the Executive Committee and the Board to play a more intimate part in the whole procedure of the Council.

Mr. Abram suggested that some members of the Executive Committee and the Board be asked to discuss with various members of the central office staff the work being done, and said that in the field of policy a committee could be arranged.

FINANCE COMMITTEE

Mr. Parrish said that it would seem desirable that a finance committee of the Board begin to make connections with the finance committees in the states. If there is an interchange of ways of getting money within the states, then all the states could profit by the success of others.

The Executive Director reported that Mr. Edward Vinson has agreed to serve on a Finance Committee, although he is not willing to accept the chairmanship of the Committee. Various members in discussion pointed out that all, or most, members of the Finance Committee might come from the Board, and that whoever was elected as Treasurer might become a member of the Board.

Mr. Wright undertook early conference with the staff in order to agree upon personnel for a Finance Committee.

POSSIBLE STATEMENT BY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Mr. Fleming, after discussion of suggestions for a statement made by Mr. Wright and others, read a first draft of a proposed statement calculated to say something to encourage people whose impulses are right, but who are discouraged by the general climate and to emphasize the Council's own position at this stage. Discussion revealed that the Committee was agreeable to authorizing Mr. Fleming to reduce the length of the statement for release; that the statement whould carry the names of members of the Executive Committee; that the statement be sent to Board members with official notice of adoption of the statement on behalf of the Board.

Mr. Hancock made the motion that the ExecutiveCommittee issue such a statement, and the motion carried.

OTHER BUSINESS

The Executive Director made the motion that some additional member of the staff, along with himself and Miss Stoney be authorized concurrently to sign checks. After discussion, the following resolution was adopted:

RESOLVED THAT the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, being the competent body under the By-Laws of the Council, by this instrument empowers Harol C. Fleming to countersign with the Secretary-Treasurer, official checks on the Council's money in his capacity as Assistant Director.

The cooperation of the Executive Committee in disposing of the Council's stock of Answers for Action was requested. The publication is still going well, but in a few more weeks or months will be made out of date by the new decision of the Supreme Court.

The Executive Director proposed that the next annual meeting of the Board be held in New Orleans, and was authorized to make inquiries among the members of the Council, and to report to the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Southern Regional Council

May 26, 1955

The meeting was called to order at 10:00 am.m., May 26, 1955, in the Lounge of the Wesley Memorial Building, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Chairman, presiding. The following members of the Executive Committee were present:

Marion A. Wright, President
Rufus E. Clement, Chairman
Gordon Hancock, Vice-President
Paul Christopher
Mrs. Cassandra M. Birnie
Miss Josephine Wilkins
John Griffin
Harry V. Richardson

The Executive Committee convened in executive session, in the course of which Miss Katherine Stoney, Secretary-Treasurer, appeared before the Committee. At the beginning of the regular session, the following staff members joined the meeting:

George Mitchell
Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Harold Fleming
C. H. Parrish
John Constable
Frederick B. Routh
Katherine Stoney
Elizabeth Brantley

The Invocation was given by Dr. Gordon Hancock.

Dr. Clement reported that in executive session the resignation of Miss Stoney had been considered. After discussing the matter with Miss Stoney, the Committee had accepted her resignation, effective July 15, 1955, with deep regret and with great appreciation for the years of valuable service which she has rendered to the Southern Regional Council. A formal letter expressing the Committee's sentiments will be sent to Miss Stoney.

A committee composed of Dr. Clement, Mr. Haas, and Dr. Mitchell was appointed to explore the question of a successor to Miss Stoney.

MINUTES OF PREVIOUS MEETING

The minutes of the Executive Committee meeting of February 17, having been previously mailed to each member, were proposed for adoption. Upon motion, the last paragraph, beginning on page 4 and ending on page 5, was deleted. The minutes, thus amended, were approved.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Dr. Mitchell reviewed the progress of the state organization effort. Organizations are under way or almost under way in eleven of the twelve states. Florida, the one state not yet having employed staff, is expected to do so within the next week or so.

Since the inception of the state programs, New South renewals and new subscriptions have totaled 840, including 133 sent directly to the central office and 707 forwarded by the states. He expects New South subscriptions to reach 3,000 by the end of the calendar year.

Slightly more than half the states have raised or are within reach of the $1800 they are expected to raise. The remaining states expect to raise the required amount during the summer and early fall.

Most of the state groups have done little toward employing Negro personnel. Funds available from SRC have not been sufficient to enable them to take on full-time associates. Dr. Mitchell has written a letter to the Fund for the Republic -- a copy of which went to each Executive Committee member -- proposing reallocation of unexpended grant funds. Under this proposal, a portion of the unexpended funds would be used to enable the states to employ associate directors for a guaranteed period of at least 15 months.

Dr. Mitchell spoke of deficiencies in the programs of the state organizations and the difficulties of converting simple inter-racial committees into stron human relations agencies. The Mississippi Council is weak, fonfronted as it is by a tense and even dangerous situation in the state; there has been some evidence of reprisals against Mrs. Lyells, the Executive Director.

The Texas Commission is weak in terms of both staff performance and board membership; at present, it is seeking a Negro associate director.

Travel. The Executive Director's extensive travels have given him the opportunity to visit some of the state groups. He had accepted an invitation to address the National Conference of Social Work in San Francisco on the subject of desegregation. During the summer, he is scheduled to teach one-week labor institutes in Kentucky, Arizona, North Carolina, and Arkansas. These trips are recognized as unduly time consuming, but he emphasized the importance of assisting the labor movement in the South to be helpful in effecting desegregation.

Staff. There are four recent or impending vacancies on the central office staff. Miss Holden resigned early in May; Mrs. Hamilton will return to the Atlanta Urban League on July 1; Mrs. Fiszman expects to move from Atlanta shortly; and Miss Stoney's resignation will be effective in mid-July.

Tax-Exemption. A Treasury Department hearing has been set for June 8 on the Georgia Committee's application. Dr. Wells, Dr. Mitchell, and Mr. Abram will appear at the hearing and attempt to establish a tax-exemption precedent for all the state organizations.

Funds. The Council has raised slightly more than the $40,000 required to meet the terms of the Fund for the Republic grant: however, additional funds must be raised to meet operating costs between now and September, and an unprecedented amount must be raised for the forthcoming year. The Executive Director stated that financial plans for the current fiscal year had perforce to count upon comparatively complete payment by the Executive Committee members of the pledges of $100 to the Council, and good payment by members of the Board.

FINANCIAL REPORT - Katherine Stoney

Miss Stoney stated that the central office has been operating with salary expenses of $5,000 per month. About $2,500 has been

spent in addition for travel and office supplies and equipment. The average amount collected per month has been $1500.00. From total expenses of $7,500 can be subtracted the average amount collected per month ($1,500), which leaves the amount needed per month as $6,000. For next year, the central office can expect a total of $24,000 from the Fund for the Republic, and from other sources approximately $23,000.

Exhibits passed around at the meeting are attached.

Georgia is well ahead on raising money. Kentucky is not doing so well. Mississippi is way behind because of the tense situation there. Arkansas only had about seventeen members and has had to start from the beginning, but has raised about $600 or $700. Laggard states are North Carolina and Mississippi.

Mr. Wright at this point stated that there seems to be a North Carolina Statute which requires fund-raising organizations to get a permit from the Board of Charities and Public Welfare. The question came up as to whether the old charter should be renewed or if a new charter should be obtained. North Carolina is now in process of getting a charter and Mr. Wright felt that as soon as that is cleared up North Carolina will proceed ahead.

Mrs. Hamilton stated that she would like to make an observation and to raise a question. Observation. The states which are laggard in terms of rund-raising tend to be the ones which are advanced in terms of program development. Question. Whether the financial situation as presented by Miss Stoney has any relevance for the Executive Committee in terms of the request for assistance from the Fund for the Republic in the second period?

She asked that the question be recorded for future discussion.

STAFF REPORTS

Mrs. Tilly

Mrs. Tilly spoke of the difficulty of her choice between going on as Executive Director of the Georgia Committee and becoming

affiliated with the central office of the Southern Regional Council to be in charge of women's work. She decided to join the Council because she believed that the Council itself was the organization which could work most effectively for the benefit of the whole South.

She reported that she had held a Southwide meeting of women from every denomination and from every major church organization represented in the South. State meetings of church women had been held in Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana, and she was planning for a meeting in Florida in the Fall and for others later on.

Assistant Director of Information (Harold Fleming)

The hoped for subsidy for reprinting Changing Patterns did not materialize, but promotion on the first printing has continued. The first printing of Changing Patterns is almost exhausted and an estimated cost of $500 was reported as necessary for a fairly large reprinting. About 6,000 promotion leaflets have been mailed out to libraries, professional associations, and to persons who have in the past purchased material from SRC.

In exploration of the possibility of newsstand placement of SRC publications, it was concluded that New South is not a suitable item for that type of distribution. It is believed, however, that it would be possible to put Changing Patterns on the newsstands if it were available.

Attention was called to a bulletin board of clippings about SRC, which had been prepared for the meeting by Mr. Constable and Mr. Fleming. Special reference was made to the statement issued by the Executive Committee (authorized at the meeting of February 17) as it appeared in the New York Times, and various other news stories on the statement. The scrapbook about the Council was available, and members of the Committee were invited to look through it.

February New South is almost exhausted; copies of it were used (in addition to subscriptions) for promotion purposes. March

New South featured articles by Marion Wright and Guy Wells. April New South was the pay-off of an idea of two years ago, a report on an article by Robert McKay about legalities of segregation and public recreation recently published in the Virginia Law Review, and the text of the park decision. May New South features baseball, a comprehensive report of which was obtained by John Constable through letters of inquiry and articles. Also in this issue will be the report on findings of a survey carried out by the Atlanta Urban League.

Some information and advisory services have been furnished to the state organizations, and it is hoped that the New Hope meeting will help the state organizations along the same lines.

It was reported that charges against the Council are continuing in the Augusta Courier and in some other publications. The Council does have occasion once in awhile to supply answers to scotch criticisms.

Desirable to have a statement to issue on behalf of the Council as quickly as possible after the final decree of the Supreme Court (expected May 30th). Suggested that the statement need not be prepared in advance, but should be prepared as quickly thereafter as possible.

Motion was made and carried that a statement be issued in the name of the President following the Supreme Court's final decree.

Assistant Director of State Organizations
(C. H. Parrish)

Mr. Parrish reviewed in particular the work of the consultants in Kentucky, and described the efforts to get a rather similar program under way in Tennessee. Other states in which he had worked were touched upon.

He said that he had been working with interracial groups for many years and has noted great changes in these organizations within the last few years. He has been putting emphasis on process rather than product. People usually ask more questions about what

the organizations are going to do than about how many members they have. They are concerned about the purposes for which money is being raised and the ends to which people are associating themselves. He rejected the idea of paying salaries to raise money to raise more salaries. He emphasized the importance to the state organizations of a good working relationship between the Executive Directors and strong Boards.

Assistant Director of State Organizations
(Frederick B. Routh)

Mr. Routh opened his report with a reaffirmation of faith in the need of strong organizations in each state, and sufficient time and energy should be converted to that end. Looking over the whole field of the twelve state organizations, there is a need for strengthening their Boards and for integrating them. In some of the states there is a sort of remembrance of old days, but that's a "changing pattern." Back to the concept of process, this is not a pushbutton operation where suddenly twelve states are on-going self-perpetuating organizations. In terms of process we have to begin to help direct it toward that end and there should be continuing assumption of responsibility to see that this organization becomes a self-sustaining human relations organization. There is a feeling of paternalism, not only on the part of white persons, but also on the part of Negroes. This has been greatly evidenced in some states; it is important to understand that paternalism is not only on one side of the fence. Maternalism is also evident. Some of the elderly ladies have been reluctant to build a stronger Board with new blood. A most powerful factor in the whole process of desegregation and the integration which will follow is the determination of the Negro people to make it work.

Routh then sketched in with comments the status of the state programs in Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, Mississippi and Louisiana. He spoke with praise of the Boards in Arkansas, Kentucky, and Florida; commented upon the development of a Policy Advisory Committee in Georgia; and praised the Board in Virginia.

Assistant Director for Program
(Mrs. G. T. Hamilton)

After the luncheon interval Mrs. Hamilton read a summary of her year's work with the Southern Regional Council as attached. Attached, also, is a copy of Mrs. Hamilton's "Proposals for the Development of State Organizations," as discussed with the Program Committee. She further stated that in the light of her forthcoming return to the Atlanta Urban League she had expressed a willingness to consider a part-time consultantship to the Council.

After Mrs. Hamilton's report, Mr. Griffin offered a resolution of appreciation for her services, which had been so well rendered to the Council, and the resolution was approved.

A question being asked as to whether Mrs. Hamilton would become a partime consultant, theExecutive Director said that Mr. Parrish would be full-time in the central office during the months of June and July. The Executive Director would like to consult with Mr. Parrish and would lean heavily on his advice about staffing and the matter of replacing Mrs. Hamilton.

Mr. Wright asked that Mrs. Hamilton send in a written communication answering the questions raised in her report, being questions 1-6.

It was asked if the report was intended to be constructive criticism of what SRC is not doing. Mrs. Hamilton replied that the report represented a year's evaluation of the program as she saw it, and was designed to be a constructive appraisal. The questions she raised are the ones which are the obligation of the responsible body of the organization to deal with and answer. On the basis of the answers it then becomes the responsibility of the professional staff in its various categories to implement.

Mrs. Birnie stated that she felt that the report was healthy criticism and that she would like to see the Committee consider it seriously, and discuss how to go about working out answers to the questions raised.

Mrs. Hamilton stated that in appraising usefulness of the state organizations appropriate measures were not how many members, how much money, etc.,but for what? Some discussions occurred in the November annual meeting of the Board about to what end efforts were to be directed in building state organizations. What means were the central office considering to see what assistance was made available which would serve whatever these ends were? She thought that the organization could be a little clearer about the means toward the end which are the most effective at this time.

Mr. Hancock asked that the questions be more specific if they are to be stated as criticisms.

Mr. Parrish stated that only now can the implications of all the things that have happened during a little over a year be grasped. Since the decision it has been very difficult to forecast what might be done. This should be appraised as a very fluid situation in which we are operating. It has been more or less a matter of doing what seemed most appropriate at the moment.

Mr. Richardson stated that at this time we are trying to work out a more effective method of procedure between the central office and state organizations. Are there any one or two items which deserve consideration by the Executive Committee now?

Mrs. Hamilton stated the need for increased participation by all of the various segments of this movement. All insight and wisdom needed to be channeled as well as it is possible to devise. It has been her experience that people invest money in those things in which a desire is evidenced for investment other than money. The organization really needs to consider how to recognize the ways in which its members, its sponsors, its affiliated groups can participate in its deliberations and decision-making.

Mr. Wright asked if Mrs. Hamilton meant that perhaps staff makes decisions on certain questions of policy whereas the Board or the Executive Committee should be participating and supporting in such decisions.

More frequent meetings of the Executive Committee were recommended.

1955 ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD

The Executive Director reported that he had corresponded with Mr. Milton C. Vigo re holding the forthcoming 1955 Board meeting (presumably November 9th) at New Orleans, and Mr. Vigo had felt that it could be arranged. After discussion of the matter of housing arrangements for persons attending the conference motion was carried that holding the meeting in New Orleans depended upon satisfactory housing arrangements for the group.

FINANCE COMMITTEE

The Executive Director reported on efforts made thus far to get a working Finance Committee. Suitable members of the Board and some other persons not on the Board had been invited at the instance of the President of the Council, Mr. Marion Wright, to meet in Atlanta and discuss arrangements for a Finance Committee. Those requested to serve in the Atlanta area were: Rufus E. Clement, Leonard Haas, Philip Hammer, Benjamin Mays, L. D. Milton, J. M. Richards, Josephine Wilkins, Edward Vinson, Morris Abran, George Goodwin, and Morton Weiss. Of this number the following had attended a Finance Committee meeting on May 3rd: Mr. Weiss, Mr. Abran, Mr. Clement, Miss Wilkins, and Mr. Haas.

The meeting reviewed the problem of raising the large sum which will be needed next year. Assuming that expenditures will continue at the present rate, a total of about $88,000 would need to be raised. Toward this amount, the Executive Director reported to the Committee meeting May 3rd that usual SRC sources might be counted on to produce $23,000. He supposed that special grants from foundations, which had assisted SRC in the past or might probably be interested, would amount to $20,000. From the Fund for the Republic we would receive $24,000. These three items will total $67,000 leaving a balance needed to be raised of $21,000. It might be possible to effect economies in the coming fiscal year which would bring the total down to $17,000.

The Finance Committee meeting May 3rd had thought that area

finance committees, respectively for the upper South, the Southeast, and the Southwest, might each take on one-third of that load. It had been proposed that each area finance committee set itself a goal of $10,000.

The Executive Director reported that suitable persons to be on the Upper South and the Southwestern finance Committee had not yet been approached. Neither had it as yet been possible to find a person to serve as Treasurer although the special sub-committee of the Executive Committee was still searching for such a person.

Mrs. Hamilton stated that she would include in her forthcoming memorandum some suggestions as to financing, and particularly as that might be related to staff responsibilities.

At the Finance Committee meeting Mr. Clement had volunteered to write out to various church officials to include SRC in their budgets. An plans were made at the Executive Committee meeting to carry through on this.

NEW HOPE STAFF MEETING

It was reported that on June 1st, 2nd, and 3rd the principal employed staff from the going state organizations would be brought to Camp New Hope near Chapel Hill for conference and discussion, including opportunity to be for an hour or two in the home of Dr. W. W. Alexander, former Director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, who lived in that vicinity.

The state staff coming in had been asked to prepare descriptions of the purposes of each state organization, of ways in which the purposes were manifested within the state, and the role of the Board of Directors, staff, and other lay committees toward accomplishing these objectives.

Staff reviews would also be held with the group by various persons from the central office, including the Assistant Director for Information and the Secretary-Treasurer.

PROPOSED TWO-DAY MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The motion was carried that at as early a date as practicable, the Executive Committee be convened for a two-day session, dates to be arranged by the Executive Director. Mr. Christopher offered his services in securing a suitable place at Gatlinburg, and in the hope of such a meeting in one or two months there, the present meeting adjourned.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Southern Regional Council

August 16-18, 1955

Opening meeting August 16th in Room 100 of the Mamoth Cave Hotel. Present were: Mr. Parrish, Mr. Wright, Mr. Christopher, Mrs. Tilly, Mrs. Alexander, Mr. Fleming, Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Constable, Mr. Routh, Elizabeth Brantley.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

All of the twelve Southern states which we undertook to organize now have paid staff. On the quotas of money to be raised by the state programs, Georgia and Texas appear to have met or exceeded their quota; Louisiana, South Carolina, and Alabama are regarded as safe; and North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Arkansas are lagging. Virginia and Florida are unpredictable, as they were organized so recently.

On the employment of associate directors in accordance with permission given SRC by the Fund for the Republic for a reallocation of state monies unused by reason of late starts Mississippi and Arkansas have taken on full-time associates, and Florida and South Carolina seem likely to do so at any time. Virginia has a half-time associate, and consultants are being used on a satisfactory basis in Kentucky and Tennessee. No acceptable provision has been made yet for using associates in Alabama, North Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas.

Arrangements are proceeding for nominations in accordance with the changes made in the by laws at the last meeting of the Board of Directors.

The Program Planning Committee was invited to attend a recent important conference of staff and outside persons at Atlanta University, and two members were present.

Little has been done toward raising funds for next year. There remains to be appointed a finance committee for the Upper South and one for the Southwest.

Work done by various of the staff members was touched upon briefly in anticipation of fuller reports from the staff members themselves later on.

New South has something over 3,000 paid subscriptions. The arrangement for recruitment of subscribers through state organizations is proceeding satisfactorily. It should not be long before we will have 5,000 paid subscriptions.

Complications in obtaining tax-exemption from the U. S. Treasury for the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation were described, and the employment of Mr. Morris Abram as attorney to represent the Georgia Committee (and also the SRC's interest) was set forth. As yet no official reply has been received to the appeal made by the Georgia Committee, and SRC, for reversal of the first only partially favorable grant of tax-exemption.

Kentucky has been granted full tax-exemption by its Louisville Treasury office. Mrs. Tilly stated that she had not been consulted about application for tax-exemption for the Georgia Committee.

Reference was made to attendance by state staff people at a two weeks Race Relations Institute at Fisk University of June, which was regarded as training expense (cost approximately $2,000).

As Mr. Wright had, months ago, requested that job descriptions and organizational charts be made available before executive sessions of the Executive Committee, these were handed out to members of the Committee.

The Executive Director reported that space was increasingly at a premium in the central office, and consideration was being given to the addition of removable partitions.

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR FOR STATE ORGANIZATIONS - Mr. Routh

Reviewed the progress of the twelve states. In order reasonably to compress the minutes, only one or two highlights of the description

of each state will be here given.

Alabama has over 300 members, divided into seven districts, of which five are so far organized.

Arkansas has an excellent board, representative of the state, and a fully integrated staff.

Georgia is seeking an associate director. Possibility of use of consultants.

Kentucky excellent success with consultants arrangement.

Louisiana proceeding on a basis of district organizations, but handicapped by lack of experience and of a representative state-wide board.

Mississippi. In absence of Rabbi Mantinband, Msgr. Brunini is acting chairman. Has just employed as associate director a white Methodist woman part-time.

North Carolina. Start has been slow, but progress not unsatisfactory. They need a more active board.

South Carolina. Has new state chairman, Claude Evans, editor of the Christian Advocate.

Tennessee. Proceeding well with a consultant's program. New acting chairman, Haskell Miller of Chattanooga. Has employed an office manager in lieu of an Executive Director.

Texas, until recently not an impressive program, but much more acting since the meeting at Fisk University.

Virginia. Good board and good staff, but new as yet.

Florida. Took on staff August 15th.

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR FOR STATE ORGANIZATIONS - Mr. Parrish

Mr. C. H. Parrish described the genesis of the idea of consultants in his Alabama trip for SRC in the Spring of 1954. He had then seen that this device would enable the use of top people, whose services could not be had on a full-time basis. He also questioned the wisdom of employing integrated staff just for the sake of having it.

He described the meeting held at Atlanta University August 10th and 11th of a number of top people suitable for use as consultants to SRC's central program. Among those present were: Robert Jones of the American Friends Service Committee, Harry Walker, Howard University, Emory Jackson, Birmingham World; Ruby Hurley, Southeastern NAACP representative; Lewis Killian, Florida State University; Whitney Young, Atlanta University School of Social Work; Hylan Lewis, Atlanta University; Irene Osborne, American Friends Service Committee; Lewis Jones, Rural Life Council, Tuskegee Institute; Lee Coleman, University of Kentucky; Francis Manis, University of Tennessee; Christopher Mercer, Associate Director, Arkansas Council on Human Relations; Bonita Valien of Fisk University and the Southern Education Reporting Service; Edward Weaver, Atlanta University; A. L. Whiting, Morris Brown College; and R. O Johnson, Atlanta University.

These persons had been brought together for two days for critical comment on the work and possibilities of SRC. The meeting had been of substantial help to the staff in shaping a proposal to the Fund for the Republic for funds to finance a long range consultants program.

Meeting reconvened at 9:00 a.m. August 17th in Blue Room of Mammoth Cave Hotel. Present were: Mr. Wright, Mr. Christopher, Mrs. Tilly, Mrs. Alexander, Mr. Fleming, Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Constable, Mr. Routh, Mr. Parrish, Elizabeth Brantley.

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR FOR INFORMATION - Mr. Fleming

Reported that under Duke grant arrangements had been made to take on a new employee, Miss Florence Irving, as combined librarian and reference assistant. She was to be in conversation with the

Librarian at Duke University before reporting to Atlanta in order that the material she would file might be brought into conformity with the filing methods in use at the Duke Library.

The information office has been helpful in sending out various books. Among them The Negro and the Schools, Schools in Transition, and Equality by Statute.

Mr. Wright expressed an interest in wider use of display devices in getting printed materials distributed. Mr. Fleming handed to the members of the Committee a photostated volume of clippings on SRC program as lately supplied to the Fund for the Republic.

Widespread information requests continue to come in growing volume. Mr. Wright raised the question of desirability of having someone on information staff whose time would go solely to promotion.

Mr. Fleming stated that this involved a matter of balance in terms of the whole staff. Information program is now handsomely subsidized, having, in addition to himself, an editorial assistant, a reference librarian, in prospect, and some portion of the general clerical costs of the office. To add a promotion person would cost a good deal.

Wright, If Money were available, could such a person actually earn salary by increasing distribution?

Fleming. Hard to answer. Circulation and distribution of publications are undoubtedly related to whole expanding influence of SRC. Each of the staff people is now a sort of willy-nilly promotion agent for New South, which is not the kind of publication that can be promoted like large magazines.

Routh. Additional place needed in the state organizations end for a high-type clerical person to handle office business when he is out in the field.

Parrish. Best use of New South is in the development of state organizations.

Fleming. Highest priority of the Council at present has to be given to state organizations, because that is the job undertaken, and it is really the sustaining part of the organization; a natural engine. Expansion of New South will be in proportion to the development of state organizations.

Mr. Wright made the further suggestion that displays be arranged at religious and other conferences, and some discussion ensued as to the practicability of this.

Mrs. Tilly was of the opinion that it would pay to advertise New South in church organs.

WOMEN'S WORK -- Mrs. M. E. Tilly

Recent statement by the United Church Women of Georgia was believed to have been helpful in the present Georgia controversy on public school matters. Southwide meeting of church women had been fruitful of many local conferences, and Mrs. Tilly was still having a demand for further mimeographed findings or "Gleanings." State meetings following up that conference had been held in Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, and Louisiana. And another to be held soon in Florida. She had been given a tiny budget from the Southern Regional Council, permitting a total of six such additional meetings at $200 each, but this was too little for the effort underway.

She had put in a good deal of time at camps for young people this Summer, and she thought with quite helpful results. Christopher said he would be helped by articles coming from Southern ministers on what the church could do in helping to dispell racial prejudices.

Discussion on ways in which New South could reach a wider audience. Mr. Christopher suggested that pictures be carried in each issue. Mr. O. B. Taylor of Knoxville, a medical doctor, influential in that town, was thought of as possibly quite helpful in getting additional people in Knoxville to subscribe to New South. He, Christopher, would be willing to list people he knows to be checked against SRC's contacts in Tennessee. Further discussion on ways of getting increased interest of union people in SRC and in New South.

Parrish. A certain degree of autonomy needs to be recognized in Tennessee (or any other state). Matter of training staff persons and training boards so that they can involve people who need to be involved. Tennessee has not long been set up and is now trying to raise money and make contacts in local communities. Has not yet had opportunity to get around and make contacts in the states with all persons who might be interested in working with the organization. Needs staff person to devote full-time to (1) approaching persons at the state level through existing organizations, and (2) approaching persons at the grass roots level to induce action. Limited resources (financially and staff-wise) and it is now a matter of reaching people closest to the seat of the organization and then spreading out. In favor of state organizations making contacts with people in the state who might make other contacts, but the difficulty of follow-up arises. Large cities are going to take care of themselves in the sense that leadership is available which can be mobilized to work; in smaller towns there are no organizations, and that is where the difficulty is going to be. SRC's function in larger cities would be to coordinate the activities of existing organizations; in outlying places, it is a matter of person to person contact to get things moving.

Wright. Wouldn't it be true that if resources are needed, the easiest and quickest way of getting them would be for the state directors to contact key men in labor, churches, etc.?

Fleming. Reexamined some of the assumptions under which SRC operates. Agrees that if you change conduct, ideas change. Now New South aims at people who are in position to make a change in group situations; institutions, organizations, etc., who are in position in some way to get things done within their own organizations. When that group changes its practices, then you are really getting an attitude. New South then is not aimed at mass audience, but at people who can achieve group or institutional change. The content of it is directed toward that end; showing organizationas what has been done and what could be done in changing attitudes. As far as circulation goes, New South probably has a clear maximum of 20,000, if people are to be reached and reached well. Not trying to change people's attitudes, but there are some people who are of good will and don't know what to do and have to be told. For state organizations

New South is an instrument to feed ideas to people who are persuaded, but don't know what to do.

Wright. Mr. Christopher's position is that we make New South sufficiently attractive to pick up curiosity, and then to draw subscriptions through that curiosity.

Fleming. New South is a twelve page magazine which comes out monthly, into which can be gotten 4,000 or maybe 5,000 words if squeezed. People who are not interested in what you are going to see will hardly be persuaded to buy just on the strength of a picture. To do that sort of thing would require an entirely different kind of publication -- a regearing of the present format.

REPORT OF THE ACTING SECRETARY-TREASURER-Mrs. Alexander

She reported that the first grant period from the Fund for the Republic ran from April 1, 1954, through September 30, 1955. In that time, the Southern Regional Council was required to raise $40,000 independently of the FFR. Between the dates of April 1, 1954, and August 8, 1955, it had raised $46,102.98 exclusive of an additional $2,000 raised by the states, and paid into SRC as subscriptions to New South.

She then exhibited a preliminary budget for the coming fiscal year, beginning October 1, 1955, and showing comparative figures of the twelve months period already elapsed. The preliminary budget was as follows: see yearly budgets

She listed as expenses thus far charged to unexpended state balances, the sum of $30,000 for the coming fiscal year committed for employment of associates by the states; the Fisk conference; $500 borne by the Southern Regional Council for attorney's fee in the matter of tax-exemption for the Georgia Committee; the A. U. Conference August 10th and 11th; the special meeting of the Executive Committee at Mammoth Cave; and the employment of Irene Osborne at a total salary cost of $5,000, plus her travel for six months. This left a prospective balance in the state allocations of $12,500.

The Executive Director, in summarizing prospects for the coming year, said that he felt reasonably confident of raising the following amounts:

Church Organizations	$5,000
Labor Organizations	5,000
Small Foundations	1,000
Dues of Associate Members	500
Sale of Literature	3,000
New South, non-state	1,000
" " , state	5,000
Honoraria	1,000
Board and Exec. Com.	2,000

He thought that foundations known to be friendly might contribute an additional $7,500, bringing the total up to $31,000. In addition, we would carry over from the Duke grant and the Field grant approximately $11,500, making a grand total of $42,500. We are committed to raise $55,000 for the coming fiscal year, in order to meet our obligation to the FFR. If the figures just given are reasonable, we are still $12,500 short in prospect of enough to raise even the $55,000. The budget just shown (based on approximately present personnel, plus an administrative assistant), was $13,000 in excess of the $80,000 available on the supposition that we raise the $55,000 and that the Fund for the Republic makes its expected contribution of $25,000 for the budget of the central office for the coming fiscal year.

Mr. Christopher made a number of detailed suggestions as to possible sources of funds for the coming year.

The Executive Director reported on the undertaking by members of the Executive Committee to give or raise $1,000 apiece. $100 had been received from Crossman, Clement, Wesley, and Mitchell; Leonard Haas has raised $350; Mr. Christopher had just turned in $64.00 towards his hundred; and Marion Wright was to be credited with the $100 contribution received from Mr. David Stern. Two members of the Board had paid in $100 and it was hoped that others would do so by September 30th. Appropriate letters have been written out to the Board members by Mr. Clement or by the Executive Director.

Mr. Clement's effort with various church officials had brought replies indicating that we might expect later on to receive $1,000 a year from the church bodies.

Meeting reconvened at 5:00 p.m., August 17th in the Blue Room of the Mammoth Cave Hotel. Present were: Mr. Wright, Mr. Christopher; Mrs. Tilly, Mrs. Alexander, Mr. Fleming, Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Constable, Elizabeth Brantley.

Mr. Mitchell reported the resignation of Mr. McDowell Richards from the Executive Committee, in a letter recently received. Mr. Richards has been elected to the position of Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, and it was obvious therefore that his time for outside activities was much curtailed.

Mr. Richards did not resign as a member of the Board of SRC, and he therefore continues in a term expiring at the time of the Board meeting in 1955.

Whereupon on motion it was agreed that the resignation of Mr. McDowell Richards, as a member of the Executive Committee, be accepted with regret, and that the Executive Director was to write Mr. Richards re.

AWARDS PROGRAM

Mr. Mitchell described the proposal originally opened by staff members of the Fund for the Republic for awards to Southern communities which had done outstandingly well in school desegregation. The idea had been handed on to Mr. Wright who had developed it in a substantial draft, a copy of which was given out to those present. Subsequent discussion developed that it had been suggested that persons from the central office of the Southern Regional Council would do the investigating as to the quality of performance by local communities; that the program was thought of as running for about a year, that the use made by the local school board of the money might be for any legitimate and unsegregated purpose in connection with the school. Some persons present saw virtue in stretching the program out over a period of two years. It was said that there is no time limit set in the proposals made. The Executive Director stated that it would be his purpose to write a letter to the Fund for the Republic and enclose the proposal just made, with minor changes, saying that it had the approval of the Executive Committee and the Council would stand ready to handle

a program if authorized and financed.

Mr. John Griffin, not present at this session, but later when present, stated that he doubted the validity of paying public bodies to do their duty.

Mr. Wright, in summarizing the review of the proposals, stated that "we are agreed on the wisdom of filing the proposal in substantially the form suggested, and the Executive Directory may use his judgment as to modification and application of that proposal. It should be said that SRC did not undertake to define the purposes for which awards would be used, only limitation would be that it be used for non-segregated purposes."

Meeting reconvened at approximately 8:00 p.m., August 17th in the Blue Room of the Mammoth Cave Hotel. Present were Mr. Wright, Mr. Christopher; Mr. Dent, Mrs. Tilly, Mr. Parrish, Mrs. Alexander, Mr. Fleming, Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Constable, Mr. Routh, Elizabeth Brantley.

MRS. HAMILTON'S REPORT

The Executive Committee, at its May 26th meeting, had requested a report from Mrs. G. T. Hamilton, then Assistant Director for Program. It had requested that her report, made on August 3rd, and duly distributed to members, be summarized by Mr. Fleming. The entire report here follows:

Date: August 3, 1955

Recognition of certain underlying needs of the Southern Regional Council was the basis for the questions raised in the annual report of the Assistant Director for Program. In the hope that the Executive Committee may give consideration to these needs, they are stated below. An analysis of central office functions and some suggestions for meeting the needs as defined follows in response to the request made by the Executive Committee in its May meeting. In developing the statement of needs and the suggestions for meeting them, I have benefited by the thinking of other members of the staff, although responsibility for the proposals made is mine.

NEEDS.--

1. To find ways to increase the participation and involvement of SRC Board and Executive Committee members in the planning and decision making of the SRC.

2. To develop clearer definition of the role of the SRC during the next two years of anticipated subsidy by the FFR; and for the subsequent time when the FFR grant shall have expired.

3. To achieve central staffing that can effectively handle the expanded functions of SRC in this period.

4. To achieve truly integrated staffing in both state and central office organizations.

5. To develop clear-cut standards for measuring the effectiveness of state organizations and to establish procedures for remedial action when minimum standards are not met.

6. To insure that fund raising required by state organizations is carried on without undue diversion from the main purpose and business of the organization.

7. To develop increased recognition that the problems with which the SRC deals are not uniquely southern, but are part of a larger national and international context and therefore require the understanding, involvement and cooperative efforts of individuals and agencies outside of the region working with those within the region.

THE RELATION OF PURPOSE TO PROGRAM

The purpose of an organization is basic to the determination of the program and of the means of program development of the organization. The following statement is regarded as a "working interpretation" of the SRC's purpose as it is reflected in its program goals:

To encourage the development of an integrated society in the southern region; to extend communication across racial lines as a means to this end; and to use a racially integrated organizational and administrative structure as a means of demonstrating within its own life the objectives which it hopes to achieve in society as a whole. This purpose has been described as a concern for the process by which things are done rather than with the result of what is done.

This purpose is consistent with accepted principles of social change, namely, that efforts directed toward changing the situations which determine behavior is the most effective approach to the change of attitudes since changes in attitude usually follow rathern than procede changes of behavior.

Effective organization depends upon channels for communication and division of responsibility between the professional staff and lay leadership. Specifically, this involves differentiation between the responsibility of groups which should determine the policy within which program develops, and the responsibility of professional staff employed to execute defined program functions.

It is the responsibility of the SRC through its Board and Executive Committee to determine the functions of the organization; the means through which these functions can be supported and maintained; the number and kind of employed personnel needed to discharge the functional obligations; the allocation of available financial resources in terms of the functions agreed upon; and the committee structure through which these decisions can be made, and through which the organizational experience may be evaluated in terms of changes in the social scene.

Continuous and regular evaluation of an organization's work, in the interest of improved functioning, is not possible without division of responsibility, delegation of authority and cleark knowledge of who is responsible for what. It is essential that the decisions of the SRC Board, committees and staff regarding functions and execution of functions be consistent with its purpose - to demonstrate within its own life the objectives it hopes to achieve in society at large. This requires a deliberate consideration of race in the choice of staff and in the delegation of responsibility to staff. This consideration is a factor to be taken into account in addition to the ususal considerations involved in determining professional competence for particular jobs. (See Table 1)

Program development of the SRC depends upon the following functions of the central office.

1. Interpretation of its goal and method to individuals and to regional and national groups, in the effort to develop support, both financial and moral.

2. Continuous program planning as a basis for determining the most effective use of the organization's resourcesin the achievement of its purpose.

3. Advisory and consultative services to affiliated state groups, in the effort to develop support, both financial and moral.

4. Information services, including publications, relations with the press and other media in order to extend the organization's influence for integration.

5. Program services for church women and church related groups in order to encourage and utilize their efforts in the extension of the SRC purpose.

6. Cooperative relationship with other regional and national groups whose purposes relate to those of the SRC, in order that there may be effective use of all channels and resources for achievement of its purpose.

7. Fund raising and support.

The maintenance of supporting office and clerical services is an essential function which is necessary to undergird all other. Uneconomical use of professional personnel occurs unless this is adequately provided.

On the basis of the foregoing analysis of central office functions - and of the present needs of the SRC the following suggestions for modification of structure and staff responsibility are made:

It ;is suggested that the two day meeting of the Executive Committee consider possible revision of committee and staff structure as a basis for the request for a second year's assistance from the FFR and as a basis for the coming year's work. Among the possibilities which might increase involvement and participation of lay leadership are the following:

1. The establishment of a Program Committee as a recognized part of the SRC's machinery. This committee might be charged by the Executive Committee with the responsibility for developing an annual budget for the program proposals approved by the Executive Committee, upon recommendation of the professional staff responsible for major program divisions. (Programs in states, information programs,

church related program, liason relations and wider interpretation.) Because of the changing context within which the SRC operates, it would seem desirable to reserve an unallocated sum annually for such other program projects as may seem desirable to the Executive Director.

The committee should be created with the power to act and would report its actions quarterly to the Executive Committee. Professional staff responsible for divisions of work would be expected to develop and present relevant information, including estimates of cost, in regard to proposals coming before the committee for consideration.

The development of personnel standards, including job description for professional personnel needed to fulfill the functions agreed upon, and standards for salary ranges and increments might be carried by a sub-committee of the Program Committee in order to insure coordination in requirements for the job functions decided upon.

2. The establishment of a Community Services Advisory Committee. This committee might be a useful means to continue the involvement of the persons who are participating in the evaluation of program undertaken in states. This committee might include such full or part time regional "consultants" as may be related to SRC program in states, and such other persons as may be nominated by this group on the basis of their knowledge of and acquaintance with the influencing factors in the nation and region.

3. The establishment of a region-wide committee for Interpretation and Support. This committee would be composed of members of the SRC Board, and of Board members of affiliated state groups. The committee might need to meet as a whole, at least once a year in order to determine goals, division of responsibility and an appropriate basis for sharing of funds between the regional and state organizations. It is thought that the committee would function by areas. The attendance of committee members, from time to time, in such program conferences as may be held within the states of each area, would tend to increase understanding of the goals and methods of the SRC by assuming responsibility for its interpretation and support.

SUGGESTIONS FOR DIVISION OF STAFF RESPONSIBILITY IN THE CENTRAL OFFICE

1. The Executive Director might be freed to utilize more fully his gifts for interpretation and education in behalf of extending understanding of the SRC's purpose and of fund-raising for its support. This would enable

an increased relationship with individuals and groups in the nation and region with which he has the most useful contacts.

In order for this to be possible without detriment to other SRC program functions certain revisions in staff assignments and delegation of responsibilities would be necessary. It is therefore suggested that:

2. Provisions should be made in the central office for staff with responsibility and authority for the business administration, office management, and the coordination of administrative functions. (As distinguished from coordination of program functions.) The responsibilities would include fiscal management, supervision of accounting procedures, the preparation of fiscal analysis needed by staff and committees concerned with program, and the preparation of financial reports. These functions might be filled by one or more persons depending upon the skills of the persons available. (This involves re-definition of the functions of the position of Secretary-Treasurer.)

3. A full-time Negro field representative for the SRC with the professional status of assistant director should be employed. This should be a person qualified in terms of personal orientation to a philosophy of integration. It is suggested that his functions be defined as interpretation of SRC purposes and program to individuals and affiliated state organizations in an effort to strengthen the Boards of state organizations; and to carry the staff work involved in developing the region-wide and area committees for interpretation and support. (These functions might be those of one or more of the "regional consultants" - see 4 following)

PROGRAM IN STATES

4. It is suggested that a group of professional consultants (full or part-time) be secured by the regional office for assistance in program development in states. Their functions could be to assist in the development of leadership in states and at the community level. It is assumed that the evaluation of states' programs will be completed before the request for a second year's grant from the FFR is made; and that the evaluation will provide a basis for determining the type of assistance required from the central office in order to develop programs consistent with the SRC purpose.

This suggestion implies recognition that the central office is responsible for encouraging, strengthening and developing useful programs in the state; and that in many cases, such programs will be developed only with the assistance and guidance and leadership of the SRC regional staff. If unexpended funds in the account of state organizations are made available to the SRC for its second year's work, without sacrifice in the amount of assistance to states proposed for the second year, these funds should be designated for SRC use in the development of

program in states. It is hoped that decisions reached on allocations between central office and state organizations, made at the time FFR grant was received, can be reviewed and revised in the light of developing experience. (See Table 2)

5. It would be useful for the present Negro Director for State Organizations to be maintained on a part-time basis. His repsonsibility might become the coordination of consultants services and of other efforts to develop leadership and program activity in states.

6. It is suggested that there be a "consultant for liaison." This function might be met by a part-time position and might include responsibilities for development of cooperative relationships with national and regional organizations whose program objectives relate to those of the SRC. The responsibility might also include the selection and distribution of materials from other organizational sources for use by consultants, and by other SRC program groups (church women, et.).

7. It is suggested that a main emphasis in the coming year be development of understanding and the initiation of an integrated way of work in states. This may be made possible in a variety of ways, depending upon the state, and upon the nature of its present Board and staff. Continuous evaluation of program and organization in states will be needed in order to determine weakness, and to provide assistance in correcting the weakness revealed. The functions of the regional community consultants might include such evaluation.

CHURCH WOMEN - CHURCH RELATED PROGRAM

It is suggested that work with church women be strengthened through a budget allocation which will permit the planning for meetings of church women in states and adequate travel funds to enable the Secretary for Church Women to maintain regular contacts with the groups through which she works in behalf of the SRC purpose.

INFORMATION PROGRAM

In order to extend the audience for the SRC point of view through its Information Program, the following suggestions are made:

1. That the staff in the Information Program be increased in order to enable differentiation between editorial and promotion functions. Re-enforced by two additonal staff members, the Director of Information could be asked to assume responsibility for development of reports, requests, and other materials needed to provide

the SRC Board, foundations and other groups with an over-all interpretation of program efforts. His editorial skills and over-all comprehension of program could serve the SRC well if these responsibilities were thus delegated.

Two additional staff assistants in the Information Program could then assume responsibility for the functions of (1) fact finding (Position of Information Assistant) and (2) promotion. (The professional staff in the Information Program would thus include four persons.) Designated responsibility and specific attention to expanding circulation of New South and other SRC publications, both within and without the Southern region and within and without the "membership" of state groups, would increase the income from publications as well as e and the usefulness of the information program.

Additional travel funds allocated to the information program would permit the staff to increase its contacts and cultivate relationships with the press and other media.

In considering all of the suggestions for redefinition of staff responsibility, it is taken for granted that there will be flexibility and that the competence of available persons will be a major consideration.

It is also taken for granted that the Executive Committee will re-evaluate the role of the SRC in this period and realistically appraise its resources. On the basis of this evaluation and appraisal the functions of the SRC and possible means to fulfill them can be determined.

Reports following - Estimated costs, income,etc.

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Subsequent discussion was participated in by Mr. Parrish, Mr. Routh, Mr. Dent, Mr. Christopher, Mrs. Tilly, and others.

Dent. Extent to which the Council should influence programs on the state level and the selection of personnel on the state level? Believed that as the grant was to Southern Regional Council and not to the state organizations, SRC has the responsibility for the program which goes on in the states. SRC can't shirk that responsibility behind the guise of democracy and keeping things at the grass roots level. Has the responsibility for setting up a general program. Re clarification of functions between policy making and administration and whether Executive Committee and Board of Directors are fulfilling responsibility. Does SRC have the staff to administer program when it is properly set up? There is a need for clear distinction between what is policy making function and administrative function which belong to the staff, and it is the first point raised in Mrs. Hamilton's memorandum -- whether we are proceeding properly in good administrative procedure?

Christopher. Inclined to agree with Mr. Dent, but does not know how it is going to be done. Does not know how to get Executive Committee together to come to grips with the problem. Is afraid that some of the things recommended in Mrs. Hamilton's report are not practical in application. Proposals are wonderful, but execution of them is another matter. Need money and time to find and train people. Have got to get Executive Committee together to sit down and talk things through from the beginning, without interruptions and without half of them leaving.

Wright. Suggested that three members of the Executive Committee who were present sit down together and go over Mrs. Hamilton's memorandum.

Dent. It is a staff responsibility to work out program, but it is the responsibility of the Executive Committee to work out policy.

Mitchell. Suggested that Mrs. Hamilton be compensated for work

done on her report in the amount of two weeks pay, computed upon the basis of her salary at the time she left the Council.

Dent. Suggested that the Executive Director submit a recommendation re paying Mrs. Hamilton at the next session of the Committee.

Wright. Had the impression that the report was to be prepared during the two or three weeks before the termination of Mrs. Hamilton's employment with the Southern Regional Council.

Dent. The Executive Committee asked for the report and if Mr. Mitchell thinks she should be paid the thing to do is to pay her.

Mitchell. Mrs. Hamilton has a nice orderly mind, but SRC has a disorderly piece of machinery. He would certainly not recommend a sweeping reorganization of the Council. Is satisfied with thepace of change within the staff. Thinks that when funds are available and changes become right and feasible, it becomes a matter of administrative effort to see to it that they are made. In the matter of continuing Mr. Parrish -- he certainly proposed to do so. Many of the things recommended are finding themselves into practice. Have added money to the states' budgets for associates. On e of the recommendations is for a series of sub-committees of the Executive Committee. Believes that the Executive Director would be too boxed in, and that it would be pretty hard to do anything. Would strongly object to that. A program committee must consist of persons in and around Atlanta, Does not think a small number of people in a single city should have final policy power over the show. A ½erspmme; cp,,ottee has been in operation for a good long time. It has not laid down cirteria, but it has laid down salary scales. Has never assisted any formal move to lay down criteria, just thinks that there is no criterion in the South today to who is competent to put together a state organization and make it work. Thinks SRC is better off in the state groups for having the attitude of being willing to use native talent that seems to be of high quality, rather than by carefully prescribed standards. In summary, staff and Executive Committee are doing pretty well, and Executive Director would not welcome an

injunction laid on him to work more closely with a variety of committees, but would follow the dictates of the Executive Committee.

Discussion turned to implications of Mrs. Hamilton's report on fund-raising, and emphasis was given to the desirability of further cooperation with the states in this matter.

Mr. Dent raised the point that, as set forth in Mrs. Hamilton's report, a disproportionate amount of salary money was going to white personnel as against Negro personnel.

Mitchell. The dates of the preparation of the table are important -- table was prepared May 31st. Secretary-Treasurer has moved into Negro bracket, also newly hired information Assistant.

Dent. Expressed concern for the total picture, which stacks up quite to SRC's own disliking.

Wright. To what extent does the Executive Director recommend that SRC more nearly arrive at equality?

Mitchell. Mrs. Alexander for Secretary-Treasurer, Miss Irving for Information Assistant, and a vacancy for a $7,500 Program Director balances the figures a great deal.

Mrs. Tilly stated that she had had dreams of having a Negro woman to work with her in the office, but for the moment her first need was for getting more money to bring church women together. Also, there was a need for additional clerical help.

Wright. How much money would be needed to run Mrs. Tilly's department?

Tilly. At least $5,000 to maintain contacts, not only by states but also within the states.

Dent. Wondered if persons in the South are not impressed more by accident rather than purposeful reading. Not sure that

promotional person to expand New South is quite as important as one paragraph in the daily press and newspaper and magazine articles.

Fleming. New South's audience is highly selective -- people who can use the kind of material it contains. Agrees with Dent that there is much better audience through mass media; wonders whether full-time promotion person to uncover mass audience for New South would not be a very great luxury.

Final meeting convened at approximately 9:00 a.m., August 18th, in the Blue Room of the Mammoth Cave Hotel. Present were: Mr. Wright, Mr. Christopher, Mr. Dent, Mr. Griffin, Mrs. Tilly, Mr. Parrish, Mrs. Alexander, Mr. Fleming, Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Constable, Mr. Routh, Elizabeth Brantley.

Mr. Wright took the position that the Executive Director is a member of the Committee ex-officio, and that as the by-laws did not specifically prohibit his being counted as a member of the quorum, it could be taken that his presence provided the fifth member for a quorum. But he said that efforts should be made to get approval, of any actions taken by the meeting, of some additonal member of the Executive Committee.

In order to make doubly sure the existence of a quorum, at the instance of those full members of the Committee who were present at Mammoth Cave, Mr. John Constable was asked to review with Mrs. Cassandra Maxwell Birnie, a member of the Committee who had been unable to attend, all major actions. Mrs. Birnie, on August 31st, wrote the Executive Director, "This letter, in addition to my letter to you of August 26th, last, will serve as my answer to the poll of the members of the Executive Committee, and my approval of all actions taken at the Mammoth Cave meeting of the Executive Committee."

Wright. Executive Session of the Committee would make such decisions as it thought should be made in view of Mrs. Hamilton's report.

Griffin. It is of critical importance to get further involvement of members of the Board.

Wright. If, when the Executive Director makes his report of activities to members of the Board he would invite those members to make criticisms or suggestions as to what further actions might be taken, a member who did not avail himself of the opportunity to criticize or express his opinions could not consider that he had been deprived of his right as a member of the Board.

Mitchell. On Mrs. Hamilton's being paid for her work on the report, recommended the sum of $350, as the best information he had is that it took about two weeks to complete the report.

PROPOSAL TO THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

The Executive Director read the tentative draft of a letter to the Fund for the Republic, asking for continuance of grant in the coming fiscal year. The final letter was as follows:

August 19, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

This is the request from the Southern Regional Council for continuance of aid from the Fund for the Republic for the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1955.

The letter of grant dated April 2, 1954, in referring to periods after the first eighteen months, reads:

> "The Fund will give consideration to requests for agrant in 1955-56 of not to exceed $150,000 and a grant in 1956-57 of not to exceed $110,000. There is no commitment or intention on the part of the Fund to support the program of the Council after September 30, 1957."

Our letter of March 15, 1954, envisioned a total sum available from the Fund for the Republic for the twelve months October 1, 1955 -

- September 30, 1956, of $22,847.50 for the central office of SRC and $125,433 for aid to the state programs. We would hope that these figures, particularly the $22,847.50, will be rounded upward.

As to financing the state programs, we are content with the amount just set out. For the typical state, that means aid from the second year's grant of about $10,500 with about $3,500 to be raised by each state organization. The longer organized state groups should be able to raise the needed amount without too great strain. The newer ones, staffed within the last few months, will find it harder. But the Fund for the Republic has materially eased the task for them by the terms of your letter of May 25, 1955, enabling the carry-over to the state programs, under given restrictions, of some of the 1954-55 allocations for state programs unused (by reason of late starts with staff) in the current fiscal period. We feel satisfied that the twelve state organizations we have going will be able to continue as planned in the fiscal year 1955-56.

On the central office, we foresee problems, and ask for some further help, over and above that forecast in the original letter of grant.

The Southern Regional Council originally requested help from the Ford Foundation in May, 1951, after, of course, many months of careful preparation of the proposal. There seemed then to be time enough before any crisis period would be upon the South to organize in advance twelve state movements, and get them in condition to carry corrective program when the anticipated strain of desegregation, in various forms, would be upon the South. Generous as was the grant from the Fund for the Republic, its actual date was April, 1954, and the crucial decision of the U. S. Supreme Court on the matter of the public schools came in the next month. The grant perforce had to be trimmed to what seemed the smallest possible amount for getting state organizations going. Specifically, in an effort to flow into the states the maximum of funds for their needs, we agreed to a minimal central office, deemed by us, and I suppose by your own staff, only barely enough to let us go out and organize twelve state movements and give them safe administrative supervision from a central office in Atlanta. Proceeding in the terms of the 1951 request, we were hoping that such a minimal supervisory office would be enough.

In actual fact, history has telescoped the need for supervision of a field organization and the need for rapid training of the field staffs in program looking toward desegregation. The two needs have run concurrently, and will do so for the second grant period, and to some degree probably for the third. Yet we in the central office have only sufficient funds for a routine administrative program, and cannot, under present circumstances, pay for the leadership, detailed instruction, and implementing guidance which the state organizations urgently need.

An obvious answer would be "if you need more, go out and raise it." We are committed already to raising by our own efforts, independently of the Fund for the Republic, $55,000 in the second grant period and that is quite as much as we can realistically undertake.

The Southern Regional Council is the only Southwide organization, having interracial policy-making bodies at the regional level and in the twelve states, helping with the problem of adjustment to the Supreme Court decision on the schools. These state boards consider problems, assess resources and their application to the problems, guide the staff, raise funds and work for improved human relations in their areas. How well they fill these functions is terribly important, not only to SRC's program, but to the success or failure of the South's adjustment to social change.

The people who make up these boards are not skilled technicians of social change; they are laymen and women of good will who believe in democracy. To the extent that we can increase their sensitivity to problems, their understanding of possible action, and their skill in relating to professional staff we will have increased the probability of success. What is proposed then is an adequate training program for these all-important and unique lay boards; a service which the central office cannot compass with only its present staff.

The device for work in this matter with state board people will be self-analysis, by way of evaluation conferences, by such state board people in company with the Program Director of SRC and several of the proposed special consultants. Such conferences should be held in each of the twelve states at least once in the coming fiscal year, and twice in six of the states. Total such evaluation and training conferences, eighteen.

In addition to program work of this kind with the state boards, the Southern Regional Council should call in to training and program review meetings twice each year the principal staff persons (usually two) from each state.

The entire training program should be coordinated by a Program Director travelling from the Atlanta office, and suitably underpinned with clerical help.

The bulk of the training work, both for the state boards and for the state staff, would be carried by special consultants, appointed by the central office. They would number from three to six. They would be well versed in community relations and would have experience and skill in processes of desegregation. Examples:

Dr. Bonita Valien, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee
Dr. Mozell Hill, Atlanta University, Georgia
Dr. Hylan Lewis, Atlanta University, Georgia
Dr. Harry Walker, Howard University, Washington, D. C.
Dr. Lewis Killian, Florida State University, Tallahassee
Dr. Dan Dodson, New York University Center for Human Relations
Dr. G. D. Wilson, Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Kentucky
Dr. Miller Ritchie, President, Hartwick College, Oneonta, N.Y. (Floridian, long in charge of the Department of Human Relations, University of Miami)

They should draw $50 a working day, plus travel at about $100 a trip. About three such consultants would be used for each training or program review meeting.

The growth of the work in the central office, including undertaking the training effort, makes it highly desirable to add to the Atlanta staff an administrative assistant to the Executive Director. He would be an office manager, would have charge of budgets, and would give answers to field inquiries within agreed policy. The services of such an assistant will release the Executive Director for more policy and program work.

A small sum should be available to meet occasional travel costs of state board people, and for contingencies in the development of the program. A moderate allowance is made for space, supplies, and telephone and telegraph.

The figures for this implementation program are these:

Program Director	$7,500	
Administrative Assistant to the Executive Director	6,000	
Clerical	6,000	
Social Security	470	
Travel, Program Director	2,000	
Consultants' Fees	4,000	
Travel of Consultants 50 trips @ $100	5,000	
Training meetings of state staff	5,000	
Travel of an occasional state board member, & contingencies	3,000	
Supplies, space	500	
Telephone and Telegraph	800	
Total		$40,270
Less, unspent balance of 1954-55 allocation for states		10,000
Sum requested for implementation program		$ 30,270

Here is a summary of our total request for 1955-56.

Estimated Cost of proposed additional services to state organizations	$40,270	
Unspent balance 1954-55 state funds to be applied	10,000	
Proposed increase of grant	$ 30,270	$ 30,270
Regular request for renewal		
Central Office	$ 25,000	
State Organizations	125,433	
Total	$150,433	$150,433
GRAND TOTAL		$180,703

We do not burden this letter with an account of our stewardship for the first grant period now coming to an end. We have reported in detail for each quarter, and your staff is familiar, from its own travel, with our successes and our shortcomings. In addition, full audit reports have been filed for each quarter, and another audit, with an eighteen months summary for the first grant period, will be filed shortly after September 30, 1955.

Sincerely,

/s/

George S. Mitchell

GSM/eab
Encl./-carried below in full/

NOTE ON FUND-RAISING 1954-55

The Southern Regional Council for its central office has raised as of August 11, 1955, independently of the grant from the Fund for the Republic approximately $47,000. If certain subscription payments from SRC's state organizations to the central office be allowed as funds raised by the central office, the amount raised by August 11th will be raised to $49,000. But these same payments are considered in the first instance as sums raised by the states toward the amount which each state must raise in order to qualify for assistance from SRC in SRC's second fiscal period.

As of August 11, 1955, the degree of success by the state organizations in raising their pro rata amounts, independently of grants to them from SRC, was approximately as follows. The word "approximate" is used as figures are taken from state reports without as yet advantage of audit.

The column "to raise" means the sum specified by SRC as the amount for each state to raise. The modal figure, it will be recalled, was $1800 based on the assumption that each state would begin with staff October 1, 1954, and continue thus to the end of the fiscal year. In cases where the quota set by SRC exceeds $1800, staff was taken on earlier than October 1st in the states, and we have required that staff employed prior to October 1, 1954 be paid for by the states. In some instances, also, the modal

quota of $1800 is increased by reason or salaries higher than the $5,000 which SRC was able to provide for principal staff personnel.

Sums markedly less than $1800 are calculated on a pro rata basis month for month of operation with staff. Thus six months of operation with staff yields a quota of six-twelfths of $1800; two months of operation with staff yields a quota of two-twelfths of $1800 (plus in some instances, increases in pro rata quota by reason of higher salary payments at the instance of state programs).

UNAUDITED REPORT ON STATE MONEY-RAISING
August 11, 1955

STATE	BEGAN WITH STAFF	TO RAISE	JULY 31 HAD RAISED
Alabama	October 1, 1954	$1800	$1600
Arkansas	April 15, 1955	825	150
Georgia	June 1, 1954	2400	3536
Kentucky	November 1, 1954	1650	702
Louisiana	June 1, 1954	3000	2650
Mississippi	January 1, 1955	1350	600
North Carolina	October 1, 1954	2800	1000
South Carolina	October 1, 1954	1800	1200
Tennessee	June 1, 1955	700	170
Texas	November 1, 1954	1690	1790
Virginia	July 15, 1955	825	--
Florida	August 16, 1955	350	--

The Southern Regional Council is confident that all, or virtually all, of the states will meet their quota by or before September 30, 1955. All states were notified in the beginning, and renotified months ago of the amounts of their quota and of the firm requirement that they be raised. In addition, the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, meeting August 16. 17, and 18, 1955, resolved that states failing to raise their quota would receive no assistance in the coming fiscal year until they had met their past as well as current fund-raising obligation.

Subsequent discussion elaborated the functions and duties of an administrative assistant; raised the proposed compensation of consultants from a first-suggested $25.00 to $50.00; provided additional funds on supplies and communications; and at various points improved the language of the presentation.

Wright. Would like to see another paragraph added re having in mind in the near future to submit proposals for other projects.

Mitchell. Strongly urged that this not be done. On the success or failure of the request depends SRC's whole financial setup.

Wright. If. within a few days, we would submit to them

proposals which they have invited, wouldn't you advise that it be done?

Mitchell. Thought it was agreed that proper procedure was not to include awards proposal in this letter.

Dent. Agreed with the position that awards proposal should not be included in letter of request. When it gets to presentation before the Fund for the Republic Board, they also have a limitation of funds. It would be better to submit request for grant as "this is what we want," and other proposals as "this is what we would like to have."

Wright. Agreed.

Mitchell. It seems to me well if the letter bore not only my signature, but also the signature of Mr. Wright and Mr. Clement. He had drafted a forwarding letter which could cover that function.

This was read and accepted by the Committee.

Mitchell. In the budget which was set out tentatively yesterday, the salary of an administrative assistant was listed at $5,000, but it should be $6,500.

Wright. Does not know if at all possible to amend general letter with idea he has in mind. Should have a very substantial item in the general budget for contingencies. Should have a task force of two or three people to go to communities where friction may develop. The Fund for the Republic might respond to the idea of a fairly large contingency.

Parrish. Already have an item for associate directors in the states. There is a possibility of some difficulty in hiring associates, and there may be some unused funds in the allotment at the end of the coming year. Has any arrangement been made for using the funds for other purposes?

Mitchell. Believes the thing to do is to feed consultants into the state organizations.

Wright. Does SRC have discretion as to use of funds set aside for associate directors?

Mitchell. Certainly has discretion from Fund for Negro personnel in the states. Would not divert it to white persons or to other purposes.

Fleming. The spirit of the thing was to enable states to use fully integrated staff.

Dent. Fund for the Republic should agree with any adjustments which are made by the Executive Director and approved by the Executive Committee.

Mitchell. We have one untouchable allocation; namely the distribution as between central office and state funds. Has never been constrained to any stated allocation as between states. just the difference between central office money and state money.

Griffin. Use of consultants. Haven't talked enough about the Council's being in position to do any dind of fact-gathering and research; some of the consultants indeed may be used to prepare training materials.

Mitchell. To put that in the request would weaken it.

Dent. Dependent upon the states having to raise $1800 this year, they lose $10,000 for the next year. If they can't raise $1800 in order to get $10,00 he would just as soon see the operation closed.

Upon motion it was agreed that any state which, at September 30, 1955, has not raised its agreed pro-rata quota would have its assistance cut off until it meets its first year and current requirements.

Wright. Should try to keep a little leeway in that.

Mitchell. Along about April, '55 wrote a letter to chairmen

of each state organization about the amount a particular state had to raise.

Dent. Motion makes it desirable for the Executive Director to send a letter to each state Executive Director on the necessity for meeting terms of the Fund for the Republic grant.

Upon motion, the letter to the Fund for the Republic requesting continuance of aid to SRC was unanimously approved.

Discussion turned to fund-raising in the states. Mr. Dent spoke of a considerable weakening of the work of the former New Orleans Committee on Race Relations after the establishment of the Louisiana Council on Human Relations.

PROGRAM PROPOSALS

Mr. Fleming stated that in his personal capacity as a friend of one Adam Yarmolinsky, employed by the Fund for the Republic in matters pertaining to legal profession, he, Fleming. had been consulted as to a proposal in preparation for a legal reporting service fashioned in some sense after the work of the Southern Education Reporting Service in Nashville. Mr. Wright had been consulted as an interested lawyer, and had written in that he thought such a program should be put forward as an official proposal from the Southern Regional Council.

Wright. Ideal administrative setup would be a director and an editorial board of Southern law professors from several institutions, including Negro professors of law, Service would be less likely to fall under the curse of outside interference if it were coordinated by a Southern agency (such as SRC), than that if it were directly run by the FFR.

Fleming. Had some word that negotiations had been entered into with the Vanderbilt Law School.

Wright. Would SRC care to submit proposals to Ford people?

Fleming. Personal view -- Fund for the Republic is very eager to set up something that would be unassailable from the point of view of the profession. They are also eager to set up a service which will not be unduly vulnerable to charges of bias, in that they are trying to reach attorneys of all persuasions.

Wright. If SRC were approached, would it be well-advised to accept?

Mitchell. Bad social policy. Thinks the lawyers ought to do it on their own. Believed it hopeless to persuade FFR to stake SRC to it, and that the Board of the Fund for the Republic is going to look in another direction.

Dent. Most SRC would do in such a service is to serve as a fiscal agent. Believed that it would be necessary to go outside SRC for actual work of service. Would rather see SRC do it than not have it done at all.

Upon motion it was unanimously agreed that the Executive Committee approved the proposal (though not necessarily the exact language) with regard to awards to communities for desegregation progress, and urged the Executive Director to carry through on it.

Upon motion it was unanimously agreed that if the opportunity is presented to the Southern Regional Council to sponsor a legal reporting service, the Executive Director is authorized to set it up.

The Executive Director referred to another recommendation from Mr. Wright that an early article for New South catalogue and describe the cost of legal services state by state in combating the public school desegregation law suits. Discussion revealed that while this would not be an easy article to get together, by common consent it would be an extremely useful one.

There being no further business before the present session, the Executive Committee adjourned into an Executive Session, at the conclusion of which the President, Mr. Wright, prepared the

following summary of actions in Executive Session.

1. It was moved and carried that the Secretary-Treasurer forward to Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton the Council's check in the amount of $350, in compensation for her services in the thorough and painstaking report which she had prepared, and which was widely discussed at this meeting. In addition, the President was directed to express to Mrs. Hamilton the Council's appreciation of her services in this regard. This action was pursuant to the recommendation of the Executive Director.

2. It was moved and carried that the sense of the Executive Committee was that the office of Administrative Assistant was vital to the success of the Council's program; that this office should be filled without regard to the action taken by the Fund for the Republic on the Council's application, this day approved; and that the Personnel Committee should immediately prepare a job analysis for the position and attempt to fill it by October 1, 1955.

3. It was declared to be the sense of the Committee that, once the budget was adopted, there should be no reallocation of funds within the budget without the approval of the Executive Committee and no commitment or proposal for use of any of such funds otherwise than as stated in the budget without the approval in advance of the Executive Committee.

4. It was declared to be the sense of the Committee that at future meetings, only the members of the Executive Committee (including the Executive Director), should be present with the qualification that the Committee reserves the right to invite the attendance of any staff member for the purpose of making a report upon his or her activities or for such other purposes as the Executive Committee may determine.

5. The Executive Director was requested, as promptly as possible, to notify the Executive Committee of meeting dates for the ensuing year, in order that conflicting engagements may not be entered into.

THERE BEING NO FURTHER BUSINESS, THE MEETING ADJOURNED.

GSM/eab
9/15/55

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: ALL MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

FROM: GEORGE S. MITCHELL

SUBJECT: CORRECTION ON MINUTES OF MAMMOTH CAVE MEETING, AUGUST 16-18, 1955.

On Page 9, the Minutes incorrectly give the amount each member of the Executive Committee hoped to give or get for SRC in this fiscal year as $1,000. Correct amount is $100.

GSM/eab

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
October 28-29, 1955

The meeting was held in the Board Room of Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia, with Mr. Clement, Chairman, presiding.

Present were: Mr. Clement, Mr. H. V. Richardson, Miss Josephine Wilkins, Mr. George Mitchell and, for a portion of one session, Mr. John Griffin. Staff members who were present for all or a part of the meeting were: G. S. Alexander, Administrative Assistant, Mrs. Ruth Alexander, Acting-Secretary-Treasurer, Harold Fleming, Assistant Director of Information, Fred Routh, Assistant Director of Liaison-State Organizations, and Mrs. Elizabeth Brantley served as Secretary.

The Committee met initially with no members of the staff present and for the greater part of its two-day meeting, acting in accordance with the arrangements undertaken at the preceding meeting, excluded most staff personnel.

The minutes of the previous meeting were approved as corrected and submitted.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR:

The Executive Director reviewed briefly the establishment of the twelve affiliated State Organizations. He said all but two (North Carolina and Kentucky) had met their local fund-raising quotas before the end of the fiscal year, and that Kentucky had since the end of the year met its quota. Within a short time two of the four states not having satisfactory arrangements for use of Associate Directors would have made such arrangements. Some account was given of leading program activities in each State Organization, and attention was given to Irene Osborne's carefully planned tour of the South. Reference was made to the distribution, to our State groups, of material on the prevention and control of race riots; to the statement to be made by the Virginia Council on Human Relations on public school desegregation; to the proposed

employment of John Hope as program coordinator; and to the application made to a Foundation for funds for the program development project.

Staff changes in the central office were noted in the employment of G. S. Alexander as Administrative Assistant and Miss Florence Irving to help in the collection and use of materials. Also discussed were arrangements for the investment of proceeds from the second grant from the Fund for the Republic; the new U. S. Treasury inquiry in regard to the tax-exempt status of the Council; the promise to Mrs. Tilly that SRC funds (in limited amounts) might be used between now and January 1st, 1956, for the purposes of the Fellowship of the Concerned subject to reimbursement when and if special revenue becomes available; and to recent staff travel.

A review was made of the attacks on SRC by Roy Harris and Eugene Cook (Attorney-General of Georgia.) Mention was made to the availability of part of the Audit and the availability of the entire audit in the near future, and to the work of the nominating committee.

In reference to the financial prospects of the central office, it was stated that in order to meet the budget as proposed it would be necessary to raise, in addition to funds convenanted or clearly expectable, about $20,000.00. By luck this might be reduced to $15,500.00, but it would be wisest to count the gap in visible revenues at the higher figure .

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER:

Mrs. R. H. Alexander, Acting Secretary Treasurer, handed out a statement of the eighteen months of operation under the initial grant from the Fund for the Republic. She stated that the Central Office had been required to raise independently $40,000.00, and had in fact raised this in excess of $51,000.00 Financial status of the States as of September 30, '55, was exhibited, showing that all but two had met their quotas. She exhibited alist of those members of the Executive Committee and of the Board who had contributed under the $100.00 appeal, and said

that the sum realized from the 24 contributors was within a dollar or two of $2,400.00.

Mr. Mitchell stated that this closing fiscal year was the first time in recent years in which the SRC had carried forward a credit balance, in this instance amounting to $3,000.00 in the bank, with less than $500.00 in outstanding bills against it.

After these reports the meeting adjourned for dinner, reconvening at 7:00 P.M.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO THE BOARD:

This was circulated in draft form, for alteration and approval by the Committee.

ATTACKS ON SRC:

Dr. Mitchell reviewed the various attacks made on SRC, and stated that the staff had thought it wisest to show diligence in circulating to our friends a true statement of SRC history and aims, rather than to enter lawsuits against the perpetrators of scandal. Mr. Clement and Mr. Wright agreed that to sue would call undue attention to the attacks, and that widespread dissemination of the truth would be our better course.

Mr. Wright reported on his visit that day to the Atlanta office of the FBI, where he had talked with Mr. James L. McGovern, Assistant Special Agent in Charge, stating that the Southern Regional Council would welcome an investigation by the FBI at any time. Letters to Mr. McGovern and to Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, of the FBI, were read in draft, and approved by the Committee.

Mr. Clement emphasized the importance of having at hand a record of this sort. Miss Wilkins asked if it would not be well to invite Mr. Eugene Cook to investigate SRC. Mr. Clement called attention to a letter he had voluntarily written to Mr. Cook on October 21st, which contained the following paragraph:

"As Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council I want to assure you than an unbiased investigation of the Council would be welcomed, provided the results of the investigation would be published without restriction."

A drafted statement was then made available to the Committee, with particular attention being called to the argument developed on page 7 re the usefulness to Communism of such attacks as that currently being made in Georgia, and after discussion of a possible additional paragraph the statement was given approval.

The statement as approved is here supplied in the minutes:

"Not only is this phony 'anti-communism' vicious; it offends the intelligence of every thinking person. The international communist movement has one, and only one, interest in our racial problems - that is, to exploit them throughout the world. Some two-thirds of the people of the earth are dark-skinned, and the communists are trying desperately to win them with the claim that our kind of democracy is available only to white persons. If there were no racial discrimination or segregation in this country, the communist movement in Asia and Africa would lack its most effective weapon.

A perfect example of this fact is the reaction of Soviet Russian officialdom to the Supreme Court decision. For days, the government-controlled Russian press made no mention whatever of the decision. When at last they could ignore it no longer, they announced defensively that the decision meant nothing - that it would never be implemented. This is precisely the argument that Attorney-General Cook and his fellow demagogs make so noisily. Unwittingly perhaps, but undeniably, they do a great service to the cause of communism every time they raise their voices on behalf of 'white supremacy'.

Individuals and organizations that work responsibly and onscientiously for the growth of democracy in the South and the Nation are the opponents that the communists really fear. Yet

it is precisely these organizations and individuals that Mr. Cook and his kind seek to defame and discredit. What could please the communists more than to get the credit for every effort to make our American ideal a working, living reality? What could please them more than a campaign to arouse suspicion and hatred of those citizens who work intelligently for a more just, democratic, and Christian society? How they must delight in the irony of such Americans being stigmatized as servants and dupes of the communist cause!

No informed person believes that the communists want to see Negroes accorded equal rights and dignity or that they want to see our racial problems solved through the orderly processes of the law and constructive community action. The communists want to see us hopelessly bogged down in our prejudices and our fears. They want to see us defying the law of the land, whipping up racial hatred for political purposes. In this respect, they have a common purpose with Attorney-General Cook and his kind."

It was agreed that the statement should be circulated widely, and that it might ultimately be the basis of a printed pamphlet.

PROGRAM NEEDS AND MEANS:

Discussion turned to the proposals for program coordination, involving the proposed employment of an Assistant Director for this pahse of the work. The need for such a position was reviewed, and the Executive Director said that two ideas were about; that such an official should either (1) work with the State organization people as to things to be done, or (2) give clear directives as to things to be done.

Mr. Wright said that doubtless the State organizations wished some guidance at this point, and that he thought this method preferable to writing and telling them what to do. If there were unlimited time, the first arrangement would work; in limited time, he believed each state wished guidance on things that are practical to do.

The Committee, on motion, authorized the employment of a person to coordinate a state staff training program. It was noted that this constituted approval of a budget item (though as it was intended to use for this activity unexpended balances from last year's State money, no actual addition was involved); and that a job description approvable by the Personnel Subcommittee would be needed.

BY-LAWS AMENDMENT PROPOSED:

The Executive Director referred to the purpose expressed at the last meeting of the Committee, to exclude staff personnel from its meetings, and said that this was in conflict with existing by-laws, which provided for membership in both the Board and the Executive Committee by the Executive Director and Assistant Directors. He recommended the deletion of membership for the Assistant Directors, pointing out that the Executive Committee had power to write its own rules of procedure, and could have in such staff persons as it might wish, at any time. The matter at issue was the presence of staff personnel during the discussion and formation of policy, it being felt by various members of the Committee that the Committee should have ample opportunity to make policy in the absence of staff.

Mr. Clement recommended that future meetings of the Executive Committee have a session from which the Executive Director and all other staff persons would be excluded, and a session at which any desired staff persons would be present.

After discussion, and upon motion, Section 1, Article 5, was amended to delete reference to the Executive Director and Assistant Directors, and Article 11, Section 3 was similarly amended, the Committee agreeing to recommend these changes to the forthcoming meeting of the Board (which alone has power to change the by-laws.)

RESIGNATIONS FROM THE COMMITTEE:

The Executive Director stated that since the last meeting Mr. Morris Abram had asked to be permitted to resign from the Executive Committee and the Board, on the grounds of press of private business; and Mr. Leonard Haas, who had served as Counsel to SRC and to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation for upwards of 25 years, also asked to be permitted to resign as Counsel.

The Committee, on motion, voted to accept the resignation of Mr. Haas, with expressions of deepest appreciation of his services, to be appropriately presented to Mr. Haas on behalf of the Council.

The Committee, on motion, voted to accept the resignation of Mr. Abram from the Executive Committee; that it ask reconsideration of his resignation from the Board, but that if he should deem that the resignation should stand, that it, too, be accepted with regret.

Mr. Ralph Barbare, of Rock Hill, S. C. having indicated that it might be wise for him to withdraw from the Board, Mr. Mitchell reported that he had written Mr. Barbare that he, Mitchell, believed that the term on the Board which Mr. Barbare had served, from 1953=1955 was expiring, and that Mr. Barbare might, therefore, expect that his reelection would not be pressed.

As to Mr. Haas, Mr. Wright and Mr. John Griffin visited him November 8th, and he consented to serve as counsel for a further period.

CONTRIBUTION FROM THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND BOARD MEMBERS:

It was agreed that the $100.00 pledged would not again be asked for this year, but that the matter should be presented to the Board as a whole, and each member asked to make any contribution he feels he can. It was also suggested that a letter be written to each member of the Council, reminding him that while there are no set dues, it is hoped that each Board member will

make whatever contribution he can, and try to influence others to contribute.

PROPOSAL TO THE BOARD TO CONFIRM SECRETARY-TREASURER:

It is the business of the Board, it was said, not the Executive Committee, to make permanent confirmation of a Secretary-Treasurer. The Executive Director recommended to the Committee that they recommend to the Board confirmation of Mrs. Ruth H. Alexander as Secretary-Treasurer. She has been Acting Secretary-Treasurer, he said, since Miss Stoney's resignation (Miss Stoney left duty status July 18, 1955). The Executive Director recommended that Mrs. Alexander's salary be increased from the $3,000.00 which she enjoyed when serving as bookkeeper to $4,000.00 effective August 15, 1955. This would involve an additional payment of $130.00 for and in the fiscal year ended September 30, 1955. It was noted that the proposed budget for the year beginning October 1, 1955, made provision for this increase.

The Executive Committee undertook to recommend Mrs. Alexander's confirmation, and accepted the salary proposal as made.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE'S NOMINATIONS TO THE 1956 NOMINATING COMMITTEE:

It was pointed out that under the by-laws one of the three members of the next year's nominating committee elected by the Council must be an ex-officio member (which would give the State organizations representation.) By oversight, in the proceedings of this year's nominating committee, no ex-oficio person was selected. The Executive Director, therefore, recommended that the Executive Committee, in making its two choices for membership on the 1956 nominating committee choose two who would be ex-officio members, and accordingly the Committee named as its nominees for those positions Mr. W. Carroll Brooke and Mr. B. R. Brazeal, both ex-officio members.

The evening session then adjourned at 8:00 P.M.

The Committee reconvened at 9:30 A.M. October 29th.

A letter addressed to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, soliciting aid for a training program, was read and approved.

FINANCE COMMITTEE OF THE BOARD:

Mr. Wright reported that he had written to various Board members in the Upper South, attempting to arrange a meeting of them for service on a Regional Finance Committee, but without apparent success. He suggested that each State Chairman be written to, with the request that he select a person, possibly, but not necessarily, a Board member, for service of such an SRC finance committee. The Executive Director said that experience had shown that where State people helped with money-raising it was desirable to offer an arrangement under which half of the sum realized would reach the coffers of the State organization. After discussion, it was agreed that the staff should write out such letters, asking for the service of a suitable person from each State.

ATTACKS ON SRC:

Considerable discussion came on this item, part of it revolving around whether Mr. Cook, Georgia Attorney-General, had been adequately challenged to move against SRC under Georgia statutes, if he, Mr. Cook, felt that he had grounds.

Mr. Clement said that he wished it to be a matter of record that this organization was above board, and had nothing to hide.

Mr. Wright said that he thought Mr. Cook would take action if he thought he had grounds, whether he were invited to or not.

The statement "Attack on Free Opinion" was discussed, and it was agreed that Mr. Clement's letter to Mr. Cook would be sufficient action for the time being.

It was agreed that copies of the statement be put in the hands

of leaders in opinion-formation, and in the hands of our State groups.

The statement was approved by the Executive Committee.

BUDGET FOR 1955-56:

Mr. G. S. Alexander, newly-engaged administrative assistant, read the proposed budget for the present fiscal year, showing a proposed expenditure of $93,080.00 with an estimated probable income of $64,900.00.

Mr. Clement asked that breakdown be supplied as to sums expected to be raised, and the Executive Director dictated the following as his estimate of income and outgo:

"Ordinarily raisable from churches, labor unions, etc. $23,500 Carry over from Duke and Field Foundation - $13,000.00. Expected from John Hay Whitney Fund - $4,000.00. On hand from the Fund for the Republic - $25,000.00. Cash balance carried over into this fiscal year - $2,500.00. Grand total of $68,000.00. Possibly available from carry-over of state money $5,500.00. The figures which the Executive Director gave, give an income yield of $15,500.00 less than the $93,080.00 proposed budget."

Miss Wilkins suggested that as the Council might anticipate extra difficulty in fund-raising in the final year of aid from the Fund for the Republic (1956-57) it would be desirable to raise in this year not 15 or 20,000 but a sum on the order of 100,000, and it was agreed that this would be desirable, and that the new Finance Committee should concern itself forthwith with a two-year financing program.

The Committee approved the expenditure budget as submitted, subject to review at each quarterly meeting of the Executive Committee; and stated that the budget should be presented to the Board November 9th, as a complete budget, with income figures as well as outgo figures.

The Executive Director reminded the Committee that under the instructions given by the Mammoth Cave meeting no expenditure not in accordance with an approved budget could be agreed to by the staff; so that with approval the Committee had something to hold the staff to. He said further that there was available a sum of something like $13,000.00 from unexpended State balances of last year, and that this was to be used for the training program, which accordingly had not been included as an expenditure item in the budget as just approved.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO THE BOARD:

The report was approved as drafted, with changes in items 5 and 22, (which changes are shown in the version of the Report carried in the minutes of the Board meeting of November 9th, 1955).

FURTHER ON ATTACKS!

Mr. Clement suggested that as the Hearst newspapers and Fulton Lewis, Jr., a radio commentator, were cooperating in attacks on the Fund for the Republic, that some monitoring of Mr. Lewis' broadcasts be undertaken. If Mr. Lewis makes unwarranted charges against SRC, equal time should be requested to reply to the charges.

Mr. Wright mentioned a letter that he had written a couple of months back to Mr. Hutchins, stating that SRC was not anxious to increase the difficulties of the Fund, and asking for an expression from Mr. Hutchins re SRC's requirement of certificates of loyalty from its principal personnel, and that SRC would be governed by any ideas Mr. Hutchins might have.

Some discussion ensued of the matter of loyalty certificates, in the course of which the Executive Director stated his view that in no wise as a matter of right, but simply as a matter of coordination, it would be well if the President conferred with staff persons prior to writing letters to major contributors. Others present made abundantly clear the privilege of the President to write to other parties, in his responsibility as President, with or without consultation with staff.

The meeting then adjourned at 12 noon.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE SOUTHERN
REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.

November 9, 1955

The annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council convened at Dorothy Hall on the campus of Tuskegee Institute, Wednesday, November 9, 1955 at 9:15 a.m. Mr. Marion A. Wright, President, was in the chair. Invocation was given by Rabbi Charles Mantinband of Mississippi.

The following members were present:

Mrs. L. C. Bates
Mrs. W. F. Bates
Mr. F. Woods Beckman
Mrs. C. M. Birnie
Mr. B. R. Brazeal
The Rev. W. C. Brooke
Mr. I. H. Burney
Mrs. James S. Crate
Mr. Fred Darragh
Mr. A. W. Dent
Mr. O. D. Duncan
Mr. J. M. Ellison
Mr. J. Claude Evans
Mr. C. G. Gomillion
Mr. John A. Griffin
Mr. Duncan Hunter
Mr. A. L. Johnson
Mr. John R. Larkins
Mr. Clarence Robinson (Proxy for Dr. Elsie Lewis)
Rabbi Charles Mantinband
The Rev. Olaf Anderson (elected in place of Dr. Sanders)
Dr. Cameron McRae (Proxy for R. D. Wellons)
Dr. W. H. Perry
Mr. Clarence Robinson
Mr. Charles A. Shaw
Very Rev. M. V. Shean, C. O.
Mr. H. C. Trenholm
Mr. John H. Wheeler
Miss Josephine Wilkins
Mr. Marion A. Wright
Mr. Thomas W. Young

STAFF- Admitted only for parts of the meeting

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Mr. Harold Fleming
Mr. C. H. Parrish
Mr. Fred Routh
Mrs. Ruth Alexander
Mr. G. S. Alexander
Miss Irene Osborne
Mr. Robert Hughes (representing Host State of Alabama)

The Board met briefly in Executive sessions, during which interval Dr. L. H. Foster, President of Tuskegee Institute extended greetings.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The report of the Executive Committee to the Board of Directors was read. The report was approved with the amendment by Miss Josephine Wilkins that in paragraph 23 approval had been given by the Executive Committee "in principle." The report follows:

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO THE BOARD OF
THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE PERIOD
NOVEMBER 23, 1954 to NOVEMBER 8, 1955.

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council has met five times since the last annual meeting of the Board. The dates on which the meetings were held were: November 23, 1954; February 17, 1955; May 26, 1955; August 16-18, 1955; and October 28-29, 1955. The August meeting was held at Mammoth Cave, Kentucky. All the rest were held in Atlanta, Georgia.

The Committee's actions are here listed:

1. Charged chairman of state organizations with the responsibility of employing only loyal Americans, and of signing a form so stating for SRC's permanent files. 11/23/54.

2. As empowered by the Board, worded an amendment of SRC's By-Laws, Article V, Section 4, to provide for a Nominating Committee, which, meeting at least 30 days prior to annual meeting, would nominate: a) Members of the Council; b) Officers of the Council; c) Members of the Executive Committee; and d) three members of the succeeding Nominating Committee (one of whom is to be a state chairman). The President and the Executive Committee shall appoint at least two more members. 11/23/54.

3. Appointed a Program Planning Committee to work closely with the staff in planning program. 11/23/54.

4. Carefully reviewed work of the staff and Program Planning Committee. 2/17/55.

5. Pledged members present to raise or give $100 each to SRC and invited the rest of the Committee and Board to do likewise. 2/17/55.

6. Authorized the release of a "Statement by the Executive Committee, Southern Regional Council" which hailed the progress toward desegregation in 80 out of 129 border-state counties, summarized what was being done in the upper South and Southwest, and deplored lack of progress in the hard core states.

Report of the Executive Committee - 2
November 23, '54 - November 8, '55.

It strongly recommended the creation of local planning committees by citizens of both races meeting in equal dignity. 2/17/55 (statement released 3/6/55)

7. Authorized Harold Fleming, Assistant Director, to sign SRC checks. 2/17/55

8. Accepted with regret the resignation, effective July 15th, of Katherine Stoney and appointed Mrs. Ruth Alexander as Acting Secretary-Treasurer. 5/26/55

9. Carefully reviewed the work of the staff and approved a letter from the Executive Director to the Fund for the Republic proposing a reallocation of unspent state organization funds to be used for benefit of the state organizations. 5/26/55

10. Authorized funds for fee and travel for Morris Abram as special counsel on tax exemption hearing at Washington, D. C. 5/26/55

11. Heard a detailed report by Mrs. Grace Hamilton on her year's work with SRC and asked for a written report thereof. 5/26/55

12. Heard report of proposed state staff meeting at Camp New Hope, North Carolina, June 1-3. 5/26/55

13. Approved the idea of two-day Executive Committee meetings, out of Atlanta when practicable. 5/26/55

14. Carefully reviewed the work of the staff: Executive Director, information services, state organizations, women's work, financial situation. 8/16-18/55

15. Accepted with regret the resignation, for lack of time to attend meetings, of McDowell Richards from the Executive Committee (not from the Board) at his request. (He had been elected Moderator of the Presbyterian Church, U. S.) 8/16-18/55

Report of the Executive Committee - 3
November 23, '54 - November 8, '55.

16. Discussed the possibility of an "Awards Program" to Southern communities for good behavior in meeting the Supreme Court Decision. 8/16-18/55

17. Reviewed Mrs. Grace Hamilton's report and suggestions. Authorized payment of $350 to her for preparing it. 8/16-18/55

18. Requested of the Fund for the Republic an increased allotment during the second grant period to provide for a training program for state staff and boards. 8/16-18/55

19. Approved hiring an Administrative Assistant to the Executive Director. 8/16-18/55. Action completed October 1, 1955.

20. Discussed SRC sponsorship of a possible Southern Legal Reporting Service; approved the idea and agreed to accept its sponsorship if it were offered to SRC. 8/16-18/55

21. Decided that once the budget had been set no reallocation of funds should take place without the approval of the Executive Committee. 8/16-18/55

22. Requested that at future Executive Committee meetings only members and the Executive Director be present; reserving power (of course) to invite other staff members to meetings for specific reports on their work. 8/16-18/55

23. Approved the staff draft of a manuscript on the history of the Southern Regional Council, drawn for use in the October, 1955 controversy with the Attorney-General of Georgia. 10/28-29/55

24. Proposed for the consideration of the Board of Directors such amendments to the By-Laws as would confine membership on the Board and on the Executive Committee to volunteer (i.e., non-staff) personnel. 10/28-29/55

Report of the Executive Committee - 4
November 23, '54 - November 8, '55.

25. Undertook to draft procedural rules for the meetings of the Executive Committee which would bring in staff personnel on invitation. 10/28-29/55

26. Accepted with the greatest regret the resignation of Mr. Leonard Haas as Counsel, he having served the Council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, in this capacity for more than twenty-five years. 10/28-29/55

27. Undertook that in the present fiscal year instead of recommending that Committee and Board members give or get a hundred dollars apiece to the Council a request would be made to these persons to assist the Council directly with such sums as might be practicable. 10/28-29/55

28. Agreed to recommend to the Board the employment of Mrs. Ruth Alexander, Acting Secretary-Treasurer, as Secretary-Treasurer, at a modest increase in salary. 10/28-29/55

29. Selected the Executive Committee's members of the 1956 Nominating Committee. 10/28-29/55

30. Approved an arrangement for asking the chairman of each affiliated state organization to nominate a member from that state to serve on a Finance Committee for the Southern Regional Council. 10/28-29/55

31. Adopted a proposed schedule of expenditures for the central office totalling $93,080 in the fiscal year 1955-56, subject to quarterly review as to availability of funds, and with the proviso that a complete budget, listing expected income and proposed outgo, be submitted to the Board of Directors November 9, 1955. 10/28-29/55

/ 32. Accepted the resignation of Morris Abram, of Atlanta, from the Executive Committee, expressing the hope that Mr. Abram would remain on the Board. 10/28-29/55

Report of the Executive Committee - 5
November 23, '54 - November 8, '55.

33. Approved a proposal to employ an Assistant Director for Program to coordinate a program to be operated jointly with state organizations for assistance in program planning. 10/28-29/55.

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT
(Marion A. Wright)

Our annual meetings offer convenient occasions for glimpses backward and forward. It is heartening to see how far we have come; it is sobering to see how far we have to go. The record of the past may be read with much greater assurance than may the stars which foretell the future. Reasonable men may agree as to history, though you may have noted a few minor differences in Northern and Southern versions of the War Between the States, for example. But in the field of prognostication there will be found an infinite variety of opinion. Certainly, this is inevitable; perhaps it is all to the good. The very fact that there is this diversity of guess on so wide a scale leads only to the view that the future is not a fixed, definite and inflexible thing, but that it is malleable and in human hands to form. Therein lies the incentive to each of us to exert his tiny pressure, to throw his small weight into the scale, to leave his fleeting image upon the form of tomorrow.

I doubt that ten years ago there was within the membership of the Southern Regional Council anyone so gifted with prophecy that he could have foretold that in the year 1955 segregation as a part of the policy of the Southern States would be making its last embattled stand. Our program dealt with the periphery of the segregation issue -- better schools, parks, playgrounds, housing, employment -- generally, fairer treatment -- for a minority group. Certainly, segregation will topple the more easily because Southern people have come to see that, in application to specific situations, it was costly, foolish, and, in its results, always unfair, to the minority. We may, I believe, in all modesty, claim to have played at least a minor role in preparing the Southern intelligence and conscience to accept the view that separateness is the natural enemy of equality.

At any rate, such was the Council's conception of its role -- attacking the manifestations, the end results, of segregation rather than attacking segregation itself. That view prevailed until December 12, 1951.

Put a star on that date. It is memorable in the Council's history; it may well be memorable in the history of the South. For on that date the Council adopted a Statement of Policy from which moving document I lift one shining sentence:

> The South of the future, toward which our efforts are directed, is a South....where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed.

There, at last, was the frontal attack, without evasion, without apology. "Needless penalty on the human spirit." How prophetic of language of Justice Warren on May 17, 1954: "To separate (school children) from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone."

It is to the great credit of the Southern Negro and white men and women who composed this Council that four years ago they possessed this degree of boldness and imagination. It is equally to their credit that, as an organization, they had this flexibility of policy. And once again has that flexibility been demonstrated. With the handing down of the Supreme Court's decision, we have adopted the view that, for the immediate future, our natural role is to aid the South to get along with the business of integrating its schools. To that high purpose all else is secondary and subordinate.

While the circumstances of our history and purposes as an organization cast us in that role, there is an extraneous factor which forces the role upon us. We must fill the vacuum. Let me enlarge upon that idea.

Every Southern public official is in duty bound to follow and observe the Court's mandate -- every governor, every attorney

general, every school official, every legislator, and all the rest. Let me be quick to say many of them have done so. To them all praise and honor. History will deal kindly with them.

I refer to another and less distinguished group -- vocal strident, embittered men, determined to keep the past on the throne and regarding the ability to rouse a rabble as fit substitute for character and statesmanship. They control certain states or areas of states. It is their sworn duty to furnish wise leadership in m oving with deliberate speed to integrate their schools. In their case there is a leadership vacuum or worse. If there are to be wisdom and honor in approach by such states to solution of the school problem those qualities must be supplied by private citizens and organizations. We may only speak for ourselves. Assuredly, it is our job.

How may we do this?

Those men have power only as they have public opinion behind them. They must, in effect, each day have a vote of confidence from their constituents. While, to some extent, they create public opinion, it is equally true that they are created by public opinion. It is our task to develop that quality and volume of public opinion which will not sustain that kind of appeal.

Let us not gloss over any fact. In certain states, not necessary here to name, they have gone far in stifling any dissent. Clemenceau remarked that "it has always been easy to find men to resist tyranny of public opinion." Here and there throughout the South the real heroes of this epic struggle emerge, men who brave the dark threat of reprisal or boycott -- an editor at Florence, South Carolina; those who sign their names to letters to the editor; a minister who may be unfrocked by his congregation; those who openly join the NAACP; school patrons in Greensboro who petition for integrated schools with loss of jobs in prospect; church boards who invite members of another race to fill their pulpits; two men in Mississippi who scornfully reject the invitation to leave their communities. It is our business to give such elect spirits the assurance that they do not stand alone in their hour of crisis.

It may be pointed out that those who now assure the people that white schools may be kept open and Negroes kept out are the same ones, or spiritual legatees of the ones who assured them that Negroes may be kept from voting in primaries by Boswell amendments, grandfather clauses and the like; that Negroes may be kept off juries, off cars in inter-state commerce and out of law, graduate and undergraduate schools, out of parks, playgrounds and golf courses, and so on. Surely, this record of seductive promise and dismal performance is not calculated to inspire confidence of future grant of power.

As to the stratagems presently under consideration in certain Southern states, it may be pointed out that all have been analyzed by the most competent Southern legal scholarship -- not some Philadelphia lawyer or Mr. Thurgood Marshall, if you please -- and have been found completely vulnerable on naked constitutional grounds. Law journals of South Carolina, Alabama, North Carolina, Virginia -- no doubt there are others -- have flatly declared these petty schemes won't hold water. These law editors aren't running for office. They are concerned only with telling the people the truth.

But perhaps the most powerful argument of all, as expressed by the Florence, South Carolina, editor, is "you can't win." Arrayed against the segregationist are: the full power of the federal government, including the courts; both political parties the labor unions; all major religous denominations; all responsible legal scholarship and the overwhelming sentiment of three fourths of the nation. Segregation, in George Mitchell's phrase, is curling up at the edges. It was at its high water mark May 17, 1954. Border states and counties have taken, or are taking the step in stride. Even within the so-called resistence states, literate counties and cities recognize their obligation and move with dignity to discharge their duty. Every such advance must bring pause to those long accustomed to respond to the argument "Everybody's doing it" more quickly than to the argument "You ought to do it."

Chattanooga brought down the wrath of Georgia upon its head when that city acted, Attorney General Cook lamenting that Tennessee was no longer the friend of Georgia. Surely, that must have produced gnashing of teeth across the border. I hear they are thinking of spelling Nashville with a G.

So our task is set for us in the arena of public opinion. We are embarked upon a struggle for the empire of men's minds. That we shall win no intelligent person may doubt. How quickly and with what aftermath of bitterness -- there's the rub.

Not only is it true that the evil which men do lives after them; one evil often begets another and a greater evil. Segregation is an evil thing. Any effort to preserve it would be evil. But the effort now being made in some areas of the South employs a method of repression, of boycott, of threat, of intimidation -- the lost job, the withheld credit, the foreclosed mortgage, the warning muttered in the night. For what purpose? To convert one who should stand erect and unafraid in natural and conscious dignity without cringing, fawning, shaken and broken caricature of a man. With what sought-after result? That opinions may wither unuttered in the breast, that dissent may be strangled at birth, that man's struggle through the centuries to achieve and preserve the right to freedom of thought and of speech shall come to an inglorious end in this fifth decade of the Twentieth Century.

The penalties attendant upon segregation fall most heavily upon the Negro. The penalties attendant in this effort to mute the voices of protest shall fall with icy impartiality upon every man, woman, and child in the South. For no State may survive as a civilized entity -- and it shall not deserve to survive -- if it employs the ancient and primitive weapon of Fear to slay man's right to think and to speak. States have waxed greatly, and men have lived in happy estate, only when with impunity the prevailing opinion may be freely challenged.

It is part of our job to lay these somber truths upon the minds and hearts of Southern people.

We may, perhaps, extract one bit of comfort from the nature of our opposition. When they resort to use of fear they concede their mental bankruptcy. Intimidation is the substitute for logical argument. When it is employed we may be sure that those who employ it know they can make no appeal to reason.

You remember Woodrow Wilson's college debate at Davidson. He was pitted against some hulking football player and was methodically reducing his opponent's arguments to absurdity, when a fan of the football player in the audience shouted this word of advise to Woodrow's opponent: "Call Wilson a liar and turn it into a fight."

I said a moment ago that we are called upon to fill a leadership vacuum. (It may be a bit indelicate to suggest anatomically where that vacuum is, but I believe it is above the neck.) A specific task of that leadership is to prepare plans of integration which may later be submitted to courts for approval, modification or rejection. In some areas that has been done promptly and with wisdom. In others -- well, you read the papers.

Sooner or later these officials will be before the courts. You know what they will say. "The task is difficult and complicated. It must receive much thought. It will take time, say another five years."

I should like to see the Southern Regional Council now, in every federal judicial district, by counties and school districts, encourage local groups to make their own plans of desegregation -- using the best brains of both races and engaging experts for advice on technical points. For the record, as each unit is completed, the plan should be filed with the appropriate school authorities and its adoption urged. The burden would seem thereupon to pass to the authorities to adopt the plan or point out wherein it was deficient. If neither course were followed, there should exist a prima facie case of lack of good faith. That might have some effect when the issue finally came before the court.

Of course, the States would officially and now be following such a course. Where they are not, there exists a leadership vacuum which we may help to fill.

We now have an adequate staff and affiliated organizations in all the states. I hope we may say of every member of all these staffs that he is receptive to, eager for, new ideas. None of us is sufficiently expert in this uncharted area that he may fail to heed advice from any quarter. It is peculiarly the function of the board to advance suggestions as to policy and methods. I hope that we may have occasion during this meeting to give to the staffs the benefit of our thinking on the problems which beset them.

The most powerful force which any of us could contribute to this cause is an idea. Ideas are the stuff of which all reforms are made.

We should feel complimented by the attacks which are made upon us. If we were futile or ineffective, we should not draw enemy fire. The ground of attack is that we are disturbing an established order, "a way of life," ignoring the fact that the only way of life worth preserving is one in which dissent may be freely expressed, a way of life in which change is the key note.

Two thousand years ago the charge which was brought against Paul and Silas was that they were "turning the world upside down." That is the exact Biblical language. What was meant, of course, was that they were disturbing an established and corrupt order, a way of life which had been kind only to the accusers and those they represented. It is easy to equate one's special and privileged interest with the best interests of all mankind, as seven tailors on one street in London did when they addressed a petition to Parliament beginning "We, the Britich people."

Surely, we should not complain if we are put in the good company of Paul and Silas.

Rabbi Mantinband praised the remarks of the President for the wisdom and forthrightness in their approach to the purposes of the Council and the problems of the region.

Also Mr. Dent suggested that the remarks be adopted in principle as an expression of the annual meeting. It was so voted.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
(George S. Mitchell)

The president called for a report from the Executive Director. Mr. Mitchell stated that the Southern Regional Council had requested money from the Fund for the Republic for the principal purpose of setting up twelve state agencies in the field of race relations, and that this had been successfully accomplished. The requirement had been further laid upon the central office that it raise, for its own purposes, independently of the Fund for the Republic in the first eighteen months grant period, $40,000; and the central office had in fact raised $51,000. Plans were afoot, he said, which promised effective further direction to the affiliated state groups in program planning and evaluation.

STAFF MEMBERS' REPORTS

Mr. Mitchell then called upon the principal staff persons present to report in detail on their phases of the work.

Mr. Fred Routh, Assistant Director for State Organizations, described the programs underway in each of the twelve state organizations.

Mr. C. H. Parrish, Assistant Director for State Organizations, described the program that was devised in and around the August, 1955 meeting at Atlanta University, calling for the use of special consultants to assist in training in policy counseling with some Board and staff people. It was hoped that the services of Mr. John Hope would be available at an early date to tie

together this program. The funds being used for it were a part of the funds remaining unexpended from the 1954-55 allocation to the states.

Miss Irene Osborne, on loan to the Southern Regional Council from the American Friends Service Committee beginning October 1, 1955, described her conferences thus far in Arkansas, Texas and Kentucky, and said that she would, in her remaining work with the SRC, reach similarly the other assisted state groups.

Mr. Harold Fleming, Assistant Director for Information, discussed the usefulness and methods of newspaper and other informational media in the Council's educational effort; described the distribution of materials underway from the central office; recounted the attacks on the SRC which had appeared November 7th in the Hearst newspaper, the New York Journal-American, and some of the subsequent broadcasts by Mr. Fulton Lewis, Jr., raising the same arguments.

Mr. Robert Hughes, Executive Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, spoke briefly in welcome to the group as an official of the host state agency.

SRC'S ROLE OF ADVICE TO SOUTHERN COMMUNITIES

Some discussion, in which Mrs. Cassandra Maxwell Birnie and Mr. Charles A. Shaw played leading roles, took place as to the appropriateness of an SRC role of advice to Southern communities on specifics of public school desegregation. The topic came into focus from the recommendation of the President, Mr. Wright, that the state organizations draw up proposals on school desegregation, appropriate for use in each major federal district court area. The Executive Director gave it as his view that SRC and its affiliates has little call to substitute themselves for the action of local citizens in proposing the degree to which lawful rights would now be implemented.

Mr. O. D. Duncan, of Oklahoma, described the volume of detailed work needful in advising with local school boards.

Discussion turned to the present state of opinion in Mississippi, and certain other deep southern states. Various members, among them Mr. Brooke, President Wright, and Mrs. C. M. Birnie, raised the point of whether present newspaper and magazine controversy is adequately recognizing the contribution of the Southern Regional Council to on-going group thinking.

After a luncheon adjournment at 12:15 p.m., the meeting reconvened at 1:45 p.m., all members of the staff being excluded except the Executive Director.

ATTACKS ON SRC

Discussion turned to the strategy of the reply to the attacks being made on the SRC. There being a good deal of sentiment in favor of lawsuits by the individual persons libelled in the Journal-American article, upon motion by Mr. Dent, the President of the Council was authorized to meet in consultation with the Chairman of the Executive Committee and with the Executive Director, to inquire of the Fund for the Republic whether that body would be willing to ask its counsel to give an opinion as to appropriate recourse against Fulton Lewis, Jr., and the Journal-American.

Upon further motion by Mr. John Griffin, the same three persons were requested to explore other courses of action and bring them to the attention of the Executive Committee.

PROPOSAL OF NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL WORKERS UNION

The Executive Director described a proposal made to him by Mr. H. L. Mitchell of the National Agricultural Workers Union, American Federation of Labor, for the calling of a conference on strategies to be used in countering the White Citizens Councils. After discussion, and upon motion by Mr. Dent, it was agreed that the Council did not wish the energies and resources of its staff to be diverted from the major policy programs already the responsibility of the staff.

OTHER PROBLEMS

Mr. Wright outlined a proposal that as the United States has funds for use in disaster areas, so a proportion of these funds might be made available in areas where civil rights were being neglected or abused.

Various members took part in a discussion of the White Citizens Councils and of means which might be used tolessen their influence in the South at this juncture.

FINANCE REPORT

At this point, the finance report was called for. Mrs. Alexander, Acting Secretary-Treasurer, displayed to members the source of funds raised in the first eighteen months grant period. She said that in the request made in 1955, for instance, of $100 each from members of the Executive Committee and from members of the Board, some twenty-four members had paid the requested amount or an approach to it -- the net income from this source being $2,398.

She reported that the Executive Committee would be asking, in the coming year, that Board members and Committee members give no stated amount, but assist the Council as much as possible.

Mr. G. S. Alexander, lately appointed as Administrative Assistant, read the proposed budget for the fiscal year October 1, 1955 - September 30, 1956, as follows:

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

PROPOSED BUDGET

For Fiscal Year - October 1, 1955 - September 30, 1956.

CENTRAL OFFICE ONLY.

INCOME:	Actual - 18 mos. 4/1/54 to 9/30/55.	Adjusted 12 mos.	Estimated 1955-1956
Contribution from Individuals, Organizations, Churches, etc.	$36,106.30	$24,070.91	$14,000.00
Dues	1,405.00	936.67	500.00
New South Subscriptions	3,603,63	2,402,42	6,000.00
Sale of Literature	4,981.50	3,321.00	3,000.00
Honoraria	2,527.01	1,684.69	1,000.00
Interest Income	2,577.16	1,718.03	800.00
State Divisions	597.50	398.34	
Fund for the Republic	80.200.00	53,466.67	25,000.00
Unexpended balance in Duke and Field Funds			12,100.00
Surplus 1954-55			2,500.00
Sub Total			$64,900.00
Anticipated Revenue from other sources to balance budget			28,180.00
TOTAL	$131,998.10	$87,998.73	$93,080.00

Estimated expenditure for fiscal year - October 1, 1955 to September 30, 1956 and comparison with actual expenditures for the 12 month period - September 1, 1954 to August 31, 1955.

EXPENSES:	Actual 1954-55	Proposed 1955-56
Salaries	$57,404.94	$61,600.00
Social Security Tax	760.57	800.00
Travel	6,945.15	7,500.00
Printing	10,528.10	8,500.00
Rent	1,335.00	1,680.00
Telephone & Telegraph	1,813.01	2,500.00
Postage	1,378.17	2,000.00
Books & Subscriptions	905,99	300.00
Accounting Fees	420.00	500.00
Insurance & Miscellaneous Expense	170.51	300.00
Office Supplies	4,807.58	2,900.00
Annual Meeting Expense	2,663.42	2,000.00
Special Meetings in Connection with Women's Work	893.37	2,500.00
Manuscript on Cotton Tenancy	150.00	
TOTAL	$90,175.81	$93,080.00

STAFF FORECAST OF INCOME FOR CURRENT FISCAL YEAR.

October 1, 1955 - September 30, 1956.

Received from the Fund for the Republic		$ 25,000.00
Carry-over from Marshall Field Grant, on hand or covenanted		5,250.00
Carry-over from Doris Duke Grant		6,850.00
Cash balance October 1, 1955 over and above current bills		2,500.00
Contributions:		
Church Organizations		
Methodist	$ 3,000.00	
Presbyterian	500.00	
Protestant Episcopal	1,000.00	
Other	500.00	5,000.00
Labor Organizations		
American Federation of Labor	3,000.00	
United Steelworkers	1,000.00	
United Automobile Workers	1,000.00	
International Ladies' Garment Workers	500.00	
Other	500.00	6,000.00
Small Foundations		1,000.00
Dues of Associate Members		500.00
Sale of Literature		3,000.00
New South Subscriptions - non-state		1,000.00
New South Subscriptions - state		5,000.00
Honoraria		1,000.00
Board and Executive Committee		2,000.00
Interest Income		800.00
Total clearly expectable		$ 64,900.00
Hoped-for contributions		
Further Grant from Doris Duke Foundation		7,000.00
John Hay Whitney Foundation		4,000.00
Other foundation aid		20,000.00
*Contribution to be raised by Finance Committee, net		15,000.00
TOTAL		$110,900.00

*In view of the importance of raising in this second grant period of aid from the Fund for the Republic a goodly sum to enable the Central Office and the Council as a whole to continue through the third grant period it is hoped that a much larger sum can be raised, mainly from contributions within the South.

FUNCTIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENSES

	ACTUAL 1954 - 1955	PROPOSED 1955 - 1956
ADMINISTRATION AND OVERHEAD		
Salary, Executive Director	$ 10.000.00	$ 10.000.00
Salary, Administrative Ass't		6,000.00
Salary, Sec'y to Exec. Dir.	3,000.00	3,100.00
Salary, Secretary-Treasurer	4,958.28	4,000.00
1/3 Salary, Clerk	1,000.00	1,000.00
Social Security for Central Off. Personnel.	760.57	800.00
Annual Meeting & Exec. Committee Meetings	2,663.42	2,000.00
Travel	6,703.82	7,000.00
Rent	1,335.00	1,680.00
Telephone & Telegram	1,813.01	2,500.00
Office Supplies & Equipment	4,500.00	2,500.00
Postage (not including New South)	1,378.17	2,000.00
Printing (other than New South)	6,335.48	2,000.00
Audit Fees	420.00	500.00
Miscellaneous Expense	127.29	300.00
Insurance	43.22	
Sub-totals	$ 45,038.26	$ 45,380.00
*INFORMATION SERVICE AND NEW SOUTH		
Salary, Ass't Dir. for Information	$ 6,833.48	$ 7,000.00
Salary, Editorial Assistant	1,791.52	5,000.00
Salary, Research Assistant	2,483.49	4,000.00
Salary, Clerk		2,700.00
2/3 Salary, Clerk (Circulation)	2,000.00	2,000.00
1/4 Salary, Clerk (Steno)	494.27	750.00
Salary Office Boy (Part-time)	328.50	300.00
New South, Printing & Postage	4,192.62	6,500.00
Envelopes, Addressograph, Plates, etc.	307.58	400.00
Books & Materials	705.99	300.00
Sub-totals	$ 19,137.45	$ 28,950.00

	ACTUAL	PROPOSED
LIAISON - STATE ORGANIZATIONS	1954-1955	1955-1956
Salary, Ass't Dir, for State Organ.	$ 6,083.31	$ 7,000.00
Salary, Ass't Dir. for State Organ.	3,289.30	2,000.00
1/4 Salary, Stenographer	494.27	750.00
Sub-totals	$ 9,866.88	$ 9,750.00
PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT		**
Salary, Ass't for Program Development	$ 7,750.00	To be provided under state training Program
1/4 Salary, Clerk	494.27	
Program Materials	200.00	
	$ 8,444.27	
WOMEN'S WORK		
Salary, Director of Women's Work.	$ 5,000.00	$ 5,250.00
1/4 Salary, Clerk	494.25	750.00
Travel, Director	241.33	500.00
Meetings, travel of participants etc.	893.37	2,500.00
Sub-totals	$ 6,628.95	$ 9,000.00
Two Clerks - July & August 1955	910.00	
SPECIAL PROJECTS		
Manuscript on Cotton Tenancy	150.00	
Grand Totals	$90,175.81	$93,080.00

* Of the total of $28,950.00 proposed to be spent for the Information Service and New South, $6,850.00 is available as an unexpended balance in the Doris Duke Foundation grant; $1,500.00 is available as an unexpended balance in the Marshall Field Foundation grant; and $5,000.00 has been promised us from the Marshall Field Foundation for the calendar year 1956. Of this $5,000.00 there will be $3,750.00 available for the current budget period.

** Salary for Ass't Director	$ 2,500.00
1/4 Salary, Clerk	500.00
Consultants, salaries and travel	4,000.00
Travel, Ass't Director	1,500.00
Total	$ 8,500.00

Members of the Council drew attention to the fact that of the $93,000 proposed to be spent, only some $64,000 seemed to be clearly expected. The Executive Director described some of the prospects for closing the gap, but stated that he did not expect the gap could be closed without quite substantial assistance from the Finance Committee of the Board. He said steps were underway, in consultation with the state organizations, for creating such a Committee. It was further suggested that in the present fiscal year, it should be the duty of such a Finance Committee to raise not a sum on the order of $15,000, but a sum on the order of $100,000 as during the fiscal year 1956-57 there was every reason to suppose that the Council would face extra difficulty in raising funds.

After further discussion, the budget was approved.

AMENDMENTS TO BY-LAWS

The Executive Committee recommended to the Board certain changes in the by-laws, to establish the right of the Executive Committee and Board to meet in the absence of staff personnel; thse were taken up.

Article II, Section 3, was amended to read: The President, the vice-presidents, the counsel, and the treasurer shall also be ex-officio members.

Article V, Section 1, was amended to read: The Council shall provide for an Executive Committee of not more than nine (9) members in addition to the president, vice-presidents, treasurer, and counsel. The Executive Committee shall serve during the pleasure of the Council and may be discharged and the Committee abolished at any time by the Council. Unless one of the members shall have beeen designated as chairman by the Council, the Executive Committee shall elect a chairman from its own number. During the intervals between the meetings of the Council the Executive Committee shall possess and may exercise all of the powers of the corporation, conferred by these by-laws or the charter of the corporation, in all cases in which specific directions shall not have

been given by the Council. The Executive Committee shall keep full and fair accounts of its transactions. All action by the Executive Committee shall be reported to the Council at its meeting next succeeding such action, and shall be subject to revision and alterations by the Council; provided that no rights of third persons shall be affected by any such revision or alteration. Vacancies in the Executive Committee shall be filled by the Council.

Upon motion the proposed amendments were unanimously approved.

REPORT OF THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

President Wright called for a report of the Nominating Committee. The report was read by the Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C.O., of South Carolina, as follows

Report of Nominating Committee to Board of Directors in Meeting at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama on November 9, 1955.

In accordance with the By-Laws of the Council, the Nominating Committee met on Saturday, October 8, 1955 in Atlanta, Georgia.

Present at the meeting were Father Maurice V. Shean (served as chairman); Mr. Benjamin E. Mays; and Mr. Philip Hammer. Mr. George Mitchell served as secretary to the Committee.

The Committee having been apprised of vacancies on the board; list of officers; and other committees due to resignations and graduation agreed on the following nominations:

(* Indicates nominations for re-election)

Members of the Board

Alabama
* Dr. C. G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute.
Mr. Wm. Kaufman, Mobile.
Dr. L. H. Foster, Tuskegee Institute.

Arkansas
* Mrs. W. F. Bates, Little Rock.
Mr. M. Lafayette Harris, Little Rock.

Florida.
* Mr. Herbert Davidson, Daytona Beach.

Georgia.
* Mr. J. A. Griffin, Emory University.
* Dr. J. M. Richards. Decatur.
* Dr. H. V. Richardson, Atlanta.
Mr. Robert Snodgrass, Atlanta.
Mrs. Robert McDougall, Atlanta.
Mr. Leonard Haas, Atlanta.

Kentucky
Mrs. William Heuser, Louisville.

Louisiana.
* Miss Florence Sytz, New Orleans.
Mr. Monte Lemann, New Orleans.

Mississippi
* The Rt. Rev. Monsignor Brunini, Jackson.

North Carolina.
* Dr. E. A. McDowell, Wake Forest.
* The Rt. Rev. E. A. Penick, Raleigh.
Mr. Harry L. Golden, Charlotte.

Oklahoma
Mr. James Stewart.

South Carolina
* The Very Rev. M. V. Shean, Rock Hill.
Mr. James M. Dabbs, Mayesville.

Tennessee
* Mr. Paul Christopher, Knoxville
* Dr. Chas. S. Johnson, Nashville.
* Mrs. J. Fount Tillman, Lewisburg.

Texas
* Mrs. J. M. Rayzor, Houston.
* Mr. J. Edwin Smith, Houston.

Virginia
Mr. Frank Price, Lexington.

Alternates for Board (All New)

Alabama
Mrs. Myra Jones Bryant, Birmingham.
Mr. York Wilburn, Tuscaloosa.

Arkansas
Mrs. E. J. Sparling, Hot Springs.

Kentucky

Mr. Mark Etheridge, Louisville.

Louisiana
Mrs. Jacqueline Leonhard.

Mississippi
Mr. Purser Hewitt, Jackson.

North Carolina
Mr. Julian Price, Greensboro.
Dr. Raymond Wheeler

South Carolina

Mr. W. E. Solomon.
Mr. Chester E. Travelstead, Columbia.

Virginia

Mrs. J. Birdsall Calkins, Arlington.

Officers (* Indicates nominations for re-election).

* President	--------	Marion A. Wrigh t.
Vice President	--------	Paul D. Williams.
* Vice President	--------	Gordon B. Hancock.
* Vice President	--------	Albert W. Dent.
* Vice President	--------	Carter Wesley.
(1) Counsel	--------	Vacancy, to be filled ad-interim by Executive Committee.

(1) Mr. Leonard Haas nominated from floor.

Executive Committee (*Indicates nominations for re-elections)

Chairman	--------	* Rufus E. Clement
		J. M. Dabbs
		* Mrs. Cassandra M. Birnie
		* Paul Christopher
		* John A. Griffin
		* Harry V. Richardson
		* Maurice V. Shean
		* Miss Josephine Wilkins
		E. A. McDowell
		and above officers.

Nominating Committee (All New)

I. H. Burney
Guy Johnson
Mrs. E. U. Robinson

(Elected by Executive Committee in Meeting October 28-29, 1955).

Carroll Brooke, Virginia
B. R. Brazeal, Georgia

All Nominees unanimously elected November 9, 1955.

11/9/55.

Mr. Leonard Haas was nominated from the floor for the office of Counsel. Upon motion, the nominees named were unanimously elected.

The Executive Director and the Secretary-Treasurer having withdrawn, the Council proceeded to its duty under the by-laws to determine whether the Executive Director and the Secretary-Treasurer would be confirmed for the ensuing year. On motion these two officials were reelected for one year, they being George S. Mitchell, Executive Director, and Mrs. Ruth House Alexander, Secretary-Treasurer.

On motion by Miss Josephine Wilkins, the staff was directed to submit to the Executive Committee, at an early meeting, not later than the April Meeting, proposals for the continued existence of the Council after the expiration of the grant from the Fund for the Republic.

Mrs. Birnie proposed for discussion a possible resolution from the Council condemning economic pressure as exercised by the White Citizens Counsils. After discussion in which many members took part, and the motion was withdrawn, no action was taken.

The meeting adjourned at 4:00 p.m.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
January 20-21, 1956

The meeting was held at 63 Auburn Ave. in Atlanta, with Mr. Rufus Clement, Chairman, presiding. Attending the afternoon session at 2:00 P.M. in the Lounge of the Building were the following members of the Executive Committee: Mr. J. M. Dabbs, Miss Josephine Wilkins, Mr. M. A. Wright, Mr. Rufus Clement, Mr. John Griffin and The Very Rev. M. V. Shean, C.O. After the beginning Executive Session the following staff members were invited in: Mrs. Ruth Alexander, Secretary-Treasurer; Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director for Information; Fred Routh, Assistant Director for State Organizations; C. H. Parrish, Assistant Director for State Organizations; John Hope, II, Assistant Director for Program; and George S. Mitchell, Executive Director. Mrs. Majorie Fiske served as Secretary.

After the Chairman's call for the minutes of the previous meeting, Miss Wilkins requested an amendment.

Under the heading "Proposed Statement for Use in SRC's Defense," the following language had appeared in the minutes of the meeting of October 28 and 29, 1955:

A drafted statement was then made available to the Committee, with particular attention being called to the argument developed on page 7 re the usefulness to Communism of such attacks as that currently being made in Georgia, and after discussion of a possible additional paragraph the statement was given approval.

The statement as approved is here supplied in the minutes:

"Not only is this phony 'anti-Communism' vicious; it offends the intelligence of every thinking person. The international communist movement has one, and only one, interest in our racial problems - that is, to exploit them throughout the world. Some two-thirds of the people of the earth are dark-skinned, and the communists are trying desperately to win them with the

claim that our kind of democracy is available only to white persons. If there were no racial discrimination or segregation in this country, the communist movement in Asia and Africa would lack its most effective weapon.

A perfect example of this fact is the reaction of Soviet Russian officialdom to the Supreme Court decision. For days, the government-controlled Russian press made no mention whatever of the decision. When at last they could ignore it no longer, they announced defensively that the decision meant nothing - that it would never be implemented. This is precisely the argument that Attorney-General Cook and his fellow demagogues make so noisily. Unwittingly perhaps, but undeniably, they do a great service to the cause of communism every time they raise their voices on behalf of 'white supremacy.'

Individuals and organizations that work responsibly and conscientiously for the growth of democracy in the South and the Nation are the opponents that the communists really fear. Yet it is precisely these individuals and organizations that Mr. Cook and his kind seek to defame and discredit. What could please the communists more than to get the credit for every effort to make our American ideal a working, living reality? What could please them more than a campaign to arouse suspicion and hatred of those citizens who work intelligently for a more just, democratic, and Christian society? How they must delight in the irony of such Americans being stigmatized as servants and dupes of the communist cause!

No informed person believes that the communists want to see Negroes accorded equal rights and dignity or that they want to see our racial problems solved through the orderly processes of the law and constructive community action. The communists want to see us hopelessly bogged down in our prejudices and our fears. They want to see us defying the law of the land, whipping up racial hatred for political purposes. In this respect, they have a common purpose with Attorney-General Cook and his kind."

It was agreed that the statement should be circulated widely, and that it might ultimately be the basis of a printed pamphlet.

Miss Wilkins said the lengthy statement had been available to her only at the time of the previous meeting; that she noted that the minutes carried only four paragraphs from the entirety of the statement; and that she was clear in the recollection that at the previous meeting the action taken had been "approval of the statement in principle."

Upon motion the minutes of the previous meeting were amended to read: "A drafted statement was then made available to the Committee and was approved in principle."

The entirety of this statement as approved in principle in the meeting of October 28 and 29, 1955 is appended to the minutes of this meeting as Exhibit A.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

The Executive Director said that the Council was now mid-way in its enjoyment of its grant from The Fund for the Republic. Twenty-two months under that grant had elapsed and twenty-one were to come.

He said that fiscally the Central Office might expect to be in funds through the month of May. Aid to the States was good until the end of the fiscal year, i.e., September 30.

We have twelve State organizations, of which perhaps seven are strong, one is weak, and four are so-so.

We are getting on top of the training program through the employment of Mr. John Hope II and the expanding consultants program.

Mr. Fred Routh has learned the great skill of improving ailing State organizations.

Mr. Fleming is beginning to get a back flow of information from the States.

The State organizations are proving increasingly helpful to Mrs. Tilly through her work with Church groups.

The State organizations seem to feel secure about raising their money for this fiscal year.

We will need a vigorous Finance Committee of SRC which will have a task of raising somewhere around $20,000.

New South now has about 4,100 subscribers and is taking on new subscribers at a rate of about 200 a month.

The second year of the grant aid from Field Foundation, Inc. has been received in the amount of $5,000. The Doris Duke Foundation in response to our request has sent $7,000 as a final grant for conduct of our Information Program.

The Staff is pursuing additional sources of funds.

We have a good staff professionally and clerically.

We may expect further attacks on the Council.

Some appraisal was given on the status of possible libel action against the Hearst Journal-American.

The sad death of Dr. Will W. Alexander was spoken of.

The Tuskegee Board Meeting had requested a staff proposal for continuance after the expiry of the Fund for the Republic grant. Such a proposal had been circulated to members of the Committee and was available for its discussion.

REPORT OF ASSISTANT DIRECTOR FOR INFORMATION - Harold C. Fleming

He referred to the growing function in the obtaining, storing and analysis of information; and to the insistent demand for briefing of journalists in the South. He had in prospect

for publication a revision of Answers for Action and a leaflet simply reprinting the Supreme Court decisions and giving an analysis of them. He reported on the current effort of the New York Times to obtain the Southern story; an arrangement come to with the Southern Historical Association for the publication by the Southern Regional Council of certain speeches given at their recent historical meeting; and described recent conferences looking toward an expansion of our work with affiliated State groups, toward obtaining a full picture on what is goin on in the South.

REPORT OF ASSISTANT DIRECTOR FOR PROGRAM - JOHN HOPE II

The Consultant program has been organized with the view of serving SRC State offices with technical services. Nine technically qualified people have been invited to serve as consultants to State organizations and for other purposes. The consultants, who are well-prepared people in their field with good backgrounds, include Dr. Robert Johnson, Dr. Louis Killian, Mrs. Bonita Valien, Dr. Harry Walker, G. E. Wilson, Mr. Whitney Young, W. D. Jones, and Dr. Kenneth Clark. Three areas in which it is hoped the consultants will be working are:

1. Being available to the State organizations for weekend workshop sessions with the Board and staff members.
2. Conferences of the staffs from the "hard core" states.
3. Consultants might be farmed out to other organizations on demand. They could help other groups in setting up institutes, workshops, etc.

REPORT OF ASSISTANT DIRECTOR FOR STATE ORGANIZATIONS - Fred Routh

Mr. Routh reviewed the progress thus far of each of the State organizations.

Mr. Wright commented that previously there had been criticism that the central office lacked an integrated staff and

so did the States. Now all but one of the States has integrated staffs.

REPORT OF SECRETARY-TREASURER - Mrs. Ruth H. Alexander

Mrs. Alexander provided the following report:

BOARD MEMBERSHIP:

The matter of the resignation of Mrs. C. M. Birnie was presented and discussion followed about whether the Executive Committee could fill vacancies between Board meetings or whether the vacancy would have to remain until the next Board meeting. The chair was called upon for a ruling on the right of the ExecutiveCommittee to fill interral vacancies on that committee. It was the ruling of the chair that, under the by-laws, the Executive Committee had the authority to fill such vacancies. Miss Wilkins suggested that we leave ourselves without filling the vacancy created by Mrs. Birnie's resignation until the next meeting with the hope expressed that in the interim someone will see Mrs. Birnie and she will reconsider and withdraw her resignation. If she does not then the vacancy will be filled at the next meeting.

REPORT OF ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT - G. S. Alexander

Mr. Alexander reported as follows on the total Board membership:

Before the November Board meeting, the Council had 75 Board Members of which 25 were ex-officio members.

Members at the Tuskegee Board meeting did not nominate the following members for re-election:

1. Ralph Barbare, Rock Hill, South Carolina
2. O. D. Duncan, Stillwater, Oklahoma
3. R. O'Hara Lanier, Houston, Texas
4. Clyde Milner, Guilford College, North Carolina
5. L. E. Thomas, Miami, Florida
6. A. S. Turnipseed, Mobile, Alabama

In addition there were six known vacancies on the Board. Of those elected at the Tuskegee meeting the following have accepted:

1. Dr. L. H. Foster, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
2. Mr. M. Lafayette Harris, Little Rock, Arkansas
3. Mr. Leonard Haas, Atlanta, Georgia
4. Mr. Harry L. Golden, Charlotte, North Carolina
5. Mr. James M. Dabbs, Mayesville, South Carolina
6. Mrs. Myra Jones Bryant, Birmingham, Alabama
7. Mr. W. E. Solomon, Columbia, South Carolina
8. Mr. York Willbern, Tuscaloosa, Alabama

The following persons have refused:

1. Mr. Robert Snodgrass, Atlanta, Georgia
2. Mrs. Robert McDougall, Atlanta, Georgia
3. Mrs. William Heuser, Louisville, Kentucky
4. Mr. Monte Lemann, New Orleans, Louisiana
5. Mr. Frank Price, Lexington, Virginia
6. Mr. Mark Etheridge, Louisville, Kentucky
7. Mr. Chester E. Travelstead, Columbia, South Carolina
8. Mr. Julian Price (Deceased), Greensboro, North Carolina

The following persons have been invited to serve on the Voard but have not replied as yet:

1. Mr. James Stewart, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
2. Mrs. E. J. Sparling, Hot Springs, Arkansas
3. Mrs. Jacqueline Leonard, Louisiana
4. Mrs. J. Birdsall Calkins, Arlington, Virginia

The following persons who were nominated as alternates have not as yet been extended an invitation to join the Board:

1. Mr. Purser Hewitt, Jackson, Mississippi
2. Dr. Raymond Wheeler, North Carolina

The Board as of January 18, 1956, has 78 members and 5 vacancies.

The ex-officio membership is complete.

Members of the Committee stated that since four persons were invited but have not accepted and some have not yet been invited

and there are only five vacancies there was no need for action at this time by the Executive Committee.

REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE

Mr. G. S. Alexander gave a report on the status of the proposed SRC Finance Committee. Each of the twelve State affiliates have been asked for nominations, and Alabama, Arkansas and Mississippi alone had not yet sent in nominations.

Mr. Wright and Mr. Mitchell proposed that we organize three area meetings of the Committee members which Mr. Wright and also Dr. Mitchell would attend. Those present at these area meetings would be asked to make plans for raising money.

PLACE OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETINGS

After some discussion on the shift of this meeting from New Orleans to Atlanta, and of the experience thus far with the Executive Committee meetings scheduled outside Atlanta, the suggestion was made by the Executive Director that in the future we schedule all meetings of the Executive Committee in Atlanta, except the one during the summer months. Upon motion by Mr. Wright this was agreed to.

The meeting then adjourned until the evening session.

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The Committee reconvened at 7:30 P.M. in the Lounge of 63 Auburn Avenue. The Committee members present were: Marion A. Wright, The Very Rev. M. V. Shean, C. O., J. M. Dabbs, and Josephine Wilkins. Staff members present were George S. Mitchell, C. H. Parrish, Harold C. Fleming, Fred Routh and John Hope II. Elizabeth Friedman served as Secretary.

The meeting took up the matter of possible libel suits. The Executive Director summarized information obtained from a visit by Mr. Morris Abram to interview legal firms engaged in libel practice in New York. Morris Abram reported that it was

altogether possible that a firm could be induced to take the cases on a contingent-fee basis, but that the most suitable such firm held that a sum of $10,000 to $15,000 would have to be provided for the preliminary close scrutiny of the writings and history of persons who might be parties to the suits.

The report was made also of the efforts through Mr. Wright to get word to the newspaper involved in the libels that the Council has friends.

"No suit in the name of the SRC," the Executive Director said, was presently under consideration.

Mr. Wright: So there is no action to be taken at this time?

Executive Director: The question is "Would the Council oppose private law suits by the parties libelled?" Of course, the SRC's good name is involved.

Miss Wilkins: Anything expressed at Tuskegee? They wanted something done? There was no expression of not wanting action?

Mr. Fleming: The people who are interested in suing are interested, not from the point of view of personal vindication, but from principle.

Mr. Wright: But the individuals have been jumped on by the Hearst paper because they have been on the Board, because they have been our firends and helpers. We are under moral obligation to be of any help to them. Do not go into the treasury. If they want to bring suit we should help them.

Miss Wilkins: They will be helping the Council if they bring suit.

Mr. Wright: A suit would not help us - financially or otherwise.

Miss Wilkins: If the individuals bring suit, do you feel that that is a disadvantage?

Mr. Wright: I would rather that the individuals not bring the suit, but I would not impose my judgement

against that of these people.

Father Shean: Does it weaken the suit if only four or five bring suit?

Mr. Wright: It will be separately by individuals.

Mr. Dabbs: I agree with you - on legal opinion. I would simply say I disagree with you personally.

Mr. Wright: It would not be a legal matter. I have the feeling that no good will result, but some harm might come from a suit. We should be of all aid we can to the individual. The Council would have no standing in court.

Mr. Mitchell: There is a common law right to defend ourselves as a Council.

Miss Wilkins: After all this was regarding an attack on the members of the Board of SRC by bringing suit. They will not only fight their own battle, but also SRC's battle, and also a much greater battle. I felt we were all helping each other.

Mr. Mitchell: The staff would gather from this debate - if some desire to sue, the SRC will render what support it can.

Mr. Wright: I interpret that as being our unanimous opinion. Is there any dissent? (There was none). It is the unanimous decision that the Council should render all assistance it can to individuals who may desire to institute some action.

John Hope: Is there any difference between the SRC taking the position of giving all assistance possible and other position that they backs? You see the process of clipping people off one at a time. The reaction began to form when some people stood their ground.

BUDGET FOR THE NEXT QUARTER

The Executive Director in the unavoidable absence of Mr. G. S. Alexander stated that Mr. Alexander had made a careful examination of the various categories of expenditures under the budget as approved by the Tuskegee Board meeting and had found that, item for item, we were quite close at the expiration of the first quarter of the fiscal year to having spent an even

quarter of the funds budgeted.

The Committee, on the basis of the Director's report on the budget for the last quarter, on motion approved continuance on the present basis for the ensuing quarter.

The budget analysis referred to above which was not distributed at the time to Members of the Executive Committee is appended to the Minutes of this meeting as Exhibit B.

THE SOUTH AT A CRISIS

Mr. Wright suggested consideration at this point of the papers which were read by Mr. Fleming and Mr. Routh in the afternoon, which papers had been requested by Mr. Wright.

Mr. Hope suggested that the various consultants be supplied with these papers in full.

The papers are appended to the Minutes as read. The cautionary remark was made by each author that the papers had been prepared under pressure of time and were held subject to considerable revision.

Mr. Parrish, in discussion, spoke of the importance of finding the next spots to work on in each of the States and of planning to remove from the public mind the various fears pushed by anti-compliance organizations. He wanted us to give attention to techniques in human relations appropriate to local situations; and to the engagements of the interest of new people who might not be willing to go all the way, but who did respect law and order and who did dislike violence. In some part it became a matter of getting good new people on to the State Boards.

Mr. Hope spoke of the importance of getting results in some communities as an encouragement to others. Also he thought that Southern areas would greatly care what opinion of them was held in Washington and the rest of the world. The South "gets more

money from the United States Treasury than any other part of the country." We could begin to probe into the propriety of this. Such problems as transportation and others were collateral to the school question.

Father Shean said that many epople who think they are standing alone are surprised to find the amount of agreement elsewhere in their communities.

Further discussion came around to the view that the content of the two papers should be the basis of an early special issue of New South. And the Committee upon motion directed that this be done.

STAFF ATTENDANCE AT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND BOARD MEETINGS

Mr. Wright brought up the resolution made at the final Executive Session at the Mammoth Cave meeting last summer, which action had severely limited staff attendance at meetings of the Executive Committee.

Mr. Wright said in subsequent conferences with the staff that it had appeared to him that the arrangement set up at Mammoth Cave was not an altogether happy one. He had therefore asked the staff to submit a proposal on that matter. The Executive Director then read the memorandum following:

TO; The Executive Committee
FROM: The Professional Staff
RE: Staff Participation in Executive Committee and Board Meetings

The staff fully recognizes that the Board and Executive Committee have complete authority to prescribe the degree of staff participation, if any, they wish to have in policy-making meetings. The purpose of this memorandum is merely to set forth in an advisory spirit our best thinking on the subject.

The aim of any arrangement should, it seems to us, be two-fold: (1) to make possible the fullest sharing of ideas and

opinions by professional staff and policy persons; but at the same time (2) to safeguard the privacy of the policy group in actual decision-making and in considering staff members, staff performance, and other intimate organizational questions.

As your professional staff, we feel that we have much both to give and to get by participation in policy disucssions. We are able in this way to benefit from the experience and knowledge of our lay leadership; we can deepen our insight into what is wanted and expected of us; and we can emerge with sound understanding of the thinking behind decisions which we are to implement. Conversely, Board and Committee members will have the advantage of detailed information and insights which staff members derive from day-to-day work in this field. Creative interchange of this kind seems to us the essence of wise formulation of program and policy.

We emphasize, however, that once full discussion has taken place and all views have been frankly expressed and considered, decision is exclusively the function of the policy group. Staff members have neither the right nor the desire to intrude on this function.

In order to further these objectives, we propose the following arrangements:

(1) That the Executive Director, the Assistant Directors, the Director of Women's Work, and the Secretary-Treasurer be present at all except Executive Sessions. It is recognized that there will be sessions in which the presence of the Executive Director alone would be desirable.

(2) That the agenda for each meeting be so ordered that there are ample Executive Sessions during which the Committee or Board may make its final decisions and take up matters of a private nature.

(3) That the agenda be so planned that staff members may know in advance which sessions they are expected to attend.

(4) That both staff members and policy persons carefully observe the distinction between open sessions and Executive Sessions and guard against ill-timed discussions.

Mr. Wright indicated intention on the part of the Executive Committee in Executive Session to decide any action on this matter.

DEATH OF DR. WILL W. ALEXANDER

Upon motion the following resolution was approved and ordered sent to Mrs. Alexander:

> We, the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, wish to acknowledge the incalculable debt which we, the South, and the Nation owe to the late Dr. Will W. Alexander. It was largely through his leadership that Negro and white Southerns first joined in equal dignity to seek the way to a more democratic society. The growing number of Americans devoted to the achievement of this aim stand as a living memorial to his unfaltering faith in his fellowmen. Here was a man who translated into skilled actions the thoughts of a keen mind and the love of a great heart. We shall gravely miss his wise counsel but we re-dedicate ourselves to furthering the task which was his life-work.

NULLIFICATION, INTERPOSITION, UNDSOWEITER

Father Shean, Mr. Wright and Mr. Fleming and others briefly discussed the purport of this present controversy. Father Shean thought there ought to be some clarification of the public meaning of the controversy.

Mr. Wright suggested that Mr. Fleming be in touch with Professor Jay Murphy of the University of Alabama, and get also additional aid from recent articles that have appeared in law journals of the University of Virginia and the University of South Carolina.

Upon motion, it was resolved that a letter be sent to Dr. Gordon Hancock expressing the hopes of the Executive Committee for his early and full recovery.

Whereupon the meeting adjourned.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

The Committee then met briefly in Executive Session. It had before it the staff memorandum dealing with staff and Board relations given on page 9. After full consideration of the proposal, it was moved, seconded and unanimously carried that the resolution be approved. Whereupon the Executive Committee adjourned for the evening.

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The Committee reconvened Saturday morning, January 21. Present, from the Executive Committee, were: Marion A. Wright, J. M. Dabbs, Josephine Wilkins, The Very Rev. M. V. Shean, C.O., Those present from the staff were Harold C. Fleming, Fred Routh, John Hope II, C. H. Parrish, Mrs. Dorothy Tilly. Mrs. Marjorie Fiske served as Secretary. The Executive Director was unavoidably absent on a previous engagement in New Oleans. Frank Loescher, of the Fund for the Republic, was present.

LOESCHER ON HIS TRAVELS

Mr. Loescher very kindly gave to the Executive Committee various impressions of the journey he was making about the South. He had attended a meeting of the Consultants at Atlanta University and thought it a valuable activity with a constructive program underway. He had been impressed with the activities of our friends in Virginia and most particularly with the religious forces in the State.

In South Carolina he had felt some affinity with conditions in South Africa. He had been understandingly assisted by Mr. McCain, by Father Shean and by various others.

He had visited our offices in Florida and Mississippi and at Montgomery he had attended a meeting of the bus-boycott group; a most impressive occasion.

He saw a need of interpretation to the nation of the silent South - the people whose voices are not being heard.

After further discussion Mr. Fleming referred to the desirability of efforts to protect the right to vote and the conversation carried along that line for some time.

Mr. Hope said the more we can get information and block it in so that we can use it, the better we can carry on informing the public. In cooperation with the Consultants Program there were possibilities of getting probably gratis assistance from university set-ups to organize and analyze blocks of material. We need such material not only for the Consultants, but also to get out information to the general public.

Mr. Fleming: How can we develop a systematic professional service of intake and analysis of this kind of raw material?

Mr. Loescher: Many believe we ought to get every State to get a social scientist on its Board. Consultants might give some thought as to how the social scientist might make research available from each State.

Mr. Wright thought that with material of this kind we might enlarge the Government's definition of disaster areas.

Mr. Fleming asked the Executive Committee to give some expression for the Minutes on the general subject. "That the staff explore, in conjunction with the affiliated State organizations, an arrangement in each State toward the development of a systematic region-wide fact-finding program to document practices in the crucial areas of race relations today."

Mr. Griffin: Did you mean to proceed or to just bring in plans by next Executive Committee meeting?

Mr. Fleming: I would like to work it out in terms of organization.

Mr. Wright: It would be the view of the Executive Committee that the proposal outlined by Mr. Fleming be authorized to begin at such time as in the discretion of the staff is wise.

Mr. Loescher saw the analogy of what was being proposed to a present school reporting service and legal reporting service. This now emerges as an economic and political reporting service. Discussion was also underway with Southern churchmen about a religious reporting service.

THE WORK WITH CHURCH WOMEN

A great deal of what has been discussed relates to whole work as well as to what Mrs. Tilly is doing. She is interested in it as it relates to the Church. When we talk of "social engineers," we need a voice in the Church. All the methods and thinking you can present won't amount to very much unless you can work out a motivation for it. In Time, there appeared a story of an old Negro woman who had been walking for a long time and when asked if her feet were tired, she said no, her feet were rested, but her soul was tired.

The silent Church is a part of the silent South Mr. Loescher referred to. Mrs. Tilly expressed concern that it has no spiritual side. There must be a religious conviction. It isn't going to come about through social scientists, obviously. Mr. Mitchell wanted her to go to various denominational boards and talk about the moderate man who has no convictions. The Citizens' Councils are building on Bible misinterpretations. That side we have neglected. Somewhere on that basis she has been trying to work with Church women. An example is the Georgia Council of Church women which was not a very strong organization. They wanted to, but didn't accomplish so much. She had a two-day retreat for them - gave them something to fight for - a cause. Now they are a strong and sturdy organization. A pamphlet on the Bible is needed refuting what the Citizens' Councils are doing. And it is needed now. It should not bear the SRC label.

Mr. Dabbs: Church men plan to get out a leaflet on the refutation of Bible interpretations. The idea is to get four or five leading ministers rather than someone from a theological school. But, it should be publicized by individual denominations

but signed by these men.

POST-1957 PLANS

As time progressed toward adjournment, Miss Wilkins asked that the discussion of a post-1957 p rogram carry over as the first item of business at the next meeting of the Executive Committee and that in the call for the next meeting the attention of the Committee be drawn to the fact that this topic was to come up at the meeting. This was moved, seconded, and carried.

PROPOSAL FOR MORE SUBSCRIBERS

Mr. Parrish suggested the Council explore the possibility of having State organization members 300 stron each approach twenty friends and give them a one-year subscription to New South thus reaching 6,000 more key Southerners.

Mr. Loescher suggested getting national agencies and groups to get subscriptions for their members.

Mrs. Tilly expressed the need for items more simple for New South.

Mr. Wright conveyed the appreciation of the Committee to Mr. Loescher for his presence and the meeting adjourned at 12:40.

(TO BE TRANSCRIBED INTO THE MINUTES BOOK OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE)

February 8, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

The following typed statement resulted from the meeting yesterday of the sub-committee of the Board for which meeting you and Rufus Clement and Leonard Haas and George Mitchell and Harold Fleming and Fred Routh were present.

It is the unanimous conclusion of the Committee that:

1. The President of SRC shall immediately request of the Fund for the Republic authorization to employ up to $15,000 of funds previously granted, for the purpose of providing the necessary research for actions by individual Board members who have been maligned and who wish to institute actions.

2. The Committee will recommend to the Executive Committee that the necessary funds, if and when available, up to $15,000 shall be used for the purposes above stated.

3. In addition, that Mr. Morris Abram shall be requested to explore with the ACLU the possibilities of its legal or other assistance, in connection with the proposed suits (including the furnishing by ACLU of funds up to $15,000 to assist libelled Board members of SRC in filing suits).

4. The Executive Director shall be at liberty to convass the prospective plaintiffs, and see what contributions they might severally make toward the research expenses.

5. The Council stands pledged to render such other assistance as it can in the furtherance of such actions as may be instituted.

Sincerely,

GSM:mef

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
April 20-21, 1956

The meeting was called to order at 2:00 p.m., April 20th, in the Conference Room, Harkness Hall, Atlanta University, by Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Chairman.

The following members were present:

Marion A. Wright, President
Rufus E. Clement, Chairman
Carter Wesley, Vice-President
J. M. Dabbs
Maurice V. Shean
Harry V. Richardson *

Staff members present were:

George Mitchell
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Mrs. Ruth Alexander
Harold Fleming
C. H. Parrish
Frederick B. Routh
John Hope
G. S. Alexander
Elizabeth Brantley

Mr. A. R. Suritz of Rock Hill, South Carolina, was present as a visitor.

After Invocation by Mr. J. M. Dabbs the Minutes of the meeting of January 20-21, previously mailed to each member, were proposed for adoption. Mr. Wright asked that the language attributed to him on page 7 of these Minutes ("A suit in the name of SRC is not likely to succeed. It could not be maintained.") be deleted. And the Minutes thus amended were approved. The Committee then went into a short Executive Session.

DISCUSSION OF POST-1957 PROGRAM OF SRC

In accordance with the order of businesss established for this meeting by the January, 1956 meeting, discussion on this subject took place at the opening of the April meeting. The Executive Director called particular attention to the material beginning on page 6 of the report previously mailed out as follows:

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* Present only at Saturday morning (April 21) session.

George Mitchell says we should plan for three further years after the expiry of the help from the Fund for the Republic, which occurs in September, 1957. His plan contemplates three years of further modest aid to some of the states, and continuance on a reduced basis of the most essential services of a central office.

Argument on the states runs as follows: In 1957 we shall be aiding the states on a level of $8,500 for each state. Each will run to a total budget of over $15,000. After 1957 there will be some of the states which in all likelihood could not carry on in reasonable strength unless they had some extra help. SRC would be free of any commitment to help all the states alike, and could put help on the states that would need it most. How many? Say six. How much? Say an average of $6,000 each. Call it $35,000 of annual subsidy to state organizations, on a minimum basis; and $50,000 of annual subsidy on a reasonable basis.

On the central office, certain services would have to be saved. You should keep up an interchange through an organ like New South. You need a paymaster, by title a Secretary-Treasurer. You would have to have at least one man travelling out to the states a great deal; ideally a combination administration and program.man. New South lives by having someone to collect information, that gets called a

Director of Research. You would need two and probably three clerks. And you would need some sort of Director. In a budget, for minimum and for reasonable, it looks like this:

POSSIBLE BUDGET FOR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
Typical Year 1957 et seq

States	Minimum	Reasonable
For subsidy	35,000	50,000
Central Office		
Salaries		
Executive Director	8,000	10,000
Secretary	3,500	3,500
Secretary-Treasurer	4,000	5,000
Director of Inform.	7,000	7,500
Director of Resear.	7,500	5,000
Clerk	3,000	3,200
Clerk	3,000	3,200
Field Man	7,000	7,500
	37,000	43,800

(continued on next page)

Possible Budget - continued

Central Office	Minimum	Reasonable
Travel	5,000	8,000
Rent	1,200	1,500
Supplies	1,000	1,200
Telephone & Telegraph	1,200	1,500
Postage	800	1,000
Printing	10,000	10,000
Social Security	1,200	1,400
Miscellaneous	500	500
	57,700	68,900
Total, Central Office	58,000	69,000
Total, Central Office & State	93,000	119,000

In three years
Central Office and State
Minimum 279,000 - 280,000
Reasonable 357,000 - 360,000

How do you get together such sums?

By all experience, there is something that the staff can raise by friendships of the past. I would estimate this as follows:

(1958-60)
Per Year

From Churches	10,000
From Labor	10,000
Subscriptions to N.S.	15,000
Ind. Gifts	1,000
Sale Literature	1,000
Honoraria	1,000
Total	38,000

Annually, on the minimum budget of $93,000 this leaves $55,000 to be raised by a finance committee.

On the reasonable budget, it leaves $81,000 to be raised annually by a finance committee.

If you go on a three year basis:

Minimum budget:

Needed - 3 years	$280,000
Staff to raise	114,000
Balance, finance committee	166,000

Reasonable budget:

Needed - 3 years	357,000
Staff to raise	114,000
Balance, finance committee	243,000

All of which is to say that three more years would cost on a minimum basis, say $165,000 more than is in sight; and on a reasonable basis, $240,000 more than is in sight.

The Executive Director stated that, as always, he had been squeamish about planning for the perpetuation of the Southern Regional Council but that the effort suggested was geared into a three year period following 1957. For such an extension of the work of the agency, a finance committee would have to put together between $160,000 and $240,000. The proposal was based on the supposition that about half of the present state organizations will need some financial assistance after 1957. And that the existing arrangement of flat equality

in subsidy to each state would give way to aid proportioned to individual state needs.

Mr. Wright said that in his view the Council ought to try to survive as a central organization for some years further, and that if it did not the situation in the South might be pretty hopeless.

Mr. Wesley suggested that we plan for a longer period than three years and set our sights on money-raising for the three years.

Mr. Wright asked if any approach had been made to the Fund for the Republic as to their attitude toward such a proposal.

The Executive Director stated that the Fund for the Republic had been particularly firm in their original negotiations that they will not assist the Southern Regional Council after the expiration of the first three and one-half year period.

Mr. Clement thought that we might wisely ask the Fund for the Republic fairly soon to review the situation and consider making an additional grant.

The Executive Director stated that there was much history and commitment that the FFR expected SRC to find continuation money within the South.

Discussion turned to the role of SRC in the next several years in the South. The Louisiana suit brought against the NAACP had raised the question of whether SRC would have put upon it a role of substitution for the work of the NAACP. The Executive Director gave it as his view that the temporary eclipse of the NAACP in Louisiana would not stick in law.

Mr. Wesley said that in any case things could be speeded up by the educational work of SRC.

Mr. Mitchell said that in the last five years the received definition of the South had lessened by one state -- Oklahoma -- and that in a year or two Kentucky and maybe one or two others would take themselves out of the "Southern" picture.

Mr. Wesley said that increasingly the need for the type of legal work that the NAACP does will be diminished, but the type of work we do will be more needed as time goes on.

After some discussion of possible sources of funds within the South and from various foundations, it was agreed that the staff should early prepare a request for additional foundation funds with which to continue for a three-year period after the expiration of the present FFR grant.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

The Executive Director listed nine fields in which the Council is active. (1) We organize state and local people; (2) we teach them to do the best practicable job through what John Hope does; (3) we have been making Irene Osborne's specialized knowledge available over the South; (4) we do a considerable educational job in our own speechmaking appearances; (5) Mrs. Tilly stays in touch with the churches; (6) when needed we have the respectful attention of the press; (7) we dig up the facts; (8) we counsel a lot of people; and (9) we inform through New South.

He said that the people who do these things were available to the Committee for reports of their own, and in turn they duly reported.

Kentucky and Tennessee reorganizations.

But before these reports, the Executive Director stated that he had lately made a considerable departure from the initial offering to each state set forth in Memo #1 dated April 10, 1954. In Kentucky and in Tennessee an offer had been made of an altered financial arrangement with a view to getting

a stronger organizational base in each of those states. The offer involved no greater expenditure than was being made for other states in the current fiscal year (indeed it involved lesser sums than in the others). But it was a departure from what had previously been our program and the Executive Director thought it ought to be known to the Executive Committee. Whereupon motion the Executive Committee approved the arrangements made with Kentucky and Tennessee by the Executive Director.

DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Harold Fleming began by saying that in his nine years with the Council he had not seen as frenzied a time as the last three months when the South had for the first time become a major focus for the nation. He spoke of heavy demand on us by newspapers and writers, touching upon particular organizations that had sought our help. He described the emergence of the economic aspect of the problem of segregation and talked of the early perception of this issue within the Council and of the efforts made to get it understood nationally. He praised the work of the junior members of the staff, and in particular the Research Assistant Miss Florence Irving, and Mr. John Constable who is assuming more and more responsibility for getting out New South.

He described in some detail a new task given the Council in a grant made quite recently by the Fund for the Republic of $50,000 to the SRC to enable a short-run job of fact-finding. This would be aimed particularly at gathering information on the Negro vote. on the trade union problems of the day, on Southern resistance movements, and on the economic issue. The grant runs for nine months and was described as fairly flexible in its term. Fleming, with the help of Miss Irving, Mrs. Ben Price and others on the staff, is currently inventorying the amount of desegregation which has occured since the 1954 Supreme Court decision, and is planning steps to take in the other fields of information.

No public announcement of the grant had been made Mr. Fleming said, (though we had told the FFR that we expected them to carry their normal mentions of it) lest someone hereabouts sound the alarm for everybody to plug the keyholes.

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR FOR STATE ORGANIZATIONS
C. H. Parrish

Mr. Parrish stated that the general over-view is good, except for the fact that people are a little jittery and a little bit concerned that this whole matter of moderation has, in a sense, weakened our procedure in state organizations. Thinks that overall the picture is very good. One of the things that all of us have worked on which needs continual emphasis is the matter of the utilization of members of the state boards. Tremendous problem is the matter of giving to individual members a sense of responsibility.

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR FOR STATE ORGANIZATIONS
Frederick B. Routh

After some praise for Mr. Parrish, Mr. Hope, Mrs. Tilly and Irene Osborne for their contributions to the work in the states, Mr. Routh reviewed briefly the major events in each assisted state organization. Various members of the Committee took part in the discussion of programs of individual states.

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF PROGRAM
John Hope

Mr. Hope reported another indication of the shift in atmosphere and attitude. As he listened to some of the reports he detected changes in some of the states since he had visited them. In Arkansas our group was getting panicky because they felt that the citizens' councils were really on a strong offensive. His meeting with them was significant.

Our interest has been to bring together a group of well qualified consultants who have the maturity and basic understanding of the situation, partially to deal with people and partially to handle questions informally and to give confidence.

Not simply to give information, but to draw the people into thinking through the problem and the events that are happening in such a way that they really work through their problems. Recalled the preliminary meeting in Arkansas which drew together the Executive Committee to talk with the consultants -- idea being to orient the consultants, but really to break the ice and begin to get the key people on the Board and staff working together and discussing their main problems. From there he went to a day and a half meeting of the Board and a larger number of non-Board members. Again the discussion moved from the very general to the specific.

The purpose has been to get the people themselves to thinking through their problems and also to give them indication of what is going on elsewhere; how other people are dealing with the problem. Have tried to bunch our consultants in such a way as to get a good cross-section of experience and basic knowledge of social problems and how to handle them.

Mr. Hope then read excerpts from several letters he had received after the meetings of consultants and state people.

In Texas it seemed that there were a lot of different directions they wanted to go. Had the feeling that they were pulling themselves apart. There was finally a definite clarification of what was important and what was not important.

In Virginia the vision of job areas for the Virginia Council has expanded. Better understanding of how to tackle specific jobs. Insight came from knowing how experts have succeeded. New ideas for cooperating with other community groups. Had to cope with problem of the feeling in local communities that they were isolated. Effort of consultants was to indicate that a large part of the work should be done by individual Board members. Idea of individual resources. Suggested working with communities planning definite stages toward desegregation.

He stated that in the three states which he has already visited the workshops have reached between sixty and eighty people. Between fifty-five and sixty of those people are Board members. It is interesting to see the wide scatter of organizational representation among people who come to the meetings. Had the feeling that the resources and power of the Boards have been underestimated, and suggested that this power might be considerably exploited to get closer cooperation and individual participation by the Board members.

Has pending a state board and staff meeting in South Carolina for the following Wednesday -- North Carolina the following weekend. There remains Florida, Kentucky, and Tennessee. In addition, has held a hard-core conference where staff and some Board members were in attendance. Full two-day meeting. Seemed to have been successful. Some feelings of discouragement, feelings of terrific weight of white citizens' councils, quite apparent at the meeting. Feels that as they begin to dig into the problems they got a greater vision of what was possible, specifically, and determination to move forward.

The consultants have made efforts to keep the wires open and learn what is the best way to handle program developments as they move along.

At Dr. Mitchell's request, has had correspondence and conversation with Mrs. Bradley of the Child Study Association, thinks that they have good ideas and would like to involve them in the South, pointing quite specifically to panels.

Significant thing to consider -- has come up in Tennessee at this point and will probably come at a later date in other co mmunities -- some communities are on the brink of possible integration, but there is not enough momentum to push them over. Need to consider how to move the official circles to active cooperation -- official or unofficial -- with a policy statement. Believed that if the statement went on to say "it is a local matter but we are going to see that local people are not bothered if they want to do it," it would be more

effective. Question: " To what extent with the use of consultants could you infiltrate in these areas?" Answer: Consultants have this advantage: not a part of this organization, can be invited in to advise -- officially, unofficially, within limits, without limits. It was Mr. Hope's thought that in Tennessee within the next few days or weeks such a thing might develop.

The Tennessee Council, along with Fellowship House, has a program to bring white and Negro teachers together on Saturday afternoons. Knoxville is going to make an announcement any day now. Some people feel that the Alabama incident made people aware of the need for such groups, and that statements are going to begin emerging.

Mrs. Tilly's report was postponed until Saturday morning, as she had just returned to the city and had not had time to prepare it.

SECRETARY-TREASURER

Mrs. Alexander distributed to the members of the Executive Committee the following facts:

Statement of Income Raised Anew This Fiscal Year
Review of Budget
Comparison of 1955-56 Budget
Staff Forecast of Income for Remainder of Current fiscal year

Mr. Alexander read to the Committee the following breakdown by states of the Southern Regional Council Finance Committee:

FINANCE COMMITTEE OF THE BOARD OF SRC

Alabama	No representative named as yet
Arkansas	Attorney J. R. Booker Century Building Sixth and Gaines Streets Little Rock, Arkansas

Florida	Professor Raymond F. Bellamy Florida State University Tallahassee, Florida (Doubtful if he can serve)
Georgia	No representative Former representative resigned
Kentucky	Mr. Houston A. Baker 2218 West Broadway Louisville, Kentucky
Louisiana	Professor R. C. Reynaud 1413 Mill Street Lake Charles, Louisiana
Mississippi	Mr. S. W. Miller 1503 West Pearl Street Jackson, Mississippi
North Carolina	Mr. W. L. Greene 125 East Hargett Street Raleigh, North Carolina
South Carolina	Mr. J. M. Dabbs Mayesville, South Carolina
Tennessee	Mr. Walter Sharp Vanderbilt University Nashville, Tennessee
Texas	Mr. Charles A. Shaw 2206 Dowling Houston, Texas
Virginia	Mr. Paul D. Williams 3320 Gloucester Road Richmond, Virginia

He reported that the Committee had had two area meetings, one at New Orleans on March 7th and another at Atlanta on March 16th. At each meeting those present had agreed that some such sum as $1,000 should be raised in the very near future for the central office, and a similar thousand for each Finance Committee member's own state. It was planned that follow-up meetings would bearranged. Mr. Wright, who had been present for both meetings, suggested further activity in stimulating each committee member to arrange for cultivation of possible prospects.

Various persons present commented on the confusion unavoidable in the matter of raising money both for state organizations and for the central office.

Father Shean suggested that it might be possible to steal some thunder from other people (i.e., citizens' councils) in building up a clientele with enthusiasm for the total work. Stated that SRC does not do any flag-waving, any preaching, or anything that might elicit emotional appeal. He wondered if there is a chance of doing a public relations job in the sense that SRC comes down to a lower level of approach to reach a wider variety of people. Suggested a very careful job of public relations done under the theme of democracy, religion, justice,,etc. He asked opinions of the idea of using an expert fund-raising company or some expert fund-raiser who would also be skilled in public relations to prepare literature that would really build up such an idea, so that more and more Southern people will be aware that this is what the churches, the country, the schools were founded for. He stated that the methods are good, objectives are good, and the need is great.

Mr. Dabbs gave it as his view that you could not sell democracy to the South; the South would have to stumble into it.

Mr. Routh stated that Mr. Edwin Lukas of AJC had made some off3r to assist the training of some of the state people in fund-raising.

Mr. Wesley stated that he has always felt that SRC didn't jave the organ to attract the common man. One of the ways in which SRC could raise money is to take a message to the masses. Stated that he was always afraid of professional organizers -- if they do a good job, fine, but if not usually one is left broke. This is a good time for SRC to sell to the mass of people something else to hold to. Believes that it is not necessary to have public relations people, as the job could be done without them, especially if it jeopardizes the little money SRC already has. An important point in getting the job done is to approach the ordinary working man. He thought it important to get the majority of Southern working men, Negro and white, to understand that these things are a part of their

inheritance, and that the things that they hang on to now are not.

Mr. Fleming suggested an early meeting with John Hope's consultants to find out what is known about public opinion - making in the South. Mr. Hope cautioned lest a propaganda program aimed at raising money interfere with long-range program prosecution. Thought we should talk with professional people who know the money-raising game and also with people who had knowledge of mass media.

Mr. Wright suggested the acceptance of the services of a money-raiser from the AJC and hoped that that would prove practicable. Mr. Parrish stated that he had talked with G. E. Mattison of Charlotte and another man from Mobile, and felt that such individuals would be of great help. Their business is raising money and they have the feel of social change.

Mr. Clement asked if a Chairman of the Finance Committee had been obtained. Mr. Mitchell replied that a vacant position of Treasurer of SRC was made when a change in by-laws was made at the last Annual Meeting, and negotiations were presently underway with some hope of success in filling the position. Mr. Wright stated that the Treasurer would presumably be the Chairman of the Finance Committee.

BOARD AND COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIPS

Two vacancies on the Executive Committee having arisen, respectfully from the unwillingness of Mr. J. McDowell Richards to accept his election, and from the resignation of Mrs. C. M. Birnie, the Executive Director referred to the ruling of the Chair at the previous meeting that the Executive Committee had power to fill its own vacancies. And upon being asked for nominations put forward the names of Mr. B. R. Brazeal and Reverend Duncan Hunter, respectfully of Atlanta, Georgia, and Alexander City, Alabama. It was agreed that each of these persons would in some sense represent a state organization on the Executive Committee, and the Executive Committee as heretofore constituted had not had anybody on it

who sat on the Board as representatives of state organizations. Mr. Hunter is Chairman of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, and Mr. Brazeal is the elected representative on the Board of SRC and of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation.

Whereupon upon motion it was agreed that Mr. B. R. Brazeal and the Reverend Duncan Hunter be elected members of the Executive Committee.

As to the Board of Directors, Mr. Alexander stated that it had 78 members of whom 12 are ex-officio, 12 are state representatives, 5 are officers, and 49 regularly elected members. Of the 49 regularly elected members, 24 are in terms which will expire at the Annual Meeting in 1957, and 25 are in terms which will expire at the Annual Meeting in 1959.

Since the last meeting of the Executive Committee, one member has resigned (Mr. Morton Weiss of Atlanta) and one person elected November, 1955, has accepted membership on the Board (Rt. Rev. Msgr. Joseph B. Brunini). The elected membership is one less than the number of 50 which the by-laws of the Council state is the maximum number. The Executive Committee took the view that the Board is at present at strength.

The meeting adjourned at 5:30 p.m.

FRIDAY EVENING MEETING

The meeting resumed at 7:00 p.m.

LIMIT FUTURE URBAN MEETINGS OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO ONE DAY?

The Executive Director queried the Committee as to whether they wished to make the meetings (other than the Summertime meeting) cover a single calendar day. Nearly all members of the Committee were in favor of continuing with the present arrangement of a split meeting lasting the greater part of two days.

PERSONNEL CLASSIFICATIONS

The Executive Director stated that he was prepared to display to the Committee in Executive Session a proposed schedule of within-trade promotional jumps.

POSSIBLE WHITE HOUSE INTERES IN SRC.

Mr. Wright asked Mr. Fleming to state his views on this. Mr. Fleming said that it was Mr. Wright's proposal that since the Council had been the object of a barrage of attacks it might be possible to neutralize these attacks by obtaining some statement of benediction from the President of the United States that might arise naturally from some normal contact.

The matter was discussed at length by most present. The Executive Director dissented vigorously. It was his argument that the program of the Southern Regional Council has its own dignity and that is should not ride on the coattails of a temporary occupant of the White House.

After prolonged discussion, the matter was tabled until the Saturday morning session.

LEGAL FEE ARISING FROM THE GEORGIA COMMITTEE

The Executive Director posed to the Committee the question of whether it wished to assist the Director of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation in completing payment of a bill for legal services to him as Director of the Georgia Committee, incurred in connection with the recent attack on Dr. Wells by the State Teachers Retirement Board and the State Board of Regents.

Discussion cast some doubt upon the propriety of using tax-exempt money to pay an attorney's fee; raised the question of whether some proportion of the attorney's fee was not really Mr. Wells' personally; and questioned propriety of setting a precedent under which others similarly slandered or threatend might not be assisted in legal action by the Southern Regional Council. Mr. Wright stated that if the Southern Regional

Council should pay the unpaid bill of Mr. Wells, then SRC should be perfectly willing to put it in the papers that that was one. He, himself, would certainly hate to see something like that in the papers which, he said, showed that he had some doubts about it. Upon motion it was agreed that the Southern Regional Council would not pay the requested portion of Dr. Wells' attorney fee.

COMPLIANCE BY STATE ORGANIZATIONS WITH ALL STATE LEGISLATION

Mr. Wright, having in mind the Louisiana case against the NAACP, questioned whether there might not be a possibility of such suits being brought against state organizations of SRC. He suggested that each state organization be written to be sure that it is complying with all state laws. Mr. Wesley suggested that Counsel here in Atlanta be asked to check state statutes to see if the state organizations are complying. The Executive Director agreed to take the matter up with Counsel.

ELECTION OF GENERAL COUNSEL

Mr. Wright, who had conferred with Mr. Leonard Haas shortly after Mr. Haas' expression originally of a purpose to resign, stated that Mr. Leonard Haas had not resigned in fact because the Council was under attack, but that Mr. Leonard Haas had made it plain that he wished SRC to choose a successor at as early a date as practicable. Mr. Leonard Haas had suggested that a remote kinsman, Mr. Joseph Haas, might be prevailed upon to take the position of Counsel. The Executive Director stated that Joseph Haas had indicated to the Executive Director that Mr. Joseph Haas would accept election as the Counsel. Mr. Mitchell said that, as the Executive Committee well knew, the position was without emoluments.

Upon motion Mr. Leonard Haas' resignation as Counsel was accepted with regret, and Mr. Joseph Haas was elected to replace him.

It was upon motion agreed that arrangements be made suitably to honor Mr. Leonard Haas at the next Annual Meeting.

Whereupon the meeting adjourned, to reconvene at 9:30 a.m. April 21st.

EXECUTIVE SESSION - FRIDAY, APRIL 20

In Executive Session the Committee elected as Treasurer Miss Josephine Wilkins.

In Executive Session, under the item "Personal Classifications," it was directed that on May 1st Fred Routh's salary be increased by $250, Harold Fleming's salary by $500, and George Mitchell's salary by $1,000. The difference in increase for Routh and Fleming was ascribed to the difference in length of tenure.

SATURDAY MORNING MEETING

The Meeting reconvened at 9:30 a.m. Invocation was delivered by the Very Reverend Maurice V. Shean, C. O.

DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK

Mrs. Tilly began with some account of the pro-segregation literature now in circulation in the South; the misuse of Biblical texts in that connection; and the need for a leaflet which would set the public straight on Biblical interpretations.

She referred to the Fellowship of the Concerned and its beginnings and to its present stringent need for funds. The old Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynchings she said had been generously supplied with funds. and she frequently longed for similar provision for the Fellowship of the Concerned.

She reviewed her activities on behalf of the Farm Security Administration, her work with the Civil Rights Committee; the efforts of the Fellowship of the Concerned in getting women to

sit in the courts; and the various state meetings lately held, sometimes in conjunction with the United Church Women through the Fellowship of the Concerned.

She said that human relations must have a religious basis, and that the various speakers at the meetings have held such a spirit.

She gave quotations from leading figures at some of the meetings and said that the meetings in general pointed up a lessening of communication between church women's groups as a consequence of the inroads of the white citizens' councils, and as a consequence of the fear so pervasively evident in the South today.

She said that at least one hundred thousand church women in the Southeastern states have had education in human relations through their church bodies, and could be moved to action in the spirit of their training. There was the additional resources she said of the interest of the various denominational bodies in truly Christian behavior. All this would be a mighty force if the women could be brought together oftener. But, she said, in the Southern Regional Council this work is a side issue. The original request to the Ford Foundation had made no specific request for funds for the work with church women, and for the time-being she was without funds except the $1,000 available from the John Hay Whitney grant. She listed her needs as a full-time secretary; the undivided use of a typewriter, shelves for materials, filing cabinets; in short, funds adequate to proceed generously with her program. She spoke of some such sum as at least $5,000.

Various members separately praised Mrs. Tilly's work. Mr. Clement suggested that the General Education Board, or others connected with the Rocefeller family, would be interested and suggested that Mrs. Tilly and Mr. Mitchell get an appointment with Mr. Lindsley Kimball of the General Education Board, 49 West 49th Street, New York City, and see if money could be found.

Mrs. Tilly noted that the Agenda had listed her not by her letterhead title of "In-Charge of Women's Work" but as Director of Women's Work, and asked if that might be her title. Whereupon upon motion Mrs. Tilly was given that title. And it was declared to be the sense of the Executive Committee that Mrs. Tilly and the Executive Director prepare a proposal to the General Education Board for such amount and for such period as they decide.

POSSIBLE MEETING OF STATE ORGANIZATIONS

The Executive Director stated that it is time and past time for SRC to bring its state organizations together. The states do not have enough money to pay for their own travel, and the central office does not have enough money to bring them together. The conference of the so-called hard-core states had filled a part of the need, but by no means all. The Executive Director was merely reporting the need for such a conference and that it was an unbudgeted item.

DECISION RE WHITE HOUSE INTEREST

In accordance with the order of business established in the meeting the day before, the Committee again took up this topic. Mr. Fleming stated that his present view is that such a statement would be helpful if a favorable one could be obtained. He would not be happy in public relations terms about a statement elicited from the President's blind side; that is sending something to him or hoping to obtain something through a meeting. And he pointed to the drawbacks inherent in any subsequent repudiation by the President of any statment that might be given.

Father Shean said that most of our efforts are in accordance with what the courts have said, and that our efforts should be to call attention to the fact that people should have respect for the courts and should do what they decide. The President is a symbol of our nation and is recognized as such by people who are against us, but who cannot get away from respect for his office. He believes that there are many people in the

South who would pay attention to what the President said.

Whereupon upon motion it was unanimously agreed that the Executive Committee approved the idea of obtaining an endoresement from the President of the United States, provided that an adequate and knowing statement could be obtained.

In further discussion Mr. Wesley said that Dr. Mitchell's statement that we earn what we get is fine, but in his view SRC has earned the right to ask the President or any other right-thinking person to endorse what it stands for.

Discussion continued on thepoint for some time.

FURTHER FUNDS FOR CONSULTANTS' SERVICE

The Executive Director stated that SRC had floated John Hope's program out of last year's balance of unused state allotments, and that the last of the money would be used up in the latter part of May, and that on present appearances the Council would be without funds to continue this invaluable program. A request to continue this program is now before the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, but we had no assurance that it would be approved.

OTHER BUSINESS

Mr. Wright said that Mr. Fleming had mentioned the desirability of allowing John Constable to attend meetings of the Executive Committee. Mr. Wright stated that all who knew Mr. Constable had been very much impressed with him, and that his concern with SRC's public relations would particularly justify his presence. It was the sense of the Executive Committee that at subsequent meetings it would welcome Mr. Constable's presence.

Father Shean asked (1) is it permissable to ask the Council to form some sort of Committee to investigate and study into the needs of fund-raising and public relations, or would it be permissible for him, as an individual, to discuss

the matter with someone of that type?; and (2) Does the Committee expect to have an Executive Session this morning? Is it permissible to request one?

Whereupon upon motion it was unanimously agreed that the Chairman of the Executive Committee would appoint a Committee to investigate the needs for fund-raising and public relations.

As to Father Shean's second question, it was upon motion agreed that the Executive Committee would go into Executive Session after the adjournment of the Saturday morning meeting.

Mr. Mitchell noted that Miss Wilkins, Mr. Dent, and Mr. Christopher were at pains to send in word in advance that unusual circumstances would prevent their being present at the meeting.

Meeting adjourned at 12:10 p.m.

EXECUTIVE SESSION - SATURDAY, APRIL 21

At the Executive Session Father Shean reopened the matter of the Council's financial assistance to Dr. Guy Wells. After discussion it was agreed that the action taken Friday, April 20th, should be unchanged.

Father Shean felt that it would be proper for the Council to give consideration to a policy to be followed in connection with possible legal involvement of any central or state staff member on account of his activities as a staff member. The following procedure was agreed upon:

> Mr. Wright should prepare a statement indicating the extent to which the Council might go in defending or assisting employees, and submit such statement to the Counsel of the organization. Upon securing approval of Counsel of a policy to be followed, such policy would be submitted at the next meeting of the Executive Committee for action.

ATTACHMENT TO MINUTES

LETTER FROM OFFICE OF
PRESIDENT OF SRC

June 26, 1956

TO: STATE ORGANIZATIONS' PERSONNEL

FROM: MARION A WRIGHT

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council at its meeting April 20-21, 1956, had for consideration the question of whether, in the event that a state staff person was put in a situation in which it was needful for him to employ Counsel, the Southern Regional Council would feel itself obligated to assist in payment of legal expenses.

The Executive Committee considered a desirable course of action and has caused its proposal to be reviewed by SRC's Counsel.

The decision is that the Executive Committee, without conceding any liability or legal obligation on the part of SRC, states that if a state staff member, because of his connection with a state organization or activities in its behalf, should become legally involved to the point that he felt he ought to have Counsel, he should submit his problem to the Executive Committee of thestate organization in advance of employment of Counsel. The Executive Committee of the state organization would then take such action as it felt proper under the circumstances.

The Executive Committee of the state organizations would be free after consideration to refer the matter to the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, with the recommendation of the Executive Committee of the state organization.

The suggested procedure should be followed in all cases except where an emergency may make it impossible to secure action by the appropriate Executive Committee or Committees in advance of employment of Counsel.

Less formally it may be stated that the Executive Committee of SRC feels that if a state staff member in the discharge of his duties and acting with proper discretion should require legal assistance, every effort should be made to extend appropriate help to him under the circumstances. However, it is seen that a staff member might sometimes act with such indiscretion that little or no responsibility would be felt by the appropriate Executive Committee. And also question might arise as to whether an action was done in the course of the staff person's employment, or was the staff person's own personal enterprise.

ATTACHMENT (Continued)

What this obviously comes down to, then, is a suggestion to state organizations' staff members that, if they need Counsel for their defense, they endeavor to get the matter promptly before the Executive Committee of the state organization, and then if need be to have it referred to the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council.

In emergency a shorter procedure would doubtless be favored. But the requirement for full information would certainly remain.

MAW/GSM:eab

June 26, 1956
THIS LETTER MAILED TO:

ALABAMA

Robert E. Hughes - Ex. Dir.
Fred D. Gray - Assoc. Ex. Dir.
Duncan Hunter - Chairman
W. A. Bell - Vice Chairman
Mrs. John R. Pate - Office Sec'y

ARKANSAS

Nat Griswold - Exec. Dir.
Christopher Mercer - Associate Exec. Dir.
C. C. Walker - vice-chairman
Fred K. Karragh, Jr. - chairman
Velma W. Powell - Office Sec'y

FLORIDA

Caxton Doggett - Chairman
William K. Williams - Exec. Dir.
Howard D. Roberts - Assoc. Exec. Dir.
W. C. Taylor -vice-chairman
E. Carol Klose, Office Sec'y

GEORGIA

Guy H. Wells - Exec. Dir.
Mrs. Knox - Office Sec'y
Dr. Clary - Chairman
B. R. Brazeal - Vice-chairman
Mozell C. Hill - Assoc. Exec. Dir.

KENTUCKY

W. H. Perry - Chairman
R. B. Atwood - Vice-Chairman
Galen A. Martin - Exec. Dir.
Glenna Robinson - Office Sec'y

LOUISIANA

Mrs. Elsie Whitman - Chairman
Milton C. Vigo - Exec. Dir.
Numa J. Rousseve - Vice-Chairman
June Rose Bielosh - Office Sec'y

MISSISSIPPI

Mrs. Miriam Dansby Johnson - Office Sec'y
Mrs. W. H. Ratcliff - Chairman
Mrs. J. A. Burt, Assoc. Exec. Dir.
Mrs. R. S. Lyells - Exec. Dir.
Mrs. C. E. Dishman - Vice-Chairman

NORTH CAROLINA

Mr. R. D. Wellons - Chairman
John R. Larkins - Vice-Chairman
Harry S. Jones - Exec. Dir.
Mrs. Sara Stewart - Office Sec'y
W. C. Chance - Assoc. Dir.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
July 20-21, 1956

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council met at 2:00 p.m. on July 20, 1956, at Penn Center, St. Helena Island, South Carolina.

The following members were present:

Mr. B. R. Brazeal
Mr. Paul Christopher
Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Mr. John Griffin
Rev. Duncan Hunter
Dr. C. H. Parrish
Rev. Maurice Shean
Miss Josephine Wilkins

Staff members who attended the meeting were:

Mr. G. S. Alexander
Mrs. Ruth Alexander
Mr. John Constable
Mr. Harold Fleming
Mr. John Hope
Dr. George S. Mitchell
Mr. Fred Routh
Mrs. M. E. Tilly

In executive session, Paul Christopher was elected temporary chairman.

The following resolution was passed, and later read to the staff members who sat in on the remainder of the meeting:

> The Executive Committee wishes to express its gratification over the manner in which the Central Office staff has been rounded out with high quality personnel, and the leadership it is giving to the area served by the Southern Regional Council.

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director, joined the group in the latter part of its executive session. He told the committee that he had been preparing his mind for some time for withdrawing from his duties at the Council at a time fixed as mid-January, 1957,

and he asked the Executive Committee to prepare to relieve him at about that time. The Committee decided to consider the matter further in executive session the following day.

At this time, staff members were invited to join the Executive Committee for its general session.

APPROVAL OF MINUTES

On Motion of Father Shean, minutes of the last meeting were approved as circulated by mail.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

You have had mailed out to you your last quarterly report for the three months ending June 30. That should bring you up to date. We have lived within our budget; we have kept our promises to the states. Fred Routh has got the states going in an acceptable direction. We have raised an unexpected $17,000, specifically for the program which John Hope is putting on. That $17,000 almost gets us over the hump toward qualifying for the next year's grant from the Fund for the Republic. We are over the hump on funds for the central office budget. Anyting the Finance Committee can raise can probably go for next year.

You have got the people here who manage the various phases of our work. I suggest you hear from them.

REPORT OF DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Harold Fleming stated that the Executive Committee had received the report dated July 3, and that he would not attempt to repeat that report.

Two points were brought out about the director: First, Dr. Mitchell prepared a brief article for the Fund for the Republic, which was picked up and editorialized by Life Magazine. Secondly, the famous "map talk" is being put on film by the Presbyterians

U.S.A., under their social action program.

Under the fact-finding program, Mr. Fleming reported that a survey of specific instances of desegregation since 1954 had been completed. The Fund for the Republic onctemplates putting out a paper-back edition which would include both reports, the South and the non-South. Copies will be available for the Council, and it can make such use of the materials as it sees fit. In any case, it will be released to the press, and it should get some public attention. It might do something to help clear the air a bit, counteracting some of the negative publicity on this subject.

Harold Fleming then outlined studies which are in progress: A study of the industrialization of the South is being conducted by Hammer & Company, industrial consultants. Another study underway concerns the Negro vote. One field worker is searching in the field of resistance movements; another is working on trade unions and race relations. On the latter the Council is cooperating on another study which is under the official sponsorship of the AFL-CIO, the main part of which is being financed by the Fund for the Republic.

REPORT ON STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Fred Routh distributed copies of a written report, and then outlined progress of the various organizations, state by state. As "Exhibit B," Mr. Routh presented figures for the budgeting of funds the staff may recommend to be made available to the state groups during the next budget year. Then followed a lengthy discussion of what was considered to be a fundamental question: whether to continue to distribute the funds to state organizations on an "even-steven" basis, or to adjust the funds according to the performance of the organizations. Father Shean pointed out that some state directors are facing the decision as to whether to look for another job. Mr. Brazeal said that careful consideration should be given to the continuance of clerks, for often these are key persons.

Mr. Hunter raised a question about the amount of time a state staff should spend in fund-raising. Mr. Routh replied that fund-raising has been the responsibility of the boards of each state, but that in the cases where the board has not assumed the responsibility, the staff has been forced to do so.

A discussion of the situation in Mississippi was postponed until after the arrival of Dr. Parrish, who had made a trip to that state with Fred Routh. It was decided to continue the consideration of the whole question of finances of state organizations after that report.

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

Mrs. Tilly distributed copies of a written report on her May trip to Birmingham, New Orleans, and Baton Rouge, and commented on her experiences. She stated that a southwide meeting of church women is set for October 30-31. Additional funds are needed for putting on this meeting, and for follow-up work afterwards. The church women are the key, said Mrs. Tilly; they have the courage, but they have no money.

Dr. Mitchell reported that a request for funds for this work was made to Rockefeller following the last meeting, but it was denied. Josephine Wilkins commented that the women's work has a special appeal. Paul Christopher spoke of the need for getting more interest on the part of the churches. It was decided to postpone until a later time in the meeting further discussion of financing of the program with church women.

Mrs. Tilly said that there is need for a new leaflet on the subject of "The Bible and Race" and that this is in progress. Mr. Dabbs mentioned that the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen is preparing material on this subject.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER

Mrs. Alexander reminded the committee that the audit for the last three months had been sent out by mail. She passed

around copies of a "Statement of Income Raised Anew" for the period October 1, 1955 to June 30, 1956, attached. She reported that since the Statement was prepared, an additional $1,200 had been received, reducing the balance to be raised by September 30 (to be eligible for the 1956-57 grant from the Fund for the Republic) to $5,814.03.

Mr. Brazeal asked what specific efforts are being made to raise this sum, and Dr. Mitchell said that he hoped an expected grant from the AFL-CIO would largely cover it.

BUDGET

At this time the proposed budget for the coming fiscal year was presented, with explanatory remarks by Mrs. Alexander and Dr. Mitchell. After further discussion, the Executive Committee received the budget and commended the manner in which it was presented.

Motion (Shean-Wilkins): It was moved, seconded, and passed that the Executive Committee urge the members of the Board to make contributions or secure further contributions for the support of the central office, as per the resolution of February 17, 1955.

Paul Christopher suggested that a letter such as this might go to Board members; "From the 50 at-large Board members, we had hoped to raise a total of not less than $4,500. Contributions have not come in from approximately 30 Board Members. We are hoping to raise this amount of money from our Board members."

FINANCE COMMITTEE

Then followed a discussion of the Finance Committee. It was reported that a memorandum had been sent to that Committee on June 18. We are willing to turn in and write more letters and do what the Treasurer tells us to do, he continued, but we need the TREASURER to tell us.

Dr. Mitchell said that we have been staving off destruction by rescue actions by different foundations for the last twenty years. Josephine Wilkins said that she thought foundations are going to have to be in the picture for a long time to come.

Paul Christopher said, "I think we are missing money that we could get." He then described his plan of keeping a list of around a hundred people in Knoxville who are willing to give $5.00 or $10.00 to a cause when he asks them. He explained that he calls the person by telephone first, to let them know that he is going to visit them about the matter. Each time he does this, he continued, some of them say "Don't come!" and promise the money immediately. (This was received by tactless guffaws from those present, and the hint that money was being put forward to avoid seeing Paul Christopher.)*

NEXT MEETING

Josephine Wilkins suggested that in view of Dr. Mitchell's announcement, and other pressing matters, a meeting of the Executive Committee should be held in September.

Motion (Shean-Wilkins): It was moved, seconded, and passed that the members of the Executive Committee be polled to determine whether September 14-15 or September 21-22 would be more acceptable dates, and that the staff arrange a meeting accordingly.

The meeting then recessed for dinner.

The Executive Committee reconvened for the evening session at 7:30 p.m. Harold Fleming led off with a review of the subject which has been headed "White House Interest."

WHITE HOUSE INTEREST

At the last meeting, he recalled, the Executive Committee instructed the staff to take steps looking toward a statement from the President of the United States that would recognize the work of the Council at this time. This has been a complicated effort, but within the last week a conference was held with

presidential advisers.

The result of this meeting, according to Mr. Fleming's report, was an expression of enthusiastic interest in developing a presidential message to SRC that would encourage people of good will in the region. The SRC would be expected to arrange publicity and editorial comment commensurate with the importance of the message.

*Interpolation by the stenographer for the meeting, Mrs. Courtney Siceloff, formerly secretary to the Executive Director of SRC.

Discussion followed of the kind of occasion which might provide an opportunity for such a message. Father Shean asked if the date could be changed for Mrs. Tilly's meeting with church women, so that a statement could be tied in with it, but it was felt that plans for that meeting had gone too far for a change in date.

After considerable further discussion, it was agreed:

1. That it would be unwise and impracticable to arrange a special occasion before November.

2. That the staff should seek to elicit a presidential message on the occasion of the 12th annual meeting, November 14, 1956.

Motion (Shean-Wilkins): It was moved, seconded, and passed that in view of the special circumstances which are facing the Southern Regional Council, in view of the fact that we do not have the appropriate opportunity to manufacture a special occasion at this time of year, that we instruct Harold Fleming to pursue a course that a statement be issued at the time of the Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council.

REPORT ON MEMBERSHIP

Mr. G. S. Alexander presented the following report on Board and Committee membership:

As of this date the Council has 77 Board Members, of which 12 are ex-officio members (state chairmen); 12 are state representatives; 5 are officers and 48 are regular elected members. Of the 48 regular elected members, 23 are in the class of 1957 and 25 are in the class of 1956.

Since the last meeting of the Executive Committee two members have resigned (R.B.Atwood, Frankfort, Kentucky, 7/13/56; Leonard Haas, Atlanta, Georgia, 6/5/56). Mr. Joseph Haas was elected to the office of Counsel and thus becomes a member of the Board.

According to the by-laws of the Council, our membership of 48 is two less than the maximum number of 50 members that the Council may have at any one time.

At present, the Executive Committee has 9 members in addition to 5 officers of the corporation.

Motion (Dabbs-Griffin): It was moved, seconded, and passed that the Executive Committee accept with regret the resignations offered by Mr. Atwood and Mr. Haas.

AMENDMENTS TO BY-LAWS

Mimeographed sheets were distributed which outlined proposed amendments to the by-laws of the Southern Regional Council.

The Executive Committee approved, for recommendation to the Board, the proposed changes as follows, to Article VI, Sectionl:

AT PRESENT

Article VI.Section 1. Executive Officers. The executive officers of the corporation shall be a president; one or more vice-presidents, not to exceed four; and executive director; assistant directors; a secretary; and a treasurer. The president and the vice-presidents shall be chosen from among the members of the corporation. The executive director and the assistant directors need not be members at the time of their election, but by virtue of their office shall become ex-officio members of the corporation, with all the privileges of such members. The offices of secretary and treasurer may be held by the same person, but if filled separately, the secretary need not be a member of the corporation. The president and vice-presidents shall be elected annually by the Council. The executive director and assistant directors, secretary-treasurer, and counsel shall be subject to confirmation annually by the Council, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee.

PROPOSED CHANGE:

Article VI. Section 1. Executive Officers. The executive officers of the corporation shall be a president; one or more vice-presidents, not to exceed four; an executive director; assistant directors; a secretary; a treasurer; or a secretary-treasurer. The president, vice-presidents, and treasurer shall be chosen from among the members of the corporation. The executive director, assistant directors, and secretary-treasurer shall not be members of the corporation. The offices of secretary and treasurer may be held by the same person, but if filled separately, the secretary shall not be a member of the corporation. The president and vice-presidents shall be elected annually by the Council. The executive director, assistant directors, secretary-treasurer and counsel shall be subject to confirmation annually bythe Council upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee. Officers shall hold office until the corresponding meeting in the next year, and until their successors shall have been fully chosen and qualified or until they shall have resigned or shall have been removed in the manner provided in Article II, Section 8.

Any vacancy in any of the above offices shall be filled for the unexpired portion of the term by the Council at any regular or special meeting.

Officers shall hold office until the corresponding meeting in the next year, and until their successors shall have been fully chosen and qualified, or until they shall have resigned or shall have been removed, in the manner provided in Section 13 of this Article. Any vacancy in any of the above offices shall be filled for the unexpired portion of the term by the Council, at any regular or special meeting.

Addition:

Article VI, Section 8A. Secretary-Treasurer. All or some of the duties contained in Sections 7 and 8 may be assigned to one person. This person will be designated Secretary-Treasurer, and will be under the general supervision of the Executive Director.

Motion (Wilkins-Shean): It was moved, seconded and passed that the central office staff be instructed to draft a proposed change in the by-laws for presentation to the Executive Committee in September which will achieve this purpose: to empower the Executive Committee to fill vacancies within the Executive Committee from among members of the Board of Directors between annual meetings, subject to confirmation of the succeeding annual meeting.

LEGAL AID

After a review of the action taken at a previous meeting regarding legal aid for state Board members or staff, the following motion was passed:

Motion (Shean-Brazeal): It was moved, seconded and passed that the Committee agree to pay the balance of the attorney's fee of Guy Wells.

REVIEW OF STATE LAWS AFFECTING VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

This subject had been discussed under Fred Routh's report.
Duncan Hunter: Do we have to work this out on a state level as to whether gifts are tax-deductible? We are in a quandary as to whether to raise this question at this moment in the state of Alabama.

Dr. Mitchell: You should apply for your own tax-exemption. You could delay it a few months.

Harold Fleming: An organization may assume that it has tax-exemption, but it does so at the risk of later having it challenged, and having the donors be required to pay taxes on their contributions.

Fred Routh: Until there is more clarity on this question, we are advising states to hold off on the applications for tax-exemption.

AID TO STATES

Discussion was reopened on the question of allocation of funds to state organizations.

Dabbs: What we are really saying is that the states which used and appreciated an integrated staff we will help, and those which didn't do it, we will help to keep going with a white staff.

Brazeal: Where we have only a director and a clerk, I think we should advise the organization to use consultants on an interracial basis. That would establish an example of interracial working-together and it would make the director aware of his responsibility.

Motion (Shean-Brazeal): It was moved, seconded and passed that further discussion of this topic be postponed until Fred Routh brings in a report as to how these funds may be practically distributed, within a formula for 25 per cent latitude, or some other proposed latitude.

On motion of Josephine Wilkins, the meeting was adjourned until the following day.

The Executive Committee reconvened at 9:00 a.m. on July 22, 1956.

On motion, the following resolution was approved by the Executive Committee:

> BE IT RESOLVED by the Executive Committee that the central staff of the Southern Regional Council shall have the authority to modify the proposed allocation of funds to any state affiliate, as outlined in Memo #1 for the third fiscal period; such modification not to exceed 25 per cent.

MISSISSIPPI

Fred Routh then reviewed for the Executive Committee some of the difficulties which have arisen in the Mississippi state organization. He said that the situation in Mississippi had deteriorated to the point where there was a lack of confidence between the staff and the Mississippi Board. Fred Routh's visit to Mississippi, with C. H. Parrish, led him to the following conclusions: (1) The Board was never able to pull itself together as a cohesive group; (2) the Board is not representative of the people of the state; and (3) the Board has not assumed its proper responsibility in terms of program direction or program planning.

C. H. Parrish sketched in further background material. He told of personality difficulties relating to the staff, and of the difficulty of carrying on an interracial organization in that state, with the office located in a Negro neighborhood. Harold Fleming pointed out that Mississippi is the one state organization that has never announced its efforts in the press.

Fred Routh read for the group several letters from members of the Mississippi Board, giving their views of the problem.

After a lengthy discussion, the following motion was made by Mr. Brazeal, seconded by Father Shean, and passed:

Motion: The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, taking into account the mutual responsibility of a central organization and its state affiliates, instructs the staff of the Southern Regional Council as follows: When it finds any state organization less than satisfactory, after systematic program review and assessment (the terms of which shall be notified in advance) to place that organization in provisional status for a stated period, at the end of which time, on the decision of the Executive Committee, funds may be withheld.

CONSULTANT PROGRAM

John Hope reported on the consultant program. Most states, he said, have been very much interested in this type of assistance. He described the workshop held in South Carolina, which included members of the state Board and other key persons, with 39 in attendance. The state organization was pleased with the outcome of this meeting, and reported that it had laready drawn in new blood as a result.

Another development in Florida was significant. One of the objections to Board-staff workshops is that it is a pretty expensive proposition. In Florida we had the workshop one day; at the end of that time, the Board went into its meeting, and the consultants sat in. This device combined a training session with the Board meeting, and the state was willing to pay the expenses of its Board members.

Looking into the future, there is the plan of using the consultant program to plan meetings with local school boards. We are canvassing local persons with the idea of expanding our consultant program for such a purpose. If one or two of these properly develop, I would like to make the offer to all the states.

One other point I would like to bring up is the role of

individual consultants in states. I think in the next several months we might canvass the states from the point of view of individual consultant service, rather than the workshop idea. That might be an important development when states begin to realize that they are being judged on the basis of objective criteria. The question there would be the division of expense between the states and SRC.

Another question is the use of consultants in the speaking role. I don't know whether that is the proper function of the consultant service program or not. If it is, the question is whether it is part of the budgeted program or not....That opens a much wider area for consultants. My only question is whether that is the most effective use of our resources.

(At this point Mr. Dabbs counseled, "See that the consultant doesn't get confused as to whether he is to make a speech or be a consultant!)

Hope: That is one reason why I hesitate to use consultants in this way. (Then followed a discussion of whether the publicity attending a speech would give the consultant a "name" and detract from his effectiveness as a consultant.)

Dr. Mitchell pointed out that C. H. Parrish is the "daddy" of the consultant service program; that it has been splendidly administered by John Hope, with no attempt to influence the program by Parrish. This, he stated, was an ideal father-son relationship.

Paul Christopher felt that the consultant program should have publicity in New South, so that its usefulness could be extended.

Motion (Shean Wilkins): It was moved, seconded and passed that John Hope, in consultation with Harold Fleming, prepare an article for New South on the consultant program.

EVALUATION

The staff distributed copies of a first draft of a proposed appeal letter to the Fund for the Republic for renewal of its grant. Dr. Mitchell explained that the letter was not in any final form but that it had been mimeographed at the suggestion of Marion Wright.

Mis s Wilkins: Shouldn't we hold up this letter until after September? Dr. Mitchell talked about the lean years. The Fund for the Republic came and touched us with its fairy wand. Then came the impact of the Supreme Court decision. Now we have to look at the future of the Council in the light of the announcement Dr. Mitchell has made to us here. It seems to me this letter should be held up until we come to grips with the situation we face. We have got to re-evaluate the whole thing.

Dr. Mitchell asked, "Would you like to ask definitely for money to cover the work of church women?" The group's answer was yes.

Then followed a lengthy discussion of the question of evaluating the effectiveness of the Council. John Griffin raised the question of having an outsider come in and evaluate the program. Harold Fleming said that such an evaluation would be helpful if there were enough time and money for it. He pointed out that Frank Loescher's sympathetic and inquiring approach had provided the sort of thing that was being talked about. Fred Routh said that Bob Johnson, one of SRC's consultants, who is with the American Friends Service Committee, has drawn up two memos on what a good organization should be doing.

Motion (Shean-Wilkins): It was moved, seconded and passed that the Council make use of the memos of Bob Johnson.

Harold Fleming said, "I think we have a great potential in our Executive Committee. They are experienced in all details; there is a freshness in their reactions and suggestions which is valuable to the staff." There was general agreement that the Executive Committee could play an effective role in evaluation.

After further discussion, the central office staff was asked to redraft the appeal letter to the Fund for the Republic and to circulate the new draft to the Executive Committee before its next meeting.

Dr. Mitchell described a memorandum which had been sent to state staff members on the subject of legal aid. He said, "Now you must say whether you are agreeable to state and central office staff being notified that they should be supported under extenuating circumstances."

Motion (Shean-Dabbs): It was moved, seconded and passed that the Executive Committee approve of this action of the staff, as according with the action of the previous meeting of the Executive Committee.

ANNUAL MEETING

After discussion about the place to be set for the annual meeting, the following motion was passed.

Motion (Shean-Dabbs): It was moved, seconded and passed that the staff take steps to arrange for the annual meeting, to be held at one of these places: (1) Williamsburg, (2) Gatlinburg, and (3) Louisville, and that the staff be empowered to alternate the order if circumstances arise which make it necessary.

The staff was then excused for an Executive Session.

REPORTED MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
IN EXECUTIVE SESSION

With respect to Dr. Mitchell's announcement to the meeting on July 20, the Executive Committee decided to appoint a five-member committee from among members of the Board of Directors to make a study of qualified personnel to succeed Dr. Mitchell as Executive Director, and to report to the September meeting of the

Executive Committee. (This Committee is urged to feel perfectly free to consult with Dr. Mitchell about his successor.)

The Committee members chosen were: Dr. Rufus Clement, Chairman, Marion Wright, Josephine Wilkins, John Griffin, Dr. Albert Dent, and (if Dr. Dent cannot serve), John Wheeler.

As to Mrs. Tilly's special request for additional funds to finance the Southwide conference of Southern church women in October, 1956. (1) Father Shean agreed to contact Immanual Muravchik of the Jewish Labor Committee and to make a special request for up to $1,500. He will act on this next week, and will advise Dr. Mitchell. (2) Dr. Mitchell is requested to remind Dr. Clement to try another foundation, since the recommended contact was not productive, following the last Executive Committee meeting. (3) A special memo to Dr. Mitchell asking that the letter to the Board members asking for additional contributions should make mention of the fact there is very special need for up to $1,500 for this conference (church women) and that up to that amount will be earmarked for Mrs. Tilly's conference. (NOTE: If Father Shean gets the $1,500, then all the money we get from Board Members will go the the general fund.) (4) Josephine Wilkins agreed to speak very earnestly with Mrs. Tilly and convey the feeling of the Executive Committee that Mrs. Tilly should be asked to solicit funds for these conferences from her own church women delegates and contacts.

Executive Session Minutes Dictated by
Paul Christopher, Acting Chairman

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Williamsburg, Virginia

November 14, 1956

The meeting convened at 2:05 p.m. in the basement of the Brick House Tavern, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Invocation by the Rev. J. Claude Evans

Board members present were:

Mrs. W. F. Bates
B. R. Brazeal
W. C. Brooke
I. H. Burney
Paul R. Christopher
Mrs. James S. Crate
C. S. Cartwright
James M. Dabbs
Herbert M. Davidson
A. W. Dent
Caxton Doggett
J. Claude Evans
M. Lafayette Harris
Duncan Hunter
A. L. Kidd
John R. Larkins
A. G. Moron
Mrs. E. U. Robinson
Miss Dorcas Ruthenburg
Charles A. Shaw
Mrs. E. M. Sparling
James E. Stewart
Mrs. Tommie Stroud
W. E. Solomon
Miss Florence Sytz
John H. Wheeler
Miss Josephine Wilkins
York Wilbern
Paul Williams
Marion A. Wright
Mrs. Morris Young
Thomas Young
Whitney Young, Sr.
John A. Griffin

Staff members present were:

George S. Mitchell
Harold C. Fleming
C. H. Parrish
Mrs. Ruth Alexander
John Hope II
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
John Constable
Fred Routh
G. S. Alexander
Mrs. Elizabeth Brantley

Mr. Gordon Hancock, our senior Vice-President, journeyed to Williamsburg for the announced second day of the meeting, but found the business had been concluded on the previous evening.

The Minutes of the last meeting were approved.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Members of the Board having received mimeographed copies of the report some days before the meeting, it was upon motion unanimously agreed to, and all actions therein reported adopted and ratified.

November 14, 1956 minutes pick up following final page (p.13) of September 21, 1956 minutes.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

September 21, 1956

The meeting was called to order at 2:00 p.m., September 21st, in the Conference Room, Harkness Hall, Atlanta University, by Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Chairman.

The following members of the Executive Committee were present:

Mr. B. R. Brazeal
Mr. Rufus E. Clement
Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Mr. A. W. Dent
Mr. John Griffin
Mr. Duncan Hunter
Father Maurice Shean
Miss Josephine Wilkins
Mr. Paul D. Williams

Staff members present were:

George S. Mitchell
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Mrs. Ruth Alexander
Harold Fleming
C. H. Parrish
Frederick B. Routh
John Hope
John Constable
G. S. Alexander
Elizabeth Brantley

Invocation by Father Maurice V. Shean. The Minutes of the meeting of July 20-21, as previously mailed to members of the Committee, were approved.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

The Executive Session was postponed until later in the afternoon.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Mr. Mitchell. Executive Committee met carefully in July -- August is a dull month and not much happens. Compressed the reports of staff members, and said that they, in turn, would report in more detail: nine states at least will meet fund-raising quotas; Mrs. Tilly has very important meeting coming up in October; Harold Fleming has sent in opus of fact-finding on the degree of desegregation since the Supreme Court decision; John Hope has got going again with teaching people in the states how to do. As to money: required to raise $55,000 this year (October 1, 1955 - October 1, 1956) to draw next year's money from the Fund for the Republic and has raised $57,000 or $58,000; helped greatly by providential sums -- New World Foundation, $17,000, for John Hope's

program; and $5,000 from the Christopher Reynolds Foundation; around $45,000 is available (though bits are in special pockets for specific purposes) for several months in the coming fiscal year.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER

Mrs. Ruth H. Alexander submitted to members of the Executive Committee the report of the state organizations' fund-raising efforts during the current fiscal year.

Mr. Dabbs. Do state organizations receive credit for subscriptions to New South obtained in that state? Said the report from South Carolina he last saw showed around $3600 or more collected; nearly $600 of that was for New South subscriptions.

Mrs. Alexander. Figures shown on chart [attached] were inclusive of August amount only, and that perhaps the next report from South Carolina would show the amount as stated by Mr. Dabbs.

Mr. Dent. Question re contents of letter dated August 7, 1956, as mentioned in column 2 of the state organizations' mimeo'd report.

Mrs. Alexander. Letter referred to amount to be raised pro rata by each state organization, in conformity with amount from SRC.

Mr. Dent. If state organizations do not raise quotas, would they be given the full amount?

Mr. Routh. Last fiscal year further funds were withheld for days or weeks from North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky, which states had not met quotas. After they met their quotas, SRC resumed assistance to them.

HOST REMARKS

Mr. Clement. Very pleased to see members of the Executive Committee and central staff present. Doubled in case of Paul Williams, former President of the SRC, now reelected as Vice-President and therefore a member of the Committee.

Mr. Clement has talked by long distance with Mr. Wright a couple of days ago. Mr. Wright regretted that his wife's illness made it impossible for him to be at this meeting.

REVIEW OF CURRENT BUDGET

Mr. Alexander distributed copies of a comparison of the 1955-56 budget with actual income and expenditures as of August 31, 1956. Stated that total expenditure to date ($88,006.64) represents 94.7 per cent of total budget for 1955-56. [attached]

Mr. Mitchell. Comparison sheet does not show $17,000 from the New World Foundation or $5,000 from Christopher Reynolds Foundation; ups total income by $22,000.

Mr. Williams. Estimate the prospects for next year from Marshall Field, Doris Duke, John Hay Whitney, and labor sources.

Mr. Mitchell. Marshall Field grant for three years -- next year is the last. Doris Duke has rule against any consecutive appropriations, but believe it is possible to get a one-year grant again. John Hay Whitney Foundation has notified SRC of provision for Mrs. Tilly in coming calendar year in the amount of $2,000. Labor should give $5,000, though Fred Routh believes SRC can get $25,000.

Mr. Mitchell. Practically sure to get $51,500 next year. Need to raise above that $26,000. Sum is $77,500. Of that nearly $45,000 will be on hand October 1st. Spending money next year: assuming that operations will be continued through the coming fiscal year as at present, salaries = $46,000, and for other items -- travel, communications, rent, etc. -- $85,000, exclusive of John Hope's program and exclusive of what might be added for fact-finding as is going on now. Add $7,000 more for John Hope ("and I would be in favor of adding a good deal more") and $5,000 for fact-finding, get a grand total of $100,000, including $3,500 for meetings, etc. Staff can probably fit together $75,000. Somebody has got to find $25,000 more than is in sight.

Mr. Dent. How much found this year in areas which you have not included?

Mr. Mitchell. $60,000 outside of grant from the Fund for the Republic.

Mr. Dent. Aside from what is included in estimate of $75,000 which staff might fit together, how much of $25,000 would be from sources from which money was received this year?

Mr. Mitchell. Only such source is New World Foundation.

DISCUSSION OF STAFF MEMORANDUM OF SEPTEMBER 13, 1956
RE FUTURE OF SRC AFTER OCTOBER 1, 1957

Each member of the Executive Committee had received a copy of the memo in the mails. Mr. Fleming was asked by Dr. Mitchell to speak for the staff.

Mr. Fleming. Memo is self-evident. Made longer than most so that it would be fairly self-explanatory.

All Committee members had read the memo and discussion proceeded.

Mr. Dent. Memo suggests a revision of the present structure. Can see some virtue in so doing, but would like to have stronger arguments about it before supporting it. Memo suggests emphasis on central operation rather than as at present emphasizing state organizations.

Mr. Clement. Whatever is decided about the memorandum as being an acceptable and wise program will not alter the present method of operation which continues through September 30, 1957.

At this point the Committee asked that the motion made at the Tuskegee meeting (November 9, 1955) be read: "On motion by Miss Josephine Wilkins, the staff was directed to submit to the Executive Committee at an early meeting, not later than the April meeting, proposals for the continued existence of the Council after the expiration of the grant from the Fund for the Republic."

Mr. Dent. Would like the staff to speak to the point of why SRC can conduct an operation more effectively through a centralized rather than through a state organizations agency.

Mr. Fleming. First, this is discussion of proposals for the period after completion of the present grant -- that is, after September, 1957. It is not conceived as a reversal in the sense of withdrawing aid previously committed to state organizations; the original commitments will have been carried out during the three years, ending October 1, 1957. It is a future effort by the Council which is essential in protecting investment made during those years. In the past two years, we have committed the regional movement pretty largely to subsidy, strengthening and working with state groups. Of the four Assistant Directors whose views are incorporated in this memo, three are directly, or almost exclusively, concerned with state organizations, and the other is concerned to some extent. That is one quick index to our emphasis on decentralization. None of us feels that this has been the wrong emphasis. But what has happened since the Supreme Court's decision was made justifies some reorientation. The opposition to integration has been unified and elevated to a much higher level of organization than it was before. Resistance movements are inter-state in character -- as evidenced by recent events in Tennessee and Kentucky. Propaganda is nationwide and reaches other parts of the world (such things as the Southern Manifesto, and airing the views of leading segregationists through mass media). National opinion has been markedly influenced by this powerful, concerted inter-state resistance in the South. An outstanding example was the appearance in U. S. News and World Report of a document critical of Negro intelligence. Also, the way in which the trend in the South has been interpreted nationally. These are matters of concern.

At the "Hard-Core" Conference, the impression of the staff was that state groups -- while they have worked hard and the central office has been trying to help them -- feel quite frustrated. With reason, because the broad forces supporting segregation have tied their hands, silenced their potential allies, and cut off some of the funds that might have been hoped for, hampering their working out any sort of effective local programs. They cry, "What can we do when all opinion and official power are so strongly directed the other way?" We feel that we are going to have to do more than is possible under the present arrangements to reach and influence and contribute to some of the broader forces that are shaping the total situation.

There is a tendency to look to the central office for professional service, for program, for guidance -- in short, for full national operation. Many state groups feel quite dependent upon the central office for assistance. Consider the expectations of our own policy group. In Executive Committee meetings the discussion continuously turns to the SRC and its staff and what it is doing to broaden its sphere of activity and influence. In the face of these expectations and needs, central staff feels quite frustrated at times because so much of its time and resources are directed toward being an advisory body.

Mr. Dabbs. You are recommending a sort of cutting loose of state groups, and also an attempt to influence opinion more than we have. Suppose we do need to do those things; why do you have to change from state organizations?

Mr. Fleming. What is being proposed is nothing new -- only that we fulfill our commitments under the grant for the three-year period. It was originally agreed that after three years the states would be free. However some additional support should be offered by the Council in some form of grants-in-aid. As to affiliated status at the end of the three-year period, the state groups will have benefitted about as much as they can by having a dependent relationship to the Council through direct subsidy. Beyond that period such a relationship would stultify rather than lead to growth. Mr. Fleming further said that the Council probably cannot get resources to do what it has done in terms of services to the state groups, and to do a program job through its own staff for the central office also. About the same thing applies to the difficulty of getting enough skilled people to do a job. This memo (1) provides aid for the states, keeping cooperative and friendly relationships, and (2) puts the state organizations on their mettle. Remember, too, that we have one further year of direct aid to the states, during which they should grow stronger and more self-sufficient.

Question. After the three-year period the states would be on their own, but would they be free to come to the central office for assistance?

Mr. Fleming. Yes. But assistance would be given on the basis of merit, rather than on relationship. We would continue giving the state groups services, but hope that we would not have to be quite so exclusive about the consultant services; services to be made available on the basis of need, but not limited or directed solely to the state organizations.

Father Shean. There is need for heavier regional concentration. Met in Washington recently with representatives of other similar organizations to discuss means of cooperating and coordinating in this particular field. Main question: "What can these organizations do to help implement the Supreme Court's decision." Discussed the need of perhaps another coordinating agency, perhaps built up with a small staff to do just what has been proposed in the central office staff memo. Forty-six organizations were represented at the Washington meeting. Emphasized to them the practical means at hand to persuade everybody to work on a local basis together, so that each group would not feel as if it were working alone. At present there is no clearing house, nobody who can be a total guide so to speak, and here is something that seems a great need for and of the moment. The reorganizational memo is concerned with a structure which might provide such cooperation.

Miss Wilkins. Is there a proposal to set up such a new organization?

Father Shean. Matter was referred to a committee. Father Shean is a member of the committee.

Miss Wilkins. Would it not be a good idea to sell the Southern Regional Council to them on this basis?

Father Shean: This could be done, but at the time of the meeting did not have the staff memo before me.

Mr. Hope. Southern Regional Council is in a unique position to become a channel for regional and national organizations. Under the proposed reorganization, each state's program findings could flow normally through into each of the other eleven states. There would be the assumption that a state organization is active in a state and is performing efficiently and a good vehicle. But it would not be awkward, and now sometimes it is, for the central office to go into a state and take some sort of action.

Mr. Williams. Was it not a part of the original proposal to the Fund for the Republic that there was a great deal of need for the state organizations?

Mr. Fleming. Purpose then was quite legitimate. Supreme Court was going to rule, and it was felt that once the principle of integration was established, implementation would break down into many

varying local problems. Developments have not followed this pattern, and we need a stronger central organization to work for acceptance of the principle itself.

Mr. Clement. In personal contacts with the Fund for the Republic people, the Fund for the Republic feels that this is a logical turn for us in the light of the change which has taken place in Southern affairs. It will not by any means harm program by revising our method of operation to meet the situation.

Mr. Griffin. It is a bit too optimistic to assume that the work will flow on. The state organizations might find that they are up against the same things that the Council has been up against in times past.

Mr. Fleming. Question is whether it would be found that the work in the state groups would pay off better if most of the energies and resources were thrown into direct support, or if the energies and resources were directed toward creating an effective climate for compliance with the Supreme Court's decision. Most of the state organizations should survive -- will have a tough time, but most can continue to produce fairly effective programs under the new arrangements.

Question. How many do you think will be able to continue with present professional staff?

Mr. Fleming. Relying on information from Mr. Routh and Mr. Parrish, most will continue.

Mr. Routh. Roughly eight of the states can continue with professional staff -- perhaps nine.

Mr. Fleming. A generous sum is being made available to each state during the coming fiscal year, which sum should be a pretty good boost in the next year. At end of next year hopes to feel pretty confident that the states could make it on their own.

Mr. Parrish. Might have effective Board persons in one state and a weak staff person, or vice versa in others. Each state has its own particular difficulties.

Mr. Dent. During the last two years we have been building techniques for dealing with an emphasis upon state organizations. If we propose to build an organization which places the major emphasis on regional operation, what does that imply from the standpoint of techniques, and what does it imply from the standpoint of staff structure?

Mr. Fleming. Staff is hardly in position to evaluate itself. However, there is nothing in this memo which does not grow out of the present situation as we see it. Every one of the activities listed represents areas in which the staff has felt needs. The staff has been

able to do something -- though not enough to be more than somewhat frustrating -- to show the possibility for much more activity along those lines. The Council possesses the knowledge and insight into techniques that would be needed. It would call for a reevaluation of the total staff structure, because what is suitable for one approach and what is suitable for another may be quite different. Not prepared today to submit any suggestions re specific reorganization of staff and structure. It needs to be worked out with great care and consideration by the Executive Committee with such help as the staff can give it. Some of the things we are now doing are adaptable to this approach. For example, the consultants' service program as directed by John Hope. This kind of service should by no means be restricted to the state affiliates. It could be very effectively applied in a number of different cases. SRC activities could be broken down into these general classes: (1) executive and administrative, concerned with organizational matters as such; (2) two different classes of program activities: (a) area of information, and (b) area of field services -- both in the broad sense. In information, the Council has sought to do a good deal right along, in addition to the state organizations' job.

Mr. Mitchell. It is an arrangement whereby state organizations can continue to survive and do a good job. There will be some situations in which a state organization partially survives, someone being paid a per diem fee from this office to go into a state and service some special need.

Mr. Clement. Subsidy could be given directly as the need arose to a particular state.

Mr. Routh. C. H. Parrish and I have participated in some programs outside of the SRC state organizations; specifically work in states where affiliates are not available.

Mr. Fleming. There is a great demand for this sort of work now, and it is greater than SRC can now conscientiously supply without sacrificing some of its present obligations.

Mr. Dent. What are the implications to such staff as we have or may develop after October, '57 in this suggestion of a change in emphasis? It could very well be that your techniques for working with the type of people you have in the state organizations might be quite different in working with YMCA, B'nai B'rith, etc.,people.

Mr. Griffin. In one specific area it is implied that additional skilled research interpretation would be obtained.

Mr. Hope. As of now the consultants service program depends upon request from a state for assistance. That implies that if an organization does not ask for assistance none can be given in that state. In one particular state there is a great deal of unrest and I have received requests from the Congregational Church and others to put people into that section to work on integration. As it stands now, the consultants can do very little. What is needed, and is offered by the staff memo, is more flexibility.

Mr. Fleming. There is an increasing need for developing, not only general information for mass distribution, but specific information for specific purposes based upon new research or fact-finding. This has been tried on a small scale with pretty good results. But presently SRC does not have the time or staff or resources to do a really effective job. Could farm out certain aspects of the research which would be used directly in program.

Father Shean. Do persons presently members of the staff of SRC possess qualifications needed to carry on an operation of this sort?

Mr. Fleming. I believe so, but there will be additional staff needs.

Mr. Clement. Out of this discussion the Executive Committee hopes to formulate recommendations to the Board as to the sort of program which should go on after October, 1957 -- maybe something in the interim -- and as to the new Director, beginning January 16, 1957. When those two things have been done, the Executive Committee will need the help of the new Director in setting up the structure necessary to facilitate whatever program may be agreed upon. We will then need to work at staff needs and staff personnel to fit whatever program is agreed upon to operate until October, 1957, and after. In position now to formulate ideas as to (1) structure, (2) function and program, and (3) as to the selection of a new Executive Director. The Board can do whatever it pleases with whatever recommendation we make. When the new Director takes office before the end of the grant period, there will be a time when we will have to reexamine program and staff and bring into conformity.

Mr. Dabbs. If we decide to approve the plan as presented in the memo, can formal approach be made to the Fund for the Republic until the Board has met to back up our proposal?

Mr. Mitchell. There's no urgency about it. If we get a letter to the Fund for the Republic shortly before January 1, 1957, we are in pretty good shape.

Further discussion followed on the presentation of the memorandum to the Annual Meeting. It was felt that the memo should be mailed to Board members well in advance of the November meeting so that they would have a chance to study it and come to the meeting prepared to make recommendations if any.

Upon motion it was unanimously agreed that the Executive Committee approves in principle the suggestions made in the staff memorandum of September 12, 1956, to the effect that the Southern Regional Council move toward, and arrive at, by September, 1957, a program which places major emphasis upon a centralized regional operation rather than, as heretofore, a state program.

Upon motion it was agreed that the Committee would go into Executive Session after adjournment of the present session.

Mr. Alexander presented to the Committee, for its approval, the proposed wording for a scroll which is to be presented to Leonard Haas at the Annual Meeting.

Session adjourned,

The meeting reconvened at 6:50 p.m., September 21, 1956.

RE LEONARD HAAS

The Chairman of the Executive Committee reported that in Executive Session the Committee had approved the wording of the scroll which will be presented to Leonard Haas at the Annual Meeting in November.

APPROVAL OF STAFF ACTION RE ALLOCATION TO STATES ACCORDING TO TWENTY-FIVE PER CENT FORMULA

Mr. Routh. All states in fiscal 1955-56 had available money for employment of professional staff on an interracial basis. Those who had so employed professional staff will be protected. Some received $10,000 for two full-time directors, and others received $7,500 for salary of an executive and for secretarial help. The states having received $10,000 were Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas. Those receiving $7,500 were Alabama, Kentucky, Louisiana, North Carolina, and Virginia. Of $100,000 from the Fund for the Republic, total expenditure of $97,500. Balance of $2,500 could be used at discretion of central office. Reason for holding Mississippi out is because Mississippi was put on probationary status at the last meeting of the Executive Committee. The total of $2,500 comes within the twenty-five per cent variable which the Executive Committee allowed to staff for state organizations.

Mr. Mitchell. Question arises because we undertook nearly three years ago to provide each state with even-steven assistance. The further we get the more we are convinced that our aid should be tailor-made. We made very special effort to enable each state to employ a Negro and a white professional staff person. We have done our best to stand behind continued employment for the added personnel.

Upon motion the Executive Committee unanimously approved the staff action re allocation to states according to the twenty-five per cent formula.

MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL'S PROBATIONARY STATUS

Mr. Routh had hoped that it would be possible for an organization to function in that state. Board's first chairman was dedicated and a good man -- Rabbi Mantinband. Next person was a good person and a fine

lady -- Mrs. Ratliff. In spite of this the Board had difficulty in relating to the chief staff person. Repeated complaints came into the central office re inability of the organization to function as it should. Mr. Routh and Mr. Parrish made an emergency trip to Mississippi to discuss with the Board current difficulties. From that trip Messrs. Routh and Parrish drew up a memo outling difficulties.

Mr. Routh. Recommended to the Executive Committee that, after due consideration he and Mr. Parrish feel that the condition has not been sufficiently improved to warrant continued support from the central office to the Council in Mississippi.

Discussion by Messrs. Parrish, Dent, Clement, Fleming, Shean, Routh, and Brazeal.

Mr. Routh read from the joint statement of the Mississippi Council, beginning at the point discussing the charge of lack of staff efficiency:

"We have considered this carefully, careful investigation was made, and we have been unable to get any appreciable report. No complaints have at any time been made to the Board of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations of staff inefficiency, and the Board members are unaware of personality problems."

Discussion established that complaints were made to the central office and not to the Board of the Mississippi Council. Mr. Routh stated that the situation was probably due to both staff and Board indirection.

The Southern Regional Council staff had been directed to make recommendation as to what disposition should be made of the Mississippi Council, and Mr. Routh did so as follows:

"After a thorough review of the activities of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations and the prevailing climate of attitudes and pattern of practices in the state, the assistant directors for state organizations respectfully recommend to the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council that: (1) the Board and Executive Committee of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations should be notified that our financial support of the MCHR will be terminated as of January 1, 1957; and (2) that should MCHR fail to meet its minimum requirement in fund-raising for the 1955-56 fiscal year, that funds be withheld as of October 1, 1956."

It was upon motion unanimously agreed that the staff recommendation re discontinuance of aid to the Mississippi Council on Human Relations be approved.

Mr. Mitchell. Stated that there was a possibility that Arkansas would be placed on provisional status because of failure to raise sufficient funds -- that too rests with the Committee.

Mr. Parrish. Raising a certain amount of money is not an adequate criterion for evaluation of a state organization.

Mr. Routh. All are agreed that Arkansas has excellent program. This creates the problem of cutting off an organization which has an effective program.

Mr. Clement. Presents question of whether the Committee wishes to apply the mechanical device set up by the motion of the July 20-21 meeting without regard to program underway, or whether it wishes to allow the staff of the central office leeway in the prosecution of the resolution.

Further discussion followed, after which the following resolution was unanimously approved:

We reaffirm the action taken at the Mammoth Cave meeting August 16, 17, 1955, in which the Executive Committee recognizes its responsibility in requiring the states to meet their pro rata share within each fiscal year, and that in 1956 the staff be given power to use its discretion as to states which might have this extended one month -- to October 31st.

AMENDMENTS TO BY-LAWS

At the last meeting (July 20-21, 1956) the staff was instructed to bring in a proposed change in the by-laws for presentation to the Board to empower the Executive Committee to fill vacancies within the Executive Committee from among members of the Board of Directors between annual meetings, subject to confirmation of the succeeding annual meeting.

Mr. Alexander presented the following change, which was upon motion unanimously approved: (Article V, Section 1)

At Present:	Proposed Change:
.... Vacancies in the Executive Committee shall be filled by the Council.	.... Vacancies in the Executive Committee shall be filled by the Council or the Executive Committee itself during the interim between Council meetings. All vacancies shall be filled from among members of the Board.

UNUSED STATE FUNDS

Mr. Mitchell. Requests authority from the Committee to make available to Virginia and to Tennessee some money this year, which we quite understand they will be using next year.

Mr. Routh. Tennessee has recently received $350 for local use out of their special emergency fund set up for them. The use of this money will actually carry over into the coming fiscal year. Comparable action was taken prior to October, 1955. Virginia has had an allocation of up to $12,500 for the 1955-56 fiscal year. They have used far less than that amount. They have now asked for additional funds out of the current allocation to hire special consultants to work in critical areas -- Fairfax County, Arlington, etc. A real push now for school integration might bring results in January. Dr. Mitchell has told the Committee that there is $10,200 leftover money from state programs, and he proposes that up to half of this money be made available, at the discretion of central office staff, for use among various state organizations.

Mr. Mitchell. This adds to the twenty-five per cent discretionary powers which were given to the central office at Frogmore. Now asking for another $5,000 of discretionary money. Money is available if the Executive Committee authorizes it.

Upon motion it was unanimously agreed to give the central office staff discretionary powers for using up to $5,000 of unexpended state funds, for assistance to state organizations in the coming fiscal year.

WHITE HOUSE INTEREST

Mr. Fleming. The April Executive Committee meeting instructed the staff to explore the possibility of a favorable statement from the President of the United States.

General opinion, after discussion, was that the matter should be taken up again.

PRESIDENT AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF SRC

Mr. Clement stated earlier in this meeting that the Executive Director would be leaving the Council in mid-January, 1957. At the last meeting a sub-committee was appointed to find a successor; report to be presented in Executive Session, and in turn to the Annual Meeting in November.

During the current session, the following occured.

Miss Wilkins. A committee should be appointed to prepare some kind of appropriate testimonials to the outgoing President and

Executive Director of SRC.

It was upon motion unanimously agreed that the Chairman of the Executive Committee be authorized to be ready with appropriate resolutions in view of the services of the Executive Director and the President of the Council.

It was upon motion unanimously agreed that bound volumes of New South, for all the years of Mr. Wright's service as President of the Council, be presented to Mr. Wright at the Annual Meeting.

The Chairman of the Executive Committee suggested that the Executive Director of the Council be authorized to telegraph to Mr. Wright expressing regret at Mr. Wright's absence from this meeting, and the reason therefor, and recognizing his services, and extending sympathies with his situation. So ordered.

Meeting adjourned 8:15 p.m.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

In Executive Session on Friday afternoon, the Executive Committee on motion adopted the plan of within-grade promotion as recommended by the Personnel Committee, herewith:

Executive Director -- $10,000 - $12,000

Assistant Directors -- $7,000- $ 9,000
($250 increments every year until top grade reached)
Administrative Assistant -- $6,000 - $8,000
($200 increments every year until top grade reached)

Secretary-Treasurer -- $4,000 - $6,000
($200 increments every year until top grade reached)

Stenographers -- $3,000 - $4,000
($100 increments every year until top grade reached)

Clerical Assistants -- $2,700 - $3,200
($100 increments every year until top grade reached)

Managing Editor of New South -- $5,000 -
(Upper limit not set by personnel committee. Recommend $5,000 - $6,500; $250 increments every year until top grade reached)

Research Assistant -- $4,000 -
(Job not yet classified by personnel committee. Recommend $4,000 - $5,500; $150 increments every year until top grade reached)

Director of Women's Work -- $5,000 - $6,500
($200 increments every year until top grade reached)

Upon motion, approved recommendation of the special Nominating Committee for an Executive Director, (the Committee having been Marion Wright, Rufus Clement, George Mitchell, Josephine Wilkins, and John Griffin), and agreed to recommend to the Board of Directors the appointment of Harold Fleming as Executive Director to succeed George Mitchell, January 16, 1957.

Discussion in the Executive Session led to the conclusion that it would be well for a memo to be prepared by the staff with generous assistance from Harold Fleming giving a review of the program planning of the staff; such a memo would be sent out to members of the Board well in advance of the Board meeting November 14th; the memo would be consistent with whatever draft may later on result of a letter to the Fund for the Republic from the President of the Council requesting renewal of aid from that body after October 1, 1957.

Discussion revealed that members of the Executive Committee believed that a particularly helpful feature of the proposed memo would be comprehensive discussion about the desirability of continued primary emphasis on state organizations as against a more centralized operation.

Encls.
eab/
Mailed 10/19/56

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING
TheSouthern Regional Council, Inc.
Williamsburg, Virginia

November 14, 1956

The meeting convened at 2:05 p.m. in the basement of the Brick House Tavern, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Invocation by the Rev. J. Claude Evans

Board members present were:

Mrs. W. F. Bates
B. R. Brazeal
W. C. Brooke
I. H. Burney
Paul R. Christopher
Mrs. James S. Crate
C. S. Cartwright
James M. Dabbs
Herbert M. Davidson
A. W. Dent
Caxton Doggett
J. Claude Evans
M. Lafayette Harris
Duncan Hunter
A. L. Kidd
John R. Larkins
A. G. Moron
Mrs. E. U. Robinson
Miss Dorcas Ruthenburg
Charles A. Shaw
Mrs. E. M. Sparling
James E. Stewart
Mrs. Tommie Stroud
W. E. Solomon
Miss Florence Sytz
John H. Wheeler
Miss Josephine Wilkins
York Wilbern
Paul Williams
Marion A. Wright
Mrs. Morris Young
Thomas Young
Whitney Young, Sr.
John A. Griffin

Staff members present were:

George S. Mitchell
Harold C. Fleming
C. H. Parrish
Mrs. Ruth Alexander
John Hope II
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
John Constable
Fred Routh
G. S. Alexander
Mrs. Elizabeth Brantley

Mr. Gordon Hancock, our senior Vice-President, journeyed to Williamsburg for the announced second day of the meeting, but found the business had been concluded on the previous evening.

The Minutes of the last meeting were approved.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Members of the Board having received mimeographed copies of the report some days before the meeting, it was upon motion unanimously agreed to, and all actions therein reported adopted and ratified.

TWO-MINUTE STAFF REPORTS

Executive Director

Mr. Mitchell reported that eight or ten of the state organizations may be counted upon to endure. John Hope and C. H. Parrish found a new way to work -- the consultant service -- which succeeds. New South subscriptions now up to 5,000, mainly through the state organizations' memberships, and a circulation of about 6,000, which keeps growing. SRC, he said, used to struggle along on $35,000 and $40,000 a year. This year we will use for the central office a good $100,000. We have failed on one thing: we have never found a way to raise substantial amounts of money within the South.

As the Executive Director had previously by letter announced to the Board members his intent to resign as of January 15, 1957, he used this occasion to thank the members of the Board for their continuous and faithful support in the past ten years, and to bespeak their future similar support to his successor.

Mr. Mitchell then asked the leading staff members to report briefly.

Assistant Director for Information

Mr. Fleming stated that all of the Board members have been receiving quarterly reports, and thus a good part of the work of the information staff has been reported to them. In addition to the Council publication, New South, a good many books and other materials have received widespread distribution from the central office to people able to use them in their own interest groups, and also to members of the Board. Have done more in terms of press releases and mass media. This is a continuing function so long as the eyes of the nation are on the South and race relations in the South.

Facts gathered on desegregation in the South are incorporated into a booklet, Integration North and South, which, it is hoped, will combat some of the defeatism and discouragement among people

who want to help. The status of Negro suffrage in the South, state by state, is being prepared into a region-wide summary. Have commissioned a small study of industrialization in the South. An analysis is being put into shape and some interesting conclusions will emerge as to what the racial implications are, and what documentation can help move economic leadership in the South. The results of a survey of "resistance" groups will be distributed shortly.

Mr. Fleming commended Miss Irving and Mr. Constable for their work as a part of the information staff.

In reply to Mr. Shaw's question, Mr. Mitchell said that releases were going to all persons that the two of them saw in Houston on a recent visit to that city by Mr. Mitchell. In reply to a question about an AP release on the desegregation survey out of Washington, Mr. Fleming said that all publicity was released by the Fund for the Republic, which published the booklet.

Mr. Dent commented on a dilemma faced by SRC: the need to get public credit as an aid to fund-raising, as opposed to the effectiveness of getting ideas and information quietly into the stream of public opinion. He expressed the hope that the need for credit would never prevent our doing the quiet, behind-the=scenes job. Mr. Mitchell said that that called for a double system of bookkeeping -- one in which we are invisible and one in which we are in evidence.

Assistant Directors for State Organizations

Mr. Parrish siad that he has recently been concerned primarily with the consultant program and commented on some of the values from that program. The consultant program has pulled into the organization persons who otherwise would not have been involved. It has succeeded in separating the role of analyst and expert from the role of advocate. Visits to Mississippi in company with Fred Routh underlined the importance of evaluation criteria of work accomplished. Mr. Wright asked how far the directors have gone in evaluating the work of the state organizations. Mr.

Parrish stated that, working on the theory that program is important, he has tried to separate certain objective criteria determining value of program from organizational structure; knowing how to involve people at different levels.

Mr. Routh said that two years of the three years of promised diminishing aid have been completed. We have felt our way along, as there were not many guide posts because of the nature of the states and the nature of the work. Have guided state organizations into being, with at least eleven organizations going at the present time. The Executive Committee, after hearing reports from the assistant directors, decided that the Mississippi Council on Human Relations had not gotten sufficiently off the ground to warrant further financial aid, and such aid would be terminated January 1, 1957. Tennessee has not gotten off the ground organizationally, but program-wise they have gotten a good start; the leadership of the new chairman there will pull things together.

Tailor-made aid is being given to the states during this current year on the basis of states which have secured integrated staff receiving more than those which have not, with no more than a twenty-five per cent variation from the norm, as empowered by the Executive Committee.

As to evaluation criteria, we have now learned what the problems are, and what significant programs there are in the states at this time. Now we are ufging the groups toward greater autonomy. Most are assuming responsibility of guiding their own destinies and raising their own funds. Even Mississippi this year raised its $3500. Tennessee will make it when it pulls its Board together and acquires staff.

Various questions were asked concerning withdrawing of aid from Mississippi: Does that mean that the Council is seceding from Mississippi? Does that mean that the Council was not able to secure leadership in Mississippi? Does the Mississippi group understand why they are not going to get money next year.

Mr. Routh Stated that there was a problem of staff and Board relationship; leadership of the organization itself; Board composed

of only about fourteen members; inadequacy of program. Mr. Routh further said that since Mississippi had been notified that aid would be discontinued, it had written the central office that it planned to continue as an organization on its own. Mr. Parrish stated that the decision to discontinue aid to Mississippi was made by the Executive Committee.

Assistant Director for Program

Mr. Hope stated that his primary responsibility is the direction of the consultant service program which aims at flexible corralling of a wide variety of highly qualified specialized skills that are available within and without the region, bringing them to bear within the region; first within our own family or state organization; then into community organizations within the states, and spiralling out from that as far as our funds will allow us to go. Beyond that to serve interested organizations that are not affiliated that have definite need for technical assistance. The problem is how to motivate effective leadership. Question of efficiently using resource is increasingly important. Presently attempts to deal first with leadership within our SRC family by a series of one to two day workshops -- informal discussions with Board and staff aiming at clarifying respective roles, digging into specific questions and problems of that particular state. The consultant's role is to react to the questions and problems of the people involved. Now is anticipating moving to the next level of leadership -- into community level -- as various degrees of readiness are beginning to show over the South and people want to know how most efficiently to act. Superintendents of school boards, study committees of the boards have and may express interest in obtaining help, and we want to find ways and means of getting that help to them. Presently making explorations in Florida South Carolina and Kentucky -- most progress in Kentucky. Recognized that this whole movement must of necessity be operated to reach certain people who are interested in the problem, who know a great deal about it, but who do not have the time to think of the best techniques or to explore the considerable developments in social science and social engineering.

Mr. Mitchell stated that Mr. Parrish had the idea of using able

and largely Negro brains to help people. These people (the consultants) have already trained state boards and are preparing to get out and work with local educators -- please get him some jobs.

Looking to the future, Mr. Hope stated that he thinks of another phase or type of use where that element isn't as important. In some cases will probably be looking for another type of person - the practitioner with integration experience -- to supplement the present group. Would like to keep the program tailor-made to the needs.

To the question of whether he had been approached by a community for advice toward desegregating schools, Mr. Hope said that there had been indirect proposals. Mr. Wright stated that a reputable newspaper man in North Carolina has twice made the statement in recent interviews that he, the newspaper man, felt that three North Carolina towns would take steps to integrate this Fall.

To the question of where the money comes from for the program and whether monies received are sufficient, Mr. Hope stated that a special grant was received from the New World Foundation. Also, he said, the program is at a pilot stage and would be particularly flexible in its own service to communities. Where an organization in a community is an organization that itself has the ability to contibute, we would not want to deprive it of that opportunity.

Director of Women's Work

Mrs. Tilly stated that on October 30th and 31st she held a meeting of 109 women from ten Southern states: Jewish,Catholic, Protestant, white and Negro. The lists of women to be invited were given to us by their national or regional church boards. The invitations were sent from the office of SRC, but in many instances these were supplemented by direct communication to them from their own boards.

Mrs. Tilly commended the cooperation of the staff in helping her get together materials needed for the meeting. The workbook

prepared for the meeting contained worship services, a section on the long trails and trials to the Supreme Court decision, a section on recent state action, a section on the number of Negroes registered to vote county by county within the states. Workshop leaders were Father Shean, Mr. Art Levin, and Miss Thelma Stevens. Dr. A. C. Miller of the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention was spiritual leader.

Mrs. Tilly distributed to the Board excerpts from some of the letters she had received commenting upon the meeting. She reported plans for future meetings on state-wide and South-wide bases.

Editorial Assistant

Mr. Constable reported a growing subscription list for New South. This is due partly to the growth of state affiliates. New South has carried a variety of subjects: citizens councils, St. Louis integration, integration at the SMU Theology School, economi aspect of segregation, and religious activity. The July issue carried a revision of the pamphlet, Answers for Action, which is now Next Steps in the South. Some of these issues received special distribution: economic issue to chambers of commerce officials in Southern states; integration of theology school issue to 200 educators over the South. Current issue (November) concerns race and intelligence, and the December issue will reprint Dr. Johnson's article which appeared in the New York Times Magazine.

Mr. Doggett commented that Miami Beach, Florida, will now entertain interracial conferences on an integrated basis. Mr. Shaw asked if the U. S. News and World Report was receiving releases from the Southern Regional Council, and was told that it was. Mr. Doggett said that the head of the Conference Bureau in Miami Beach is Thomas Smith, but that Miami Beach is not necessarily equipped to handle an all-Negro conference.

Mr. Stewart asked if a study of hotel accomodations throughout the South had been made, suggesting that such a survey might prove encouraging to others. Mr. Fleming said that to gather the facts in so obscure a field requires a good deal of staff work. Did collect some instances, but perhaps missed some because of the

quietness with which they are done. Mr. Dent suggested that such a survey be a future project for the Council, saying that it will be helpful to find out what is being done, and citing as examples work done with the police, library, and firemen surveys. Mr. Dent also wondered whether Miami Beach had lost anything economically, saying that the Chambers of Commerce might advocate this sort of thing because of the economic advantage.

Mr. Davidson asked if the American Friends Service Committee membership had been circularized with the New South issue dealing with integration in the SMU Theological School. Mr. Constable replied that the issue was circulated to a special list of educators prepared by AFSC. Mr. Davidson further said that the Jefferson Conference of the Unitarian Church would be interested in helping. Reverend John C. Fuller, First Unitarian Church, Orlando, Florida, is Chairman of the Jefferson Conference.

Mr. Dent said that he hoped all of the material that we get out is being sent to the daily press and that the editors are being kept up to date on these things. Mr. Constable said that there are 97 dailies in the South which receive New South. It was noted, also, that frequently the press comes to SRC for information.

FINANCIAL REPORTS

Secretary-Treasurer

Mrs. Alexander reported that SRC had met and passed its quota of fund-raising forthe last fiscal year, and that all books had been duly audited. She thanked the Board for its help in the past and asked for its help during the coming year.

Administrative Assistant (Budget Officer)

Mr. Alexander stated that he had made comparisons between the budget as approved for 1955-56, and the actual income and expenditures for 1955-56, and the estimated budget for 1956-57, as attached.

In reporting the item listed as estimated expenditures for four months of the fiscal year 1956-57, Mr. Alexander stated that only four months of the 56-57 budget was proposed because the Board Might approve a change in the program structure which would cause a change in the budget. Mr. Alexander also stated that there had been an increase in expenditures of approximately 10.8 per cent, which increase covers within-grade promotions of staff people plus a slight increase in social security taxes. For the current fiscal year, contributions expected, income expected, etc., amounting to $83,470, subtracted from the anticipated budget of $100,331 leaves approximately $16,000 more to be raised from other sources. On hand from the fact-finding program is approximately $32,000, from the consultant service program $15,500 more, a balance of $47,500.

Mr. Mitchell stated, as to the four months' budget for the fiscal year 1956-57, one man leaves and another man comes in. The Board would be discussing sweeping changes in program and if it approved now a budget for four months, that would cover the month in which the Executive Committee would next meet.

It was, upon motion by Mr. Wright and second by Mr. Brazeal, approved that the budget for our months be adopted in its ertirety now, holding in abeyance the budget for the full year, and giving the Executive Committee authority to determine the budget for the remaining eight months.

DR. CHARLES S. JOHNSON

The Board earlier unanimously approved the following resolution in tribute to Dr. Charles S. Johnson:

> On this Thirteenth Anniversary Meeting of the Southern Regional Council we consider the passing of Dr. Charles S. Johnson a grievous loss. From the inception of the Council, of which Dr. Johnson was a principal founder, he gave invaluable leadership. We shall sorely miss his understanding, his guidance, and his wise counsel. Not only this organization, but the Southern region, the field of higher learning, and the nation itself will be the poorer without him. But the concept of democracy, which he did so much to further, will continue to grow--and this will be to him a living testimonial.

It was unpon motion unanimously agreed that a copy of this resolution be incorporated into the Minutes of this meeting, and that a copy of the resolution be sent to Dr. Johnson's family.

Mrs. Tilly and Mr. Mitchell paid verbal tribute to Dr. Johnson. Mr. Mitchell made reference to the early days of founding. Mrs. Tilly stated that Dr. Johnson had obtained money which made it possible for her group of women (The Fellowship of the Concerned) to hold its meetings October 30-31.

Mr. Marshall Field

Mr. Dent said that Mr. Marshall Field had for many years a personal interest in the work of the Council, and Mr. Dent was inclined to believe that although the funds for many years have come through the Foundation itself, earlier funds had come directly from Mr. Field.

It was upon motion unanimously agreed that a resolution be send to the appropriate places and persons expressing our warm appreciation for the valued support of Mr. Marshall Field. It was suggested that a copy of the resolution be sent to the Editor of the Chicago Sun Times, to Mrs. Field , and to the Foundation.

> The Southern Regional Council, at its Thirteenth Annual Meeting, notes with sincere regret the passing of Marshall Field who was long one of its best friends and most generous benefactors. Mr. Field's deep dedication to democracy is recorded in his gifts to the many organizations which work for equal citizenship for all people. Long after any stone monument would crumble, the memory of Marshall Field will be enshrined in the hearts of the people for whom he helped obtain a fuller recognition of their intrinsic human dignity.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

The meeting proceeded at length in the absence of the staff (including the absence of the stenographer), and the record available is that dictated by the President, Marion A. Wright, after the executive session:

At the Executive Session meeting it was agreed that the proposal submitted by Dr. Clement in behalf of the Executive Committee, and dated October 22, 1956, be approved with two amendments. The first of these amendments is to strike out the last sentence of the third paragraph on page 6, and substitute in lieu of that language, the following: "This means that the state organizations would continute to work to become more autonomous, and that their relationship with SRC would thenceforth be one of cooperation between independent organizations of similar purpose and goals. It is intended that in every way practicable there will be a continued close relationship between the SRC and the state organizations, particularly in regard to program service, financial grants-in-aid and counsel on fund-raising.

It was the sense of the Board that the central staff, during the next eleven months, should give such advice and counsel as it could do the state organizations by way of assisting them to qualify for future grants from the Southern Regional Council.

The second amendment to Dr. Clement's proposal was to strike out the language, "during the affiliate period," appearing on the fourth line from the bottom of page 6.

This action was taken with regard to the office now held by Mr. Mitchell.

The Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council in 1956 Annual Meeting confirms the continuance of George S. Mitchell as Executive Director through January 15, 1957, accepts his resignation from duty status as of that date, and effective as of January 16, 1957, elects Harold C. Fleming as Executive Director for the remainder of the year.

Directors, officers, and Executive Committee members as nominated by the Nominating Committee were elected; except that the Executive Committee was empowered to name to the Board and to its own membership, in lieu of Father Shean and Mr. Christopher, a person representing the Catholic clergy, and a person representing organized labor, respectively.

The present Assistant Directors, Secretary-Treasurer, and Counsel were confirmed.

REPORT OF THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE

The report of the Nominating Committee was accepted as follows:

Your committee was composed of I. H. Burney as Chairman; W. Carroll Brooke and B. R. Brazeal and Mrs. E.U. Robinson and Guy Johnson.

The first three members of the committee met in Atlanta September 17th.

There were four vacancies on the Board. To these vacancies we make the following nominations.

1. Philp G. Davidson - Kentucky
2. Charles F. Steele - Kentucky
3. (name deleted)
4. Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton - Georgia

We named a single alternate -- Mr. John G. Pollard, Jr., a farmer of Somers, Va.

For officers of the Southern Regional Council our nominations were not altered from the present officers, namely:

Marion A. Wright, President - North Carolina
Gordon B. Hancock, Vice-President - Virginia
Albert W. Dent, Vice-President - Louisiana
Carter Wesley, Vice-President - Texas
Paul D. Williams, Vice-President - Virginia

The members of this year's Nominating Committee who were able have met briefly again today, and have confirmed these nominations.

The By-Laws provide that the Executive Committee shall be composed of nine persons elected by this Board plus the officers of the Council.

We nominate for these nine persons on the Executive Committee:

1. Rufus E. Clement - Georgia
2. J. M. Dabbs - South Carolina
3. Paul Christopher - Tennessee
4. John A. Griffin - Georgia
5. Harry V. Richardson - Georgia
6. The Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C.O.-South Carolina
7. Josephine Wilkins - Georgia
8. B. R. Brazeal - Georgia
9. The Rev. Duncan Hunter - Alabama

It is to be noted that the last two names are members of this Board as representatives of the Georgia and Alabama state organizations, respectively.

An additional duty is laid upon us of nominating to you three persons suitable to be members of next year's Nominating Committee. Two other persons will be put on the Nominating Committee at a later time by the Executive Committee. Our nominations to the Nominating Committee for next year are:

1. J. M. Richards
2. B. E. Mays
3. C. G. Gomillion

FINANCES

Mr. Mitchell stated that he hoped at this meeting to elicit some ideas from the Board in regard to fund-raising. The Finance Committee which was set up elected two members to it from each state organization, and has had two meetings -- sum total raised by Finance Committee members if $150. Some Board members have been sending in money themselves, but they ought to get larger sums from other organizations or individuals.

Mr. Christopher suggested that each member of the Board dictate two or three types of letters and provide names and addresses of people -- indicating which type of letter should go to which person -- asking for contributions to the Southern Regional Council, and so moved. The motion did not pass. After further discussion and upon motion by Mr. Shaw, it was agreed that the Executive Director send a reminder to each member of the

Board at a specific time requesting that they write a letter or letters to persons requesting contributions to the Southern Regional Council. Mr. Christopher suggested that this be done right away.

BY-LAWS

Upon motion it was agreed that Article VI, Section 1, should be amended to read:

Article VI. Section 1. Executive Officers. The executive officers of the corporation shall be a president; one or more vice-presidents, not to exceed four; an executive director; assistant directors, a secretary; and a treasurer. The president and the vice-presidents shall be chosen from among the members of the corporation. The executive director, assistant directors, and secretary shall not be members of the corporation. The offices of secretary and treasurer may be held by the same person, in which case the secretary-treasurer shall not be a member of the corporation. The president and vice-presidents shall be elected annually by the Council. The executive director and assistant directors, secretary-treasurer, and counsel shall be subject to confirmation annually by the Council, upon recommendation of the Executive Committee. Officers shall hold office until the corresponding meeting in the next year, and until their successors shall have been fully chosen and qualified, or until they shall have resigned or shall have been removed, in the manner provided in Article II, Section 8. Any vacancy in any of the above offices shall be filled for the unexpired portion of the term by the Council, at any regular or special meeting.

Upon motion it was agreed that Article VI be amended to contain reference to the office of the Secretary-Treasurer by the addition of the following:

Article VI, Section 8A. Secretary-Treasurer. All or some of the duties contained in Sections 7 and 8 may be assigned to one person. This person will be designated Secretary-Treasurer.

Upon motion it was agreed that the last sentence of Article V, Section 1 be amended to read:

> Vacancies in the Executive Committee shall be filled by the Council or the Executive Committee itself during the interim between Council meetings. All vacancies shall be filled from among members of the council.

At this point Mr. Moron suggested that the words "corporation," "council," and "board," each meaning the same thing, be incorporated into the word "council." Mr. Mitchell said that this would be done.

SPECIAL MEETING

Miss Wilkins stated that because of the desirability of holding a meeting of the Council earlier in 1957 than provided in the by-laws, it would be necessary for the Council to take some action to permit the calling of such an early meeting. Upon motion the following resolution was passed.

> The Southern Regional Council by this resolution suspends for 1957 the provision contained in Article II, Section 5, of the By-Laws setting November as the time of the Annual Meeting, and in lieu thereof empowers the Executive Committee to summon the Council to meet at an earlier date (perhaps July, 1957) within the discretion of the Executive Committee.

NEW EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Mr. Wright stated that the Executive Session by enthusiastic and unanimous action chose Mr. Fleming to succeed Mr. Mitchell as Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council. Mr. Fleming said that it was a very great honor and said that the Council's action confirms a team operation; has an excellent staff to work with; a great pelasure to serve with them as "the man on the hot spot." Mrs. Tilly said that the staff was elated

Mr. Fleming was chosen as Executive Director.

PRESENT EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

The Council twice applauded a vote of thanks to Mr. Mitchell for his service to the Council during the years he has served as Executive Director. The Chairman of the Executive Committee has been asked to work out a plan for honoring the Executive Director.

APPRECIATION OF LEONARD HAAS

Mr. Haas could not be present at the meeting to accept the scroll prepared in recognition of his services to the Southern Regional Council as Counsel. It was suggested that the central office arrange a gathering -- details left to the staff -- and present the scroll to Mr. Haas at some time convenient to Mr. Haas. Mr. Mitchell said that this would be done.

OTHER

Before the meeting adjourned, Dr. Dent said that the Chairman of the Executive Committee, Mr. Clement, had a conflict of meetings and could not be present at the annual meeting.

The meeting adjourned.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting

January 29-30, 1957

The meeting convened at 2:00 p.m., in the Conference Room of the Atlanta University Administration Building.

Present for all or part of the meeting were:

Executive Committee	SRC Staff
B. R. Brazeal	G. S. Alexander
Paul Christopher	Mrs. Ruth H. Alexander
Rufus Clement	Paul Anthony
J. M. Dabbs	Elizabeth Brantley
A. W. Dent	John Constable
John Griffin	Harold Fleming
Duncan Hunter	John Hope
Miss Josephine Wilkins	Florence Irving
Paul Williams	C. H. Parrish
Marion A. Wright	Fred Routh
	Mrs. M. E. Tilly
	Emory Via

The staff was called into the meeting, after a brief Executive Session during which the minutes of the last meeting and the proposed agenda were approved.

WHAT WE ARE DOING
(Staff Reports)

Harold C. Fleming - Executive Director

It has been two weeks since George Mitchell left duty status. During this period the focus has been on stock-taking, because it was felt very important for the Executive Committee to have as clear a picture of central office operations as possible. This called for a good deal of thinking and planning, so that we could put before the Committee some proposals about the Council.

The most time-consuming thing which has happened was the conference of agencies that have human relations staff working in the South. Forty people were present at the meeting, which we undertook to coordinate. One thing that came out of the meeting was the unanimous wish of the group -- representing about 25 agencies -- that the Council be the coordinator for their activities over the South. Appropriate agencies

agreed, when a community shows inclination toward desegregation, to have field representatives meet in that community and join with local constituents to work out the role which each should play in constructive community action. The Council is to watch developments, alert people, and to be a clearing house and convener. The meeting also produced a number of commendatory statements about the Council. This points toward a role for the Council that is increasingly emerging: "We are living with other people's expectations."

Miss Katharine Taylor, Consultant to the New World Foundation, visited the Council last week. She left determined to do battle for us. She informed us that she had never seen a more dedicated, alert and able staff than the Council's. This is a measure of a very encouraging situation. Everyone is working at peak productivity.

We come to the first meeting of the Executive Committee under the "new regime" with very encouraging news in every respect save one; we have a severe financial crisis. We have had a lot of encouragement and support from the Executive Committee and Board members are expecting a great deal more, as we attempt to solve this crisis.

Fred Routh - State Organizations and Field Services

Emory Via and I went to Montgomery, Alabama, to see how the community was preparing itself for peaceful acceptance of the bus desegregation ruling. Dr. Parrish and I attended an organizational conference with leadership in Nashville, concerned about rising pro-segregationist sentiment in Tennessee. I attended a meeting of 350 young people from across the South at Davidson College, North Carolina, and a meeting in New York City with church leaders from across the South who are planning local workshops for pastors in the Southern states.

C. H. Parrish - State Organizations and Field Services

I have worked with John Hope and Fred Routh, and on occasion I have worked in the centeral office. One of my present observations of the Council is that we are in the unique role of being the organization in the South which has been called upon to exercise leadership. This necessitates a new look at ourselves, which we are presently trying to take. We have a job of developing, in this field, young Negro persons who can come into the organization for training and work.

John Hope - Consultant Program

The Consultant Service Program is developing, generally, according to plan. One of the problems, now, is to see that we can hold on to it and keep it developing in the proper purposes and in the proper channels. We have been operating less than a year, but we have touched every state affiliate with a board and staff program -- except in Tennessee and Louisiana.

The meetings of agencies at Tuskegee and again at Atlanta University gave some reason for "aiming our shots" at strategically placed communities. At the moment we are making plans for broader use of consultants to counsel bi-racial leadership in Southern communities, including public officials.

We have tentatively scheduled a meeting of the consultant panel -- after almost a year of operation -- to take stock of where we are, what we do, and what we need to do, to fit ourselves for more efficient work in these areas, and to engage additional consultants so that we will be able to give a broader service.

John Constable - Information

We supply news media with facts and background material on the segregation story in the South. The most recent news release, in 21 cities that had peacefully desegregated the buses, received wide publicity.

In addition the information section continues to supply material for a variety of conferences, has expanded its New South mailing list, and has given considerable attention to individual requests for information.

Miss Florence Irving - Research and Reference

The reference department provides factual information which is the basis for a number of releases and publications that are sent out. We are clipping from 30 newspapers and other publications and we buy others if they contain pertinent information. Maintenance of these clippings and materials files is a very important part of our work. We handle an estimated 1,000 clippings a month -- to service staff within the central office, and to inform inquiring visitors. Equally important is servicing the people who write for information. About 20 per cent of the requests are from teachers who can designate specific information wanted, and then pass it along. Another fifth of the requests is from newspapers and analysts, who are in position to put the information before the public.

Paul Anthony - Pro-segregation Groups Study

This is an instance of the way in which a specific fact-finding project can supply findings for both program and information use. During the summer we gathered a comprehensive mass of material on the pro-segregation groups. In addition to the value of the information for our own uses we have been able to reach the public with facts. Through the New York Times, Saturday Evening Post, Look, Time, and other papers and magazines, we have been able to get an accurate picture to millions who are outside our direct area of communication.

(Mr. Fleming reported that Emory Via, who used to be with Workers Education, is now on the SRC staff. His services as a labor consultant are available at least until September. Ben Segal, the Fund for the Republic Trade Union Consultant, is to provide the salary for Mr. Via and the Council is to pay for travel.)

Emory Via - Labor Consultant

My relationship with SRC is a comfortable and valuable one. In a sense, Ben Segal acts as the national operator and we act as the Southern exposure. We are interested in working through recognized organizational channels.

We hope in March to have an area conference of labor staff people most directly involved in human relations type work. The regional staff of some of the international unions would like to get together and discuss their common problems of desegregation which would affect the labor movement. I will work with them in terms of supplying resource persons and information they will need.

I will be available to unions for anything from one-shot sessions to week-long institutes, or other human relations meetings. I hope also to have a number of individual conferences with local labor leaders. We need to uncover more key men in the labor movement who have like ideas along this line.

WHAT WE'VE DONE IT WITH AND WHAT'S LEFT

Mrs. Ruth H. Alexander - Secretary-Treasurer

(Mrs. Alexander distributed a statement of receipts and expenditures for the period October 1, 1956 - January 31, 1957, copy attached.) We will have, on February 1st, an actual cash balance of $378.63 in the central office bank account. The remainder of funds on hand are earmarked for special projects and cannot be used for general expenses.

Mr. Fleming explained that new income raised during the period (less than $12,000) is not a third of what we need to raise in order to be solvent. Expenditures have amounted to $28,176.76 and it now costs better than $8,000 a month to perate. Long range fund-development looks promising. We are confronted with a need for quick money -- a situation that won't wait. Last October when forecast income was subtracted from the budget for the year, some $16,000 was shown as the projected deficit. We now present another

forecast which we think is a much clearer analysis. One of the major errors of the earlier forecast was including $25,000 from the New World Foundation in general funds. All the central office will receive of the $20,000 expected from this source is 10 per cent for general operations.

We have three classes of funds on hand: (1) for general purposes, $378.63; (2) earmarked for special projects and New South; and, (3) money for the state organizations, of which we are simply custodians.

WHAT WE NEED

G. S. Alexander - Administrative Assistant

Mr. Alexander showed total expenditures for the coming eight month period as $65,364, less funds on hand for general purposes and an income forecast of $18,245, leaving a balance of new revenue to be raised of $43,750.37.

There followed a discussion by Executive Committee members of possible sources from which these new funds could be realized. It was agreed that Committee members would help in cultivating influential persons and organizations who might help the Council.

The desirability of dividing the Council's operations into projects which could be presented to fund sources was discussed. It was agreed that this would be valuable.

STAFF REORGANIZATION

The report of the personnel committee was read by President Wright. The Committee approved the report, including recommended salaries and the duties indicated on the attached organizational chart and job descriptions.

The meeting adjourned, to be reconvened at 9:30 a.m., January 30th.

JANUARY 30, 9:30 a.m.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly - Women's Work

Mrs. Tilly, who could not be present at the first session, stated that she had 109 women from the three faiths

for a conference workshop in Atlanta in October. A two-day workshop is scheduled at Avon Park, Florida in February and similar meetings are scheduled in Tennessee, Kentucky, and Mississippi in March.

HOW WILL WE GET IT

Mr. Clement gave a brief review of the statement of receipts and expenditures, as submitted by the staff. The forthcoming request to the Fund for the Republic was discussed at length and several committee members agreed to speak to persons who might be helpful in furthering a favorable action by the Board of the Fund for the Republic.

Other fund sources were discussed by the Committee and it was agreed that the Council should attempt to increase the amounts contributed by labor, church, and individual sources.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Board acceptances, vacancies and resignations

At the annual meeting, Mr. J. G. Pollard of Virginia was elected as an alternate. Mr. Philip Davidson did not accept membership on the Board and Mr. Pollard should now be formally asked to serve.

Nominating Committee

Three members were named at the annual meeting of the Council: Mr. J. McDowell Richards, Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur; Dr. Benjamin Mays, President, Morehouse College; and Mr. C. G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute. All have accepted. The Executive Committee should now name two members. It was upon motion agreed that Mrs. Hamilton and Mr. Hammer be asked to serve as members of the Nominating Committee.

Executive Committee Members

Father Shean and Mr. Carter Wesley have resigned. Mr. Wesley cannot be replaced, since he is a board member ex-officio

as vice-president. Father Shean's replacement is left in the hands of Mr. Paul Williams who will report at the next meeting. Mr. Christopher said that the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department had requested that he be allowed to remain on the Board of the Council, and thus he was able to be present.

Interim sub-committee

In consideration of the eventful and decisive time of the Council during the current period an interim sub-committee was established. This committee, composed of the Atlanta members of the Executive Committee, empowered to draw on Atlanta members of the Board, is to act strictly in an advisory capacity. No decisions will be made by this group except those that would otherwise have to be made by the staff and cannot await official action by the Executive Committee.

Participation in National Coordinating Group

A year of meetings between representatives of major agencies concerned with human relations have resulted in the formation of a group called the Consultative Conference on Desegregation. The group has no power to make decisions binding on participating organizations. Fleming was elected to the executive committee of the group. The Executive Committee agreed that participation in the national coordinating group should be continued.

Executive Committee Meetings

It was the concensus that Atlanta was the best place for the meetings of the Executive Committee and that mid-week days were satisfactory to all. The place of the annual meeting was left for consideration at the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

Co-signers of Checks

Dr. Mitchell's retirement left only one person to sign checks and a co-signer is needed. Since Fred Routh is now

Assistant Director, Mr. Fleming suggested that he be authorized to become co-signer.

Upon motion duly made and seconded by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, in meeting January 30, 1957, it was unanimously RESOLVED, that Frederick B. Routh, being Assistant Director of the Southern Regional Council, is hereby authorized to be a co-signer of checks drawn on the account of the Southern Regional Council. A copy of this resolution is to be sent to the bank.

Emergency Financing

Miss Wilkins stated that she was willing to devote a substantial amount of time to seeking financial support for SRC in New York. She emphasized that her efforts would be exploratory and would be undertaken only with the approval of the Executive Committee. Members of the Committee expressed gratification at Miss Wilkins' offer to devote time and energy to this effort on behalf of SRC. It was unanimously agreed that she had the Committee's whole-hearted approval and thanks.

It was agreed that the staff would send progress reports on finances to the members of the Executive Committee and on the basis of those to decide whether an emergency meeting of the Committee is needed before the next payroll date. Upon motion, a tentative date of Monday, the 25th of February, was set for the meeting of the Executive Committee, 10:00 a.m., at Atlanta University, for the specific purpose of discussing finances of the Southern Regional Council.

It was upon motion agreed that a note be sent to members of the Executive Committee about the agreement to meet and the reasons for it, and that a finance report be enclosed in the letters addressed to members who were not present.

ADJOURNMENT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting

April 17-18, 1957

The meeting convened at 2:00 p.m., in the Conference Room of the Atlanta University Administration Building.

Present for all or part of the meeting were:

Executive Committee	SRC Staff
B. R. Brazeal	Mrs. Ruth H. Alexander
Paul Christopher	Paul Anthony
Rufus Clement	Elizabeth Brantley
J. M. Dabbs	John Constable
John A. Griffin	Harold Fleming
Miss Josephine Wilkins	John Hope
	Miss Florence Irving
	C. H. Parrish
	Fred Routh

EXECUTIVE SESSION
(Staff on Call)

Invocation

The Executive Session opened with prayer by Mr. Brazeal.

Adoption of Agenda

The Committee adopted the proposed agenda with the proviso that Executive Sessions would be called if needed; otherwise, the meeting would proceed straight through in general session.

Adoption of Minutes

Since the minutes had not been circulated beforehand the Committee dispensed with the reading of them, with the proviso that after they are mailed to Committee members the Committee will call for their adoption at a subsequent meeting.

Other Business

The Committee unanimously agreed to ask Mr. Fleming to send a telegram to Mr. Wright today, expressing its regret for his inability to be at the meeting and its hope for his speedy convalescence.

GENERAL SESSION

Request to the Fund for the Republic

A draft of the request, mailed to Executive Committee members a week previous to the meeting, had been supplied to the Fund for the Republic office on the 15th to meet the Fund's

deadline. It is clearly understood by the Fund that this is not an official version and that the Executive Committee may revise it in whole or in part.

The considerations that prompted the staff of SRC to formulate the request in this way and for these amounts were: (1) The sum of $250,000 for a three-year terminal grant from the Fund to theCouncil is a realistic sum to talk in terms of; (2) It must be a tapering grant -- spread over a period of time and applied to the budget on a diminishing basis; (3) The main proposal should be kept as brief as possible in order to present our case as persuasively as we can; (4) David Freeman has privately informed us that he would recommend to the Fund's Board that the Council get $225,000 in a lump sum. (The amount of interest this sum would earn over a thirty-nine month period would raise the amount toward the $250,000 we are asking for); (5) The willingness of the Fund's Board to give us further assistance would be strongly related to our ability to raise funds from other sources.

Mr. Fleming was questioned as to whether the Council would be able to carry out the work planned with essentially the same staff. He answered that the budget represents essentially what staff there is now, with several small changes: (1) To put the Labor Consultant on a permanent basis. (Emory Via is with the Council on a temporary basis, by special arrangement with Ben Segal, until September.) The results of this program have been rewarding enough to show that this should be a full-time permanent position within the staff; (2) To get a full-time clerical assistant in the research department to free Miss Irving for more professional duties; (3) To fill an apprentice position in field work -- assistant to Fred Routh -- which is made possible for one year only by a grant from the New World

Foundation. The estimates of operating expenses are based on experience, and there will be no significant change in the staff structure. However, it will take into account the normal salary increases approved by the Executive Committee at its last meeting.

In answer to queries about the amount estimated for aid to state organizations, it was stated that the staff was guided by the general policy laid down at the Williamsburg meeting, which provided for state-by-state assistance on the basis of merit; the Council to determine how much and on what terms.

After further discussion, upon motion by Mr. Brazeal and seconded by Miss Wilkins, the Executive Committee approved the request to the Fund for the Republic, asking the staff to bear in mind the suggested minor alterations. It was also the consensus of the Committee that the staff deserved the highest commendation for the preparation of the request.

Financial Status of the Council

Mrs. Alexander reported that at the January meeting the Council had less than $400 for operating purposes. Individual contributions during the last two and a half months represent quite a jump from past performance. This is due, in part, to the George S. Mitchell Tribute Fund. Mrs. Alexander submitted to the Committee a breaktdown of income for February through April 15, 1957.

It was noted that the asterisks on the Breakdown of Income indicated new sources of income. Mr. Fleming then proceeded to give some background on the various contributors, stating that total contributions and income since February 1st is $40,683.59.

The George S. Mitchell Tribute Fund was set up since the last meeting of the Executive Committee to provide an

instrument for interested persons to signify their esteem of Dr. Mitchell and to aid the general budget of the Southern Regional Counnil. Mr. Christopher suggested that he be given the names of all local union workshops to which Dr. Mitchell had spoken, saying that he would try to get various persons to send out letters about the GSM Fund. Mr. Fleming said that he would not want to conduct a high-pressure campaign on members of state groups, but would recommend follow-pp letters to Board members and some other special sources, with a report on what has been received. About 4500 of the original letters are left and the staff needs appropriate mailing lists.

During the first quarter of this calendar year the Council has raised an amount equal to approximately sixty per cent of the total amount raised last year, but Mr. Fleming stated that, unless $20,000 more from new sources is found, the Council would run dry in the middle of the summer. After considerable discussion, various Committee members agreed to provide entree and support for approaches by the staff to foundations and individuals. On the basis of what is on hand and expectable, the Council can see through, perhaps, the next two months. Various other sources to be explored were suggested. Miss Wilkins spoke of her forthcoming trip to New York in an attempt to raise funds for the Council.

Louisiana Story

Mr. Fleming reported the testimony given by Manning Johnson at the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee hearing in March. A letter, over Mr. Wright's signature, had been written to Senator Rainach, the Chairman of the Committee denying the charges against the Southern Regional Council. The story of the hearings and the subsequent denial by Mr. Wright appeared in the Jackson, Mississippi Daily News, the

Charleston, South Carolina News and Courier, and others.

Mrs. Wheatley's home was fired into. She is the former Chairman of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations. The YWCA was subjected to inquisition by the White Citizens' Council in Jackson. Mr. Clement said that James E. Jackson was not one of the founders of the Southern Regional Council and was never a member of the Council.

Since the charges were answered, Senator Rainach has written to the Council, quoting directly from the transcript of the hearings. The Executive Committee was asked if the letter should be answered, as Mr. Eugene Cook has stated that he plans to circulate copies of the testimony in Georgia. In answer to queries about lawsuits against persons who had made false and slanderous charges against the Council, Mr. Fleming said that all legal advice had been that it is unwise to do this. Mr. Clement suggested that a letter be written stating that Jackson was not a founder of the Council, listing the names of the people who were, and the incorporators.

The staff was instructed to answer Senator Rainach's letter, in the vein of Mr. Clement's suggestion, and wait to see if wider circulation of the charges is given by Attorney General Cook. A most serious consequence of this kind of publicity is that it exposes people in the more difficult communities to harrassment, and the Council, it was said, has some obligation to try to give those people moral support and encouragement. The meeting adjourned, to be convened at 9:30 a.m., April 18th.

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April 17 - 18, 1957

APRIL 18, 9:30 a.m.

Activities of the Council

Mr. Fleming summarized staff activities.

Mr. Fleming has made two trips to New York on fund-raising expeditions, and has attended, in company with Emory Via, the American Labor Education Service annual meeting in New York, the American Traditions Award Banquet which was sponsored by the Fund for the Republic, the YWCA strategy conference of Southern people, the Arden House Round Table of National Organizations in Harriman, New York, and the Civil Liberties Clearing House Conference in Washington.

Mr. Via convened a conference of labor leadership, here in Atlanta, at which eleven unions and two AFL-CIO committees were represented. Half of the participants were Southern. There is sentiment to have another such conference, getting the participation down to even more of a local level. Letters have been written to Southern labor leadership informing them about SRC's services through Mr. Via.

Mrs. Tilly is out of the city for a week of teaching young people. There have been several women's workshops in Alabama and Georgia, convened by Mrs. Tilly. She represented the Council of the Southeastern Jurisdiction's Women's Society of Christian Service in Knoxville, Tennessee, helped the United Church Women to frame their annual program, was secretary to a meeting on human relations called by two bishops, and was part of a leadership team at a conference on intergroup relations under the sponsorship of the Anti-Defamation League in Washington.

Mr. Constable, with the assistance of Miss Irving, dealt with a goodly number of important people. For example, Alfred Friendly of the Washington Post talked with the staff, and has since written a series on the South. We have helped with various articles such as the Klan series in the New York Herald-Tribune, in addition to aiding Christian Science Monitor, Redbook, and other reporters.

The "Look Applauds" section of Look Magazine will feature the Southern Regional Council.

We have coming up next month a conference of state staff people to talk about the future relationship between the state organizations and the central office. Much of the discussion will be concerned with fund-raising; no state affiliate of the Council has come close to solving the problem of financing its activities. We expect to have a professional fund-raising available, and will take considerable time with program plans also. A local affiliate of the Florida Council on Human Relations sponsored a conference of clergymen in that state in March. Albama is having a statewide meeting of ministers on April 30th.

We have served as convener and coordinator of interagency activity, a sort of clearinghouse function, and will be bringing staff representatives together again shortly -- 27 agencies, including the major religious denominations. After the last meeting the agencies set staff members to Charlottesville, Virginia, where they planned together and counseled with their local constitutents. We have also had a chance to participate in several national mass media committee meetings of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation, and have been able to launch quite a few useful ideas through those channels.

The consultant program has been very busy since the last Executive Committee meeting. Plans are underway for a conference of the consultants for discussion and planning of a broader orientation that it is hoped the program will show. Four projects are launched or have been completed: (1) arranged, upon request of the Bryson City school board to have the services of a Kentucky school superintendent for advice about desegregation; (2) took part in a meeting arranged by the Jacksonville group of the Florida Council which brought together an impressive selection of leadership from the community to discuss desegregation of the schools and other facilities; (3) took part in a meeting at LeMoyne College, Memphis, Tennessee, with a group of private leadership from that area to discuss what could be done toward integration of the library, the zoo, the busses, and the schools;

(4) John Hope and Fred Routh staged a workshoo for the Louisiana Council's Administrative Committee.

Koinonia Farm, near Americus, Georgia, has been a matter of much attention in recent weeks. We have worked with the Koinonia people and the press to get out the story of this violation of basic rights. As a result, we might find ourselves included in the attacks, but we are carrying on our legitimate function of trying to assist people whose rights are invaded simply because of their racial practices.

Miss Irving is overloaded with something like 1,000 clippings to be processed per month, plus other materials, also requests for literature and information from libraries, organizations, newspapers, et. al. A clerical assistant is needed to relieve her for more professional duties.

Mr. Fleming paid tribute to the energy of the staff, and said that everyone was working at peak productivity.

General discussion followed on the status of the economic fact-finding project, which is being held up in the hope of obtaining maximum distribution through other channels.

Date and Location of Annual Meeting

At the last annual meeting, in view of expected organizational changes, the by-laws were suspended to permit an annual meeting before November 1957. On the Board is ex-officio representation from state affiliates -- the chairman and an elected person from each state -- along with the regularly elected members. After October 1, 1957, the state groups will no longer be formal affiliates of the Council, and the question of Board representation is involved.

After considerable discussion, and a reading of the by-laws pertinent to ex-officio membership, it was generally agreed that the Executive Committee would consider the date and location of the annual meeting at the July meeting.

Status of Board and Executive Committee Members

Mr. Paul Williams has talked with several prospects about the replacement of Father Shean on the Board. The Committee agreed that Mr. Williams should continue to look for a suitable replacement.

Mr. John G. Pollard declined membership on the Board. As an alternate, he had been asked to serve following the declination of Mr. Philip Davidson. It was noted that Mr. Davidson had said he would be freer after the summer, and might welcome a renewal of the invitation to become a member of the Board of Directors.

Mr. Gordon Hancock, vice-president of the Council, has written to the staff saying that he would shortly be notifying the Committee of his resignation, for reasons of health and inability to make the meetings. If he resigns, this will be the second vice-president who has done so; however, replacements will have to be made by the Board.

Louisiana Council Provisional Status

John Hope, Fred Routh, and two consultants -- Hylan Lewis and Bonita Valien -- attended a meeting in New Orleans to discuss program development and what could be done in Louisiana at this time. Mr. Routh reported that the Board of the Louisiana Council has been suspended and in its stead a state administrative committee has been formed. Mr. Routh recommended that the Louisiana Council be continued on provisional status until the next Executive Committee meeting. Upon motion by Mr. Dabbs and seconded by Mr. Brazeal, the Committee unanimously approved Mr. Routh's recommendation and agreed that the Louisiana Council's status would be reviewed at the next Executive Committee meeting.

Other Business

A good many of the state organizations are in serious financial difficulty. After October 1st and the end of the current

subsidy arrangement, there will be even greater financial problems. One state group has already lost a very able director because of its inability to give him any indication of length of tenure. The central staff offered no recommendation, but stated that if the question of an end to the activity in the states arose, or of merely putting small amounts into their coffers to make the collapse a little slower, the whole state organization effort would have to be reviewed. It was suggested that, at the forthcoming May meeting of state staff members, the central office might get some indication of what would happen, the feelings of the state people about it, and would then be better able to come up with a proposed solution.

The Committee expressed its regret that Mr. Via could not be present at the meeting.

ADJOURNMENT

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

July 16 - 17, 1957

The meeting of the Executive Committee convened at 2:00 p.m. in the Conference Room of the Atlanta University Administration Building.

Present for all or part of the meeting were:

Executive Committee	SRC Staff
Paul Christopher	Mrs. Ruth Alexander
Rufus E. Clement	Paul Anthony
J. M. Dabbs	Harold C. Fleming
John Griffin	Mrs. Mildred Flowers
Duncan Hunter	John Hope, II
Miss Josephine Wilkins	C. H. Parrish
Paul Williams	Frederick B. Routh
M. A. Wright	Emory F. Via

EXECUTIVE SESSION

In Executive Session the agenda was adopted as proposed, and the minutes of the last meeting were adopted.

The Executive Director was invited into the meeting and was commended for the fine job that the staff is doing.

Upon recommendation of the Personnel Committee, Miss Marge Manderson was approved as the replacement for Miss Florence Irving, who for personal reasons had tendered her resignation as Research Assistant. It was agreed that Miss Manderson would assume these duties immediately at the prescribed beginning salary, that a three-month trial period would be allowed, following which she would be subject to confirmation for permanent status.

The status of Emroy Via, labor consultant, was reviewed. Mr. Via assumed this position on January 1st under a special arrangement with Ben Segal, Trade Union Consultant for the Fund for the Republic. Under the terms of this agreement, the Labor Consultant's salary has been paid by Mr. Segal, while the Council has had the responsibility for day-to-day direction of the work and for expenses of travel, communication, and clerical assistance. It now appears that the financing of Mr. Segal's project by the Fund for the Republic will terminate shortly, and it may be impossible for the present salary arrangement to be continued beyond November 30, 1957.

After considerable discussion of the value of the labor consultant position and the high quality of Mr. Via's performance, upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously voted that: "On December 1st or such later date as it may become impossible for the present subsidy of the labor consultant's salary to be continued, that position shall become a regular part of the Southern Regional Council's staff structure and Mr. Via shall be continued in that position, with salary and qualifications to be established at that time by the Personnel Committee."

It was reported that Mr. York Wilbern of Alabama had tendered his resignation from the Board because he is leaving the region to accept an academic position in a non-Southern state. Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to accept Mr. Wilber's resignation with regret.

GENERAL SESSION

Staff Activities Report

The Executive Director read the semi-annual report of SRC activities covering the period January 1 - June 30, 1957. This report was prepared for distribution to SRC contributors, board members and other suitable persons. Staff activities and the use of the semi-annual report were discussed by the committee. It was agreed that the semi-annual report, rather than the previously used quarterly report, was a satisfactory means of reporting SRC activities.

Financial Report

The Secretary-Treasurer distributed a report of funds raised by SRC since April 15, date of the last Executive Committee Meeting. This report showed $22,958 raised by SRC during the period April 16 - July 15, 1957. These funds plus other funds on hand will be sufficient to cover

Council expenses through September. Approximately $16,000 in new funds will have to be raised for the remainder of the calendar year.

The Executive Committee was given a schedule of the investments made with the recent Fund for the Republic grant. This schedule showed the securities bought, the approximate interest to be earned, and maturity dates. It was pointed out that investments were made with consideration as to when the funds would be needed.

Miss Wilkins reported on her efforts at raising funds for the Council in New York. Due to a series of unlucky circumstances, she was able to do little in the initial effort. However, she expressed hope for future prospects and stated that she planned renewed efforts in the fall.

The general financial and fund-raising situation, through 1960, was discussed. The Fund for the Republic's terminal grant of $200,000 represents approximately one-third of the minimum funds needed by the Council during the next 39-month period. The projected use of these funds, it was reported, will be on the declining basis of approximately $100,000 for the first 15 months, $60,000 for 1959, and $40,000 for 1960.

Grants-In-Aid to State Organizations

In an introductory statement, the Executive Director explained the conditions under which it was necessary to consider the grants-in-aid. $40,000 was designated by SRC as the sum available to the states for the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1957. To assist in determining aid, state groups had been asked to make applications describing the role of their organization as they saw it, the program they would undertake during the coming year, how they proposed to carry out their program in terms of staff, and the predicted income and fund-raising possibilities of each

state organization. In response, ten, of eleven possible, requests had been sent to the Council. Louisiana did not submit a request.

The Director further explained that due to the July 15th deadline, many of the requests were received only a short time before the Executive Committee convened.

Fred Routh and C. H. Parrish reported on the various requests by state, and gave the staff evaluation using the following criteria:

(1) Does the proposal reveal an understanding of the regional picture?

(2) Does the proposal have strategic importance for the Southern region as a whole?

(3) Is the proposal defined in complete rather than in diffuse terms?

(4) Is the project reasonably specific both as to its objectives and its focus upon the particular area?

(5) Is the project realistic?

(6) Is the proposed budget realistically adequate within the compass of fund-raising?

(7) Is the objective within the compass of the present staff?

Following the descriptions of the various requests and their evaluation, Mr. Routh and Mr. Parrish submitted the attached report showing amount requested by each state and the staff's recommendation as to the grant to be made.

The Executive Committee temporarily withheld action on those requests pending special reports on the states of Arkansas and Louisiana.

Arkansas:

The Executive Director reported that through Harry Ashmore, Editor of the Little Rock Arkansas Gazette, the Council had learned of an unusual opportunity existing in Arkansas. A number of west Arkansas school districts,

each with a small Negro population, might be willing to consider desegregation in the fall. This action would have been taken earlier except for the fear of creating another Hoxie. Now, however, four of Arkansas' major cities are planning to begin school desegregation in September. The current feeling is that if a group of the smaller counties can be persuaded to act, the pro-segregation groups will be relatively helpless to prevent the mass change. In this situation the Arkansas Council can play a substantial role, counselling and assisting school authorities and community leaders.

To overcome the difficulty of fund-raising and staff time, Mr. Ashmore had contacted Mr. Robert Hutchins of the Fund for the Republic for a special grant to the Arkansas Council. Mr. Hutchins agreed that if the SRC would make a grant for this special project he would recommend to the Fund board in September that SRC be reimbursed. On this basis a grant of $1,500 was made by SRC to the Arkansas Council. This special grant in no way affected the Arkansas request before the Committee.

The Executive Director asked the opinion of the Executive Committee as to whether the action taken by SRC was wise and within the realm of staff responsibility. There were general expressions of assent.

Louisiana:

The situation in Louisiana was reported to be a difficult one. The state, and particularly the city of New Orleans, remains as a strategic area. However, the current role of the Louisiana Council was not considered to be satisfactory. Nor, the staff reported, had the situation improved sufficiently with this Council under the provisional status earlier established by the Executive Committee. The Executive Director of the Louisiana Council

did not have the confidence and support of a number of influential people in the state and his performance as director was considered unsatisfactory.

On the basis of these considerations the Executive Committee unanimously passed the following motion:

"It is the concensus of this group that the Louisiana Council is not functioning properly, no application was made for a grant, and the Southern Regional Council will give no further aid to the Louisiana Council, as presently staffed, beyond October 1957."

In further action the Executive Committee voted to set aside $2,500 for use in Louisiana and particularly within the city of New Orleans. The staff was instructed to make appropriate contact with individuals in that city to explore the ways in which the Council could be of help in the Louisiana situation. These instructions included informing groups in New Orleans of the availability of $2,500 if appropriate conditions could be met.

The meeting adjourned until 7:30 p.m.

EXECUTIVE SESSION - July 16, 1957

Grants-In-Aid - Continued

The session opened with further discussion of grants-in-aid to state organizations. The group considered at length whether the recommendations of the staff should be approved or if a subcommittee made up of three (3) members should be appointed to make further recommendations.

The Executive Director pointed out to the Committee that their action would have far-reaching consequences, including the effect on the employment status of personnel of the various state groups. He suggested that Executive Committee members should feel that any action taken would

not leave them exposed to an answerability they could not assume.

After extended discussion the following action was taken:

"The Executive Committee, having received and carefully considered a recommendation of the staff concerning grants-in-aid to state organizations for the fiscal year 1957-58, it was moved, seconded and unanimously carried that:

"the recommendations of the staff be, and they are, hereby adopted and declared to be the action of the Executive Committee provided,

"(1) that a committee of three (3) members be appointed by the chairman of the Executive Committee which shall have authority to review the action as set forth above upon request of the Executive Director, making re-allocations if the same be deemed necessary, without further reference to the full committee;

"(2) that the Executive Director be instructed to advise each of the state organizations of the reductions made in the sums which they respectively applied for and to invite said state organizations to re-submit revised proposals showing proposed activities, budget and other pertinent data in the light of the reduction in grants to such states;

"(3) that the grants shall be distributed upon a quarterly basis effective October 1, 1957. Succeeding quarterly distributions shall be contingent upon decision by the staff as to the adequacy of performance upon the part of the states. The staff is directed to consult with the subcommittee in the case of questionable performance;

"(4) That in the event of lapses of any of said states fully to utilize the funds granted, the subcommittee above referred to shall have the right and discretion of making such appropriate use as it shall deem wise of the funds so accumulated;

"(5) That the staff shall have full authority to determine the sufficiency of the proposals re-submitted pursuant to this motion; provided the staff shall be privileged in its discretion to consult with the subcommittee herein created upon the sufficiency of such new proposals, its decisions to be final."

The review committee, as established by the motion previously cited, was appointed. Members are: Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Mr. M. A. Wright, and Miss Josephine Wilkins.

The meeting adjourned at 8:47 p.m.

MORNING SESSION - July 17, 1957

A vote was taken on the motion made by Mr. Wright during the evening session relative to grants-in-aid to state organizations with an amendment to paragraph three (3), page two of the motion to read: "The staff is directed to consult with the subcommittee in the case of questionable performance."

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

ATLANTA, GA.

November 12 - 13, 1957

The meeting of the Southern Regional Council convened at 1:30 p.m. in the Board Room of Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia.

Invocation by Father Alexander O. Sigur.

All members of the professional staff of the Council were present. A list of Council members present is attached.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Report of the Executive Committee was read by the Chairman, Dr. Rufus E. Clement:

The year that has elapsed since we met last November at Williamsburg, Virginia, has been one of the most eventful in the Southern Regional Council's fourteen years of existence. At our last annual meeting, we made policy decisions of profound significance to the future of the Southern Regional Council. We regretfully accepted the retirement of Dr. George S. Mitchell as of mid-January 1957 and chose as his successor to the position of executive director Harold Fleming of the Council's staff. We also adopted a comprehensive policy statement calling for major re-direction of the Council's program and for a new pattern of relationship with the state councils on human relations, which were to become independent organizations as of October 1, 1957. We recognized that the very continuation of the Southern Regional Council depended on the negotiation of a new period of support from the Fund for the Republic and the securing of sizeable additional funds from new sources. Finally, we recognized that the critical stage in the South's transition to a desegregated society made it mandatory that the Council not only continue its efforts but broaden and intensify them as much as humanly possible.

Your Executive Committee has addressed itself to the carrying out of these mandates of the last annual meeting during the year just

past. We have held three two-day meetings, one in January, one in April, and one in July. The matters considered and acted upon in these meetings may be briefly summed up under five major headings, as follows:

1. Staff Reorganization and Redirection of Program.--In close consultation with the Executive Director and the staff, we adopted a staff structure and plan of activities suited to the new policies adopted at the Williamsburg meeting. Three major areas of operation were defined, with the responsibilities of the various professional staff members fixed, under the overall administration of the executive director. The first was field services, under the general supervision of the assistant director, Fred Routh, and including the work of the Consultant Service Program superintended by Chief Consultant John Hope II, the labor consultant Emory F. Via, women's work, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, and the associate for program development, Dr. C. H. Parrish. A second area of operation embraces the information functions, under the supervision of Director of Information John Constable, including the editing of New South and other publications, fact-finding programs, relations with the press and other media, and the work of the research assistant, Miss Marge Manderson. The third area includes all administrative functions carried on by the Secretary-Treasurer, Mrs. Ruth Alexander, and the Administrative Assistant, Paul Anthony. Undergirding all of these operations is the clerical staff of five. Since the plan of organization was adopted, the staff has been augmented by an intern in field services, Machion Garrison, a recent graduate of Morehouse College. Moreover, the Executive Committee reviewed in detail and approved a redefinition of program activities, staff functions and salaries, in order to facilitate the kind of operation called for by the last annual meeting.

2. Finances -- The Executive Committee undertook to counsel and assist the staff in a major fund-raising effort both to meet urgent immediate needs and to make possible increased program activities over the next three years. Our budget for this period is still far from assured. But your Executive Committee can report an encouraging degree of progress toward the goal. On May 17, 1957 the Fund for the Republic granted to the Council $200,000 for use during the 39 month period between October 1, 1957 and December 31, 1960. A program of investment was carefully worked out to make possible maximum earnings on unused funds over this period. The Fund for the Republic grant was not earmarked for specific purposes as in the past, but was given for the general support

of the Council. In order to meet current budgetary needs, an additional amount of approximately $70,000 was raised, a large part of it representing contributions from new sources. It should be noted that, during the financially critical months early in the year, the Council's budget was strengthened by contributions to the George S. Mitchell Tribute Fund, established in honor of our retired executive director.

Lest this report of heartening achievement in the financial area give rise to an unjustified complacency, the Executive Committee has reminded itself and would like to remind the Council as a whole of the large task that still lies ahead of us. In order to carry on the Council's work at its present level through 1960, we must still raise additional funds of approximately $400,000.

3. State Organizations. -- At the last annual meeting, it was decided that the affiliated state councils on human relations would as of October 1, 1957 become independent organizations. This date marked the end of the subsidy period provided for in the earlier grants from the Fund for the Republic. It was also decided at Williamsburg, however, that the Council should continue to work as closely and cooperatively as possible with the state organizations and that our purpose would be to secure further funds for aid to the state councils. At its July meeting, the Executive Committee considered in detail requests for such aid submitted by the several state councils and approved a schedule of aid to the state groups totaling $40,500. This amount was not dispensed according to any automatic formula for equal division, but in the light of the requests submitted was allocated in terms of need and merit as we could best determine them. The amounts of aid approved by the Executive Committee are as follows:

STATE	AMOUNT ALLOCATED
Alabama	$4,000
Arkansas	4,500
Florida	4,000
Georgia	4,000
Kentucky	3,000
North Carolina	4,000
South Carolina	5,000

Continued --

STATE	AMOUNT ALLOCATED
Tennessee	$3,000
Texas	2,500
Virginia	4,000

Louisiana -- The Louisiana Council on Human Relations did not submit a request for aid beyond October 1, 1957. However, staff members have conferred with various board members of the Southern Regional Council and the Louisiana Council who expressed the view that the Louisiana Council might best be allowed to go out of existence and, after a few months, a new effort should begin in the New Orleans area. $2,500 has been set aside for aid in this contingency.

The staff continues to maintain close communication and cooperation with the state organizations, and all of the supporting services that the Atlanta office can render are available to them.

4. Attacks. -- Extreme reactions to the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision have created a climate of emotionalism and reprisal in parts of the region, particularly in the Deep South. In such a climate, it must be expected than an organization like the Southern Regional Council will be subjected to irresponsible attacks by segregationist groups and political demagogues. During the past year, the Council has been singled out for vilification and abuse by various groups of this kind. The Executive Committee has counselled with the staff on ways to counter the effects of these unfounded attacks. When public statements have seemed called for, we have replied to these violent critics in forceful and well documented terms. On the other hand, we have recognized the danger of allowing such verbal assaults to divert the Council unduly from important program activities, and we may take heart from the fact that the Council has lost few if any friends and little if any effectiveness because of the false witness borne against it. We may also take comfort from the view that the intensity of such attacks is one measure of our effectiveness and of the desperation of those who oppose the priciples for which we stand.

5. Program. -- Although the past year has required major attention to matters of organization and finance, your Executive Committee has also worked closely with the staff on program development and implementation. We will forego in this report any detailed accounting of program activities. You have already received a detailed report by mail of the activities of the first six months and will hear further today from the Executive Director about activities during the subsequent period. Two items, however, may be worthy of special mention. We may take justifiable pride in the wide-spread attention and effective use given to the findings of the Council's Southwide survey of Negro suffrage. At a time when the American public and the Congress were giving major attention to this crucial area of civil rights, the Southern Regional Council was able to make the public the only detailed and documented facts in existence as to voter registration and the obstacles encountered by Negro citizens who seek to exercise their right to the ballot. A program proposal developed in the last meeting of the Executive Committee seems to us to hold special promise. This is a proposal that the Council, in cooperation with Atlanta University, sponsor a major institute on the international effects of race relations problems in the South. The object is to assemble on the campus of Atlanta University a group of the nation's leading figures in international affairs, as well as influential leadership from within the South. Such a conference, thoroughly publicized through the press, radio, and television, could do much to make clear the threat to the national welfare posed by irresponsible leadership which insists on perpetuating segregation and discrimination in defiance of the law of the land.

In summary, the Executive Committee sees the past year as one in which the challenge to and need for an organization such as ours have been greatly sharpened. The accomplishments of the past year should serve to assure us that we have in the Council an instrument through which we can work together effectively for the principles and aims which we share. Given our conscientious support and participation, it may play a decisive part at this crucial state in the history of the South.

Upon motion unanimously adopted, the report of the Executive Committee and all actions therein listed were approved.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

The Executive Director reported on the activities of the Council and the work of the staff during the past year. The information in the Director's report will be included in the Annual Report of the Council, to be circulated shortly.

Mr. McDowell asked if the Council has formal programs which extend to the college and university campuses of the region. Mr. Fleming stated that the Council did not work directly with college students, although the Council assists other agencies which reach campus groups. Mr. McDowell asked about the possibility of developing such activities as part of the program of the Council. Mr. Hope pointed out that the resources of SRC have been used effectively by other agencies. Organizations working with young people frequently look first to the Council for consultative services and other resources. Dr. Dent endorsed this approach stating that, in his opinion, one of the greates services SRC can render is that of supplying information and guidance to organizations which now deal with student groups.

It was suggested that the Council might circularize professors of sociology and ethics in an effort to open new avenues of approach to Southern students. The distribution of New South to these professional people was suggested as a possible way of achieving this. To this distribution was added the possibility of sending New South and special reports to all Southern college libraries. The feasibility and cost of such distributions were discussed at length. The Members suggested that Mr. Constable, editor of New South, and other staff members take these suggestions under advisement and see which of them might wisely be implemented.

The staff was commended for its formal and informal reports to the Members. It was pointed out that the resports, as submitted, gave detailed information as to what the Council is and does. The members suggested that future reports which were planned for a wider distribution should include the same type of information. In this way, it was felt, other interested persons would have a means of accurately interpreting the work of the Council.

So that Members might come to know the staff better and assist them in local areas, Father Sigur suggested that it would be helpful if staff persons would send their itineraries to appropriate Members when they planned to be in the field.

Upon motion unanimously adopted, the report of the Executive Director was accepted by the Board.

A motion was made by Dr. Dent that the Council reconvene at 7:00 p.m. to continue, and if possible complete, all business on the agenda. The motion was adopted.

FINANCIAL REPORTS

A report of income and expenditures from October 1, 1956, to September 30, 1957, was submitted by Mrs. Ruth House Alexander. Mr. Paul Anthony submitted the proposed budgets as earlier approved by the Executive Committee for the Period October 1- December 31, 1957 and January 1 - December 31, 1958. (See attached.) After discussion, the following motion was made by Dr. Dent:

"I move that we approve the budget as submitted with three provisos:

1. That the Executive Director keep commitments within the funds available;

2. That the Executive Committee review the budget periodically and make adjustments as may be necessary to keep the Council's operations within available funds;

3. That in any adjustments, the grants-in-aid to the states not be reduced unless in the judgment of the Executive Committee it appears to be absolutely necessary to do so."

NIGHT SESSION - EXECUTIVE SESSION

The Council reconvened in executive session at 7:00 p.m. The

Executive Director, Assistant Director, and Secretary-Treasurer were confirmed.

Revised By-Laws were approved as submitted. (See attached.)

The Resolutions Committee submitted resolutions to be sent to the Fund for the Republic, the New World Foundation, and the New York Fund for Children. The resolutions are as follows:

Fund for the Republic:

Gathered at Atlanta, in annual meeting, we, the members of the Southern Regional Council, pause in our deliberations to pay special tribute to the Fund for the Republic:

For its confidence, evidenced by generous financial support, in the Southern Regional Council;

For its belief in the ability of the people of the South to adjust to more democratic patterns of life; and more important . . .

For its defense of the Bill of Rights, upon which rest the individual liberty and security of all citizens of the United States.

NEW WORLD FOUNDATION:

In this, the South's hour of travail and transition, enlightened local leadership has asked for experienced guidance and wise counsel.

Through the generosity of the New World Foundation, the Consultant Service Program of the Southern Regional Council has been enabled to furnish some part of this guidance and counsel so urgently needed.

In the new world which is being built in the South of today, this contribution will stand out as a significant factor in its growth and development.

Therefore, we, the members of the Council, wish to express our thanks and acknowledge the indebtedness of our region to the New World Foundation.

NEW YORK FUND FOR CHILDREN:

It is self evident that the future of our region, and the nation depends upon the ability of each generation's children to adjust to the reality of their day and to prepare for the world of tomorrow.

Growing up is never an easy process. But, of this generation of Southern children - both Negro and white - more than usual is demanded. They are not the ones who make the decisions, but it is they who must, in final analysis, live out the decisions made.

Through the generous financial support of the New York Fund for Children, the Southern Regional Council has been enabled to help the children of the South by working through religious youth groups, other organizations, and a small but growing number of public school systems. For this support, we, the members of the Council, are sincerely grateful.

The report of the Nominating Committee was approved as submitted. Attached is a list of Members reflecting acceptances received as of the date these Minutes were prepared. A final list will be sent to all Members when it is complete.

GENERAL SESSION

The retiring president of the Council, Mr. Wright, was presented with two bound volumes of New South. These volumes contained the issues of New South published during Mr. Wright's presidency. The presentation was made, on behalf of the Council, by Dr. Clement.

Mr. Wright, on accepting the Council's gift, complimented the Council for its selection of Mr. Dabbs as the new president.

Mr. Dabbs, in addressing the Council, expressed the hope that the progress achieved during Mr. Wrights's term of office might be continued in the coming year.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 8:00 p.m.

MEMBERS IN ATTENDANCE AT ANNUAL MEETING

November 12 - 13, 1957

I. H. Burney
Jacksonville

Rufus E. Clement
Atlanta, Georgia

James M. Dabbs
Mayesville, South Carolina

Herbert M. Davidson
Daytona Beach, Florida

Albert W. Dent
New Orleans, Louisiana

Luther H. Foster
Tuskegee, Alabama

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Atlanta, Georgia

M. Lafayette Harris
Little Rock, Arkansas

E. A. McDowell
Wake Forest, North Carolina

Benjamin E. Mays
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. J. N. Rayzor
Houston, Texas

Charles Shaw
Houston, Texas

Alexander Sigur
Lafayette, Louisiana

Charles Steele
Louisville, Kentucky

James E. Stewart
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Miss Florence Sytz
New Orleans, Louisiana

John H. Wheeler
Durham, North Carolina

Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, N. C.

LIST OF BOARD MEMBERS

Members Re-elected at Annual Meeting:

1. Mrs. L. C. Bates
   Little Rock, Arkansas
2. Dr. B. R. Brazeal
   Atlanta, Georgia
3. Mr. W. Carroll Brooke
   Staunton, Virginia
4. Mr. I. H. Burney
   Jacksonville, Florida
5. Mr. Hodding Carter
   Greenville, Mississippi
6. Mr. C. S. Cartwright
   Little Rock, Arkansas
7. Dr. Rufus E. Clement
   Atlanta, Georgia
8. Mrs. James S. Crate
   Houston, Texas
9. Mr. Jerome Crossman
   Dallas, Texas
10. Mr. Caxton Doggett
    Winter Park, Florida
11. Mr. Duncan Hunter
    Alexander City, Alabama
12. Dr. Guy B. Johnson
    Chapel Hill, N. C.
13. Mr. Z. A. Looby
    Nashville, Tennessee
14. Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
    Atlanta, Georgia
15. Dr. A. C. Miller
    Nashville, Tennessee
16. Mr. L. D. Milton
    Atlanta, Georgia
17. Dr. A. G. Moron
    Hampton, Virginia
18. Dr. E. C. Peters
    Atlanta, Georgia
19. Dr. J. L. Reddix
    Jackson, Mississippi
20. Mrs. E. U. Robinson
    Gallatin, Tennessee
21. Miss Dorcas Ruthenburg
    Louisville, Kentucky
22. Mr. Charles A. Shaw
    Houston, Texas
23. Mr. Courtney Siceloff
    Frogmore, South Carolina
24. Dr. H. C. Trenholm
    Montgomery, Alabama
25. Mr. John H. Wheeler
    Durham, North Carolina
26. Dr. Raymond Wheeler
    Charlotte, North Carolina
27. Miss Josephine Wilkins
    Atlanta, Georgia
28. Mr. Paul D. Williams
    Richmond, Virginia
29. Mr. Thomas W. Young
    Norfolk, Virginia

List of Board Members Continued

New Members Elected at Annual Meeting:
Accepted as of December 18, 1957

1. Mr. Irving Carlyle
Attorney
Winston-Salem, N. C.

2. Dr. James A. Colston
President
Knoxville College
Knoxville, Tennessee

3. Dr. S. B. Duncan
State Dept. of Public Instruction
Raleigh, North Carolina

4. Mr. Paul Green
Author
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

5. Mrs. Austin Kimball
YWCA Leader
Gainesville, Florida

6. Rabbi Charles Mantinband
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

7. Benjamin Muse
Columnist - Washington Post
Manassas, Virginia

8. Dr. Samuel Proctor
President, Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

9. Mr. James Stokely
Author
Newport, Tennessee

10. Mr. Dan Whitsett
Minister, Sylacauga Methodist Church
Sylacauga, Alabama

11. Dr. Bell I. Wiley
Professor of History
Emory University, Georgia

Executive Committee: (In addition to the persons elected at the Annual Meeting the officers of the Council are ex-officio members of this committee.)

1. Dr. B. R. Brazeal
2. Mr. Paul Christopher
3. Dr. Rufus E. Clement
4. Dr. John A. Griffin
5. Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
6. Mr. Duncan Hunter
7. Fathern Alexander O. Sigur
8. Miss Josephine Wilkins

Nominating Committee:

1. Mr. W. C. Brooke
2. Dr. C. G. Gomillion
3. Dr. H. V. Richardson

Vice President:

1. Dr. Albert W. Dent
2. Mr. Paul Williams
3. Mr. Marion A. Wright

Counsel:

1. Mr. Joseph Haas

President:

1. Mr. James M. Dabbs

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
January 29, 1958

The meeting of the Executive Committee convened in the Conference Room of the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia, at 10:00 A. M.

Members of the Committee present were:

Dr. B. R. Brazeal	Dr. Albert Dent
Mr. Paul Christopher	Mr. John A. Griffin
Dr. Rufus E. Clement	Mrs. Grace Hamilton
Mr. J. M. Dabbs	Mr. Duncan Hunter

Mr. M. A. Wright

The meeting began with an executive session during which the agenda was adopted and recently granted annual salary increments were approved.

GENERAL SESSION

Report of the Executive Director

Office Expansion

The Executive Director informed the Committee of the acquisition of additional office space. He pointed out that for some time the staff had been working under a considerable handicap because of overcrowded conditions. The resolution of this problem came when the Council was offered additional space on the third floor of the Wesley Memorial Building.

This invitation was extended by the Board of Trustees of the Wesley Memorial Building following a December 1957 meeting at which time some of the unfounded charges against the Council were considered. At this meeting the Board invited Mr. Fleming and Mrs. Tilly of the staff and Mr. Dabbs and Mr. Clement as officers of the Council to be present. In addition, Mrs. H. B. Trimble attended the meeting representing the interest of the Women's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church. The Board found the charges against the Council to be without foundation in fact.

The Director explained that action on the additional space had to be taken immediately because other potential tenants were pressing the Building for a decision. There being no time to consult the Executive Committee, the Director made the arrangement on his own responsibility.

The expansion calls for an increase in rent from $161 to $300 per month, additional equipment will cost $358, and renovations $600. However, it was pointed out that funds for this expansion were available within the limits of the existing budget, through a decrease in the amount allocated for salaries. (The salary of the Labor Consultant, which was included in the Council's operating budget for 1958, will again be paid by the Trade Union Program on Civil Liberties and Rights.)

Motion was made and adopted that the action of the staff in regard to its expansion project be approved by the Executive Committee.

Board Members

The Executive Director made a report on membership acceptances. Of the invitations extended there were only six declinations: Mr. William Baggs, Mr. Dow Kirkpatrick, Dr. A. C. Miller, Mr. Stanley Marcus, Mr. C. A. McKnight, and Mr. Francis P. Miller. Mr. Fred Darragh and Mr. William Faulkner have not yet responded.

The following persons have newly accepted membership on the Council: Dr. James A. Colston, Knoxville, Tenn.; Dr. Merrimon Cuninggim, Dallas, Tex.; Mr. S. E. Duncan, Raleigh, N. C.; Mr. Paul Green, Chapel Hill, N. C.; Mrs. Austin Kimball, Gainesville, Fla.; Rabbi Charles Mantinband, Hattiesburg, Miss.; Mr. Benjamin Muse, Manassas, Va.; Dr. Samuel Proctor, Richmond, Va.; Rabbi Jacob Rothschild, Atlanta, Ga.; Mr. Dan Whitsett, Sylacauga, Ala.; Dr. Bell I. Wiley, Atlanta, Ga.; Mr. Irving Carlyle, Winston-Salem, N. C.; Mr. James Stokely, Newport, Tenn.; Mr. Walter Sharp, Nashville, Tenn.; and Dr. Stephen

Wright, Nashville, Tenn.

Following this report the Executive Committee instructed the staff to extend invitations to the following alternates elected at the Annual Meeting: Dr. Riley B. Montgomery, Mr. Camille Gravel and Mr. Nelson Poynter.

Fund-Raising

The Director discussed with the Committee grant requests which have been submitted to foundations; a request to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund for $40,000 per year for three years and several smaller requests totaling $35,000. While it is impossible to predict the outcome of these requests, the preliminary cultivation of these foundations was accomplished largely through Frank Loescher, formerly of the Fund for the Republic.

The Director proposed that the staff be authorized to retain Mr. Loescher as a part-time consultant on fund-raising, at a fee of $200 per month. A motion to this effect was made and unanimously adopted.

Program Activities

In discussing program activities, the Director indicated that Mrs. Tilly has received several honors, one from the WDCS of the Methodist Church and one from Paine College. And, in addition to her regular work with women, Mrs. Tilly has planned and is carrying out a program to facilitate voter registration.

The Director also indicated that, following the directives of the Council at the annual meeting, attention is being given to greater and more specialized distribution of New South and other Council materials.

A general discussion of program activities followed.

Report on Aid to State Groups

The Assistant Director reported on the status of the Council's grants-in-aid to the state groups. He pointed out that quarterly reports have been received from each state except Texas and that on the basis of these reports the second quarterly installments have been approved. Reports on the individual state groups are summarized:

Alabama - The Alabama Council is confronted by problems arising out of police harrassment of interracial meetings in Birmingham. Earlier attempts to secure legal counsel have been futile, but there are indications that this problem may soon be overcome. SRC has maintained close contact with, and has every confidence in, the staff and board of the Alabama Council.

Arkansas - The work of the Arkansas Council continues to be largely centered around the situation in Little Rock. The group has made a request to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund for a substantial grant to be used in working with civic, educationl, and religious forces in resolving community tensions. (This grant of $8,000 per year for three years has since been approved.)

Florida - The Florida Council is concentrating its efforts in the Dade County areas, where school desegregation is anticipated.

Georgia - The title of Dr. Guy Wells, formerly director of the Georgia Council, has been changed to that of Chief Consultant. This group has plans to secure the services of a full-time director in June. The Greater Atlanta Council, the state's most active local unit, is concentrating on desegregation of the public library and airport facilities.

Kentucky - In this state, where school desegregation is largely accepted, the Kentucky Council is concentrating its efforts in the area of employment

opportunities. The group is working closely with the Urban League and is to receive help from the SRC consultant program.

North Carolina - This group has been actively working with status people in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg County area to develop a program of meetings on school desegregation, merit employment, interreligious cooperation, and community organization for effective work in race relations. Dr. Frank Graham served as main speaker at the last annual meeting of the group.

South Carolina - The South Carolina Council has been forced to secure new office space because of its interracial staffing. The group has held two workshops on leadership training and continues its program of work with key people in the state.

Tennessee - This state group, still without a director, now has a functioning board headed by Dr. A. C. Miller, executive secretary of the Southern Baptist Christian Life Commission. It is seeking a competent person to serve as director.

Texas - The Texas situation is a difficult one. SRC does not hear regularly from the director of the Texas Council and it is unlikely that the group is maintaining an adequate program. The second quarterly allocation has not been made, since no quarterly report has been received from the Texas Council. However, SRC's consultant program has been intensively used in Dallas to assist community leaders in preparation for school desegregation.

Virginia - The Virginia Council, in cooperation with other human relations agencies, is concentrating its work in four areas: Arlington, Norfolk, Richmond and Charlottesville. It is seeking to strengthen local interracial groups in these areas and to prevent or lessen the

conflicts which may accompany court-ordered school desegregation.

Mississippi - The question of the Mississippi Council was discussed. It was pointed out that, at present, the Mississippi group barely functions, and is doing little in the way of programming. The same conditions exist as those under which more than a year ago, the Council decided that further aid would not be justified.

Proposed College Program

A lengthy discussion centered about the possibility of SRC's developing a program geared to college students, professors, and administrators. It was felt that SRC could play an important role in stimulating and counseling to these groups. The Committee instructed the staff to give consideration to the desirability of such a program and the staff and funds that would be required to carry it on. At the next meeting of the Committee the staff is to make recommendations to the Committee.

Financial Reports

The Secretary-Treasurer presented a report on income from January 1 - December 31, 1957, as reflected in the annual audit. The Administrative Assistant presented a revised budget for the year 1958, re-allocating the expenditures within the total minimum budget as approved by the Council in annual meeting. The revised budget was approved by the Committee.

The Committee authorized the staff to prepare, in addition to the approved minimum budget, a proposed maximum budget of approximately $207,000. This maximum budget, reflecting needed additional program activity, may be used by the staff as and if funds become available.

Committee Action on Membership Vacancies

Two vacancies on the Nominating Committee were filled, the following persons being elected: Mr. L. D. Milton and Miss

Dorcas Ruthenburg.

One vacancy on the Executive Committee was filled by the election of Mr. John H. Wheeler.

South Carolina Situation

Mr. Dabbs was asked to inform the Committee of the problems faced by the South Carolina Council. He pointed out that the South Carolina Council has been unable to maintain a bi-racial professional staff. The SRC grant-in-aid to South Carolina, the largest given to any state, had been made on the condition that South Carolina continue to maintain bi-racial staffing.

The following motion was made and unanimously adopted:

> That the South Carolina Council be notified that, if it is necessary to discontinue bi-racial staffing, the grant-in-aid will be reduced to $4,000 per year, the median amount given to the state groups.

It was stressed that this action was meant in no way to imply criticism of the South Carolina Council, but simply to insure equitable treatment of the state councils.

Other Business

Since many of the Committee members were forced to leave before the time set for adjournment, it was decided to postpone discussion on utilization of Council members. It was agreed, however, that ways should be sought to draw members more closely into the operation of the Council and to make better use of the skills and resources of Council members.

The advantages and disadvantages of one-day and split two-day meetings of the Committee were discussed. It was suggested that prior to the next meeting, Committee members be polled to determine the wishes of the majority.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

May 14, 1958

The meeting convened in the conference room of the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., at 10:00 A.M.

Dr. Rufus E. Clement presided. Other members of the Committee present were:

Dr. B. R. Brazeal	Dr. John A. Griffin
Mr. Paul Christopher	Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Mr. James M. Dabbs	Father Alexander O. Sigur
Dr. Albert W. Dent	Mr. John H. Wheeler

Mr. Marion O. Wright

Staff members present in general sessions were: Harold C. Fleming, Frederick B. Routh, John Constable, Mrs. Ruth H. Alexander, John Hope, II, C. H. Parrish, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Paul Anthony, Emory F. Via, Marge Manderson, Machion Garrison, and Mrs. Mildred Flowers.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

The Executive Committee adopted the proposed agenda (attached) and minutes of the last meeting. It authorized the Executive Director, in his discretion, to make effective the prescribed salary increments for those staff members who will complete a year's service in grade before the next Executive Committee meeting.

GENERAL SESSION

Executive Director's Report

The Executive Director gave a summary report of program activities since the January 29th meeting of the Committee. On motion by Dr. Griffin, the Committee adopted a resolution commending the staff for its performance.

The Executive Director requested the Committee's views on the advisability of printing the annual report. Dr. Dent

expressed the consensus of the meeting that the staff should continue mimeographing its program reports in order that recipients might understand that distribution is limited and selective, and thus might make more use of the contents.

The Director of Women's Work described a program of intensive work with church women in two Deep South states, recently made possible by a grant of $2,000 from the Ella Lyman Cabot Trust.

Board Membership

The Executive Director reported that one additional acceptance since the last meeting -- by Dr. Riley B. Montgomery - has brought the number of Board members to 71 out of a possible 80. He suggested that the vacancies remaining be left for the Annual Meeting to fill in November, since otherwise there would be few or no vacancies at that time. This was approved.

Financial Reports

The Report of Income and Expenses for the first quarter, as presented by the Secretary-Treasurer, and the 1958 minimum Operating Budget, as presented by the Administrative Assistant, were approved by the Committee (See attached.)

The Executive Director outlined SRC's financial prospects. He pointed out that, while this year's minimum budget seems virtually assured, SRC's prospective income will drop sharply next year. Several important pending requests to foundations were discussed.

Report on State Groups

The Assistant Director gave a summary report on the status and activities of the State Councils. He pointed out that the state groups were all functioning reasonably well, under sound leadership, with the exception of Louisiana, which is inactive, Texas and Tennessee, which have not yet employed an executive director. Discussion followed this report.

Proposed State Staff Meeting

The Assistant Director informed the Committee that requests had come from executives of state councils asking that a state staff conference be convened by SRC. It was suggested that the expenses might be borne by the Consultant Service Program, if this program receives the grant requested of the New World Foundation; otherwise, the expenses might be shared equally by SRC and the State Councils. Dr. Dent moved that SRC be authorized to pay one-half the cost of such a conference, up to $1,000, from unused funds budgeted for state aid. The motion was adopted.

State Aid

Mr. Wright moved that the staff be authorized to notify the state groups that the present program of financial aid will definitely be continued through the last quarter of 1958. The motion was seconded and adopted. In ensuing discussion, it was agreed that final decision on state aid for 1959 would have to be made by the November annual meeting, in the light of SRC's financial prospects as they then appear.

Attacks on SRC and State Councils

The Executive Director reviewed attacks upon SRC and the establishment of state legislative committees which might be used to harrass interracial groups. He discussed the possibility that the American Friends Service Committee might provide specialized guidance to these groups, under the "Rights of Conscience" program. It was voted that SRC should do all it can to assist any state councils that are attacked.

Resolutions

It was voted that the Staff be authorized to present the following resolutions to Harry Ashmore of the Arkansas Gazette and Alfred Mynders of the Chattanooga Times. The staff was charged with the responsibility of having them appropriately inscribed for presentation.

TO

HARRY S. ASHMORE AND THE ARKANSAS GAZETTE

On the occasion of their receiving Pulitzer Awards for outstanding editorial and reportorial achievement, we wish to pay tribute to

Their service to the profession of Journalism through honest reporting and sensitive interpretation;

Their service to the community and state by keeping the public record straight in time of confusion; and

Mr. Ashmore's service to the South and the Nation as an exemplar of journalistic integrity and statesmanship in days of public crisis.

The Executive Committee of the
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia
May 14, 1958

TO

ALFRED MYNDERS

On the occasion of his retirement as Editor of the Chattanooga Times, The Southern Regional Council pays tribute for his years of devoted service to the cause of a more democratic South as evidenced by

His invaluable leadership for many years as an officer of the Southern Regional Council; and

His editorial columns, which placed public duty above self-interest and national welfare above sectionalism.

The Executive Committee of the
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia
May 14, 1958

Proposed College Program

The Committee approved the attached staff recommendations for more intensive program assistance to college-serving groups. It was further voted that the Chairman of the Executive Committee

appoint an advisory committee of three, as proposed by the staff. Dr. Clement was asked to work with the staff on these appointments and to notify the Committee of action taken.

Discussion of Program

A survey of segregation and desegregation in waiting rooms and related facilities, now in progress, was discussed in some detail. The following suggestions were made:

(1) That the survey cover airport facilities -- including, if possible, taxicab and limousine service.

(2) That the findings reflect responses from Negro correspondents in each of the cities surveyed.

(3) That the information gathered from private individuals be sent to the Mayors of the cities surveyed, with a request that they confirm or amend the findings.

Proposed International Conference

Mr. Wright recalled that the Executive Committee some time ago authorized the staff to arrange a conference on race and international relations to be held in cooperation with Atlanta University. The staff was formally reminded of the Committee's continuing belief that this project has great merit and should be implemented as quickly as finances and staff time permit.

Dates of Next Committee Meeting and Annual Meeting

It was voted that the next Executive Committee meeting should take place in late August, the precise date to be fixed by the President and the Executive Director. It was voted that the 1958 Annual Meeting should be held on November 11 - the date prescribed by the By-Laws, subject to the discretion of the Executive Committee.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
August 12, 1958

The Executive Committee convened in the Conference Room of the Southern Regional Council at 10:00 A. M.

Members of the Committee present:

James M. Dabbs, presiding; Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Miss Josephine Wilkins, Paul Christopher, B. R. Brazeal, John Griffin, Albert W. Dent, Alexander O. Sigur, Marion A. Wright, and Duncan Hunter. (John Wheeler and Paul Williams expressed their regrets at being unable to attend.)

SRC staff members present in open session:

Harold C. Fleming, Fred Routh, Mrs. Ruth Alexander, Miss Marge Manderson, Paul Anthony, C. H. Parrish, John Constable, Leslie W. Dunbar, Emory F. Via, and Mrs. Mildred Flowers.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Invocation was offered, the agenda adopted, minutes of the last meeting approved, and the Personnel Committee instructed as follows: to study the various employment benefits now available to the staff and aditional benefits which might be considered. The Committee was asked to report its findings to the full Executive Committee at its next meeting, preceding the Annual Meeting.

GENERAL SESSION

Report of the Executive Director

The Executive Director read an account of SRC program activities, later distributed as the Midsummer report. There followed a discussion of the attack on SRC by the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard-Times as reprinted by the Richmond Times-Dispatch of which Virginius Dabney is editor, It was pointed out that Mr. Dabney was one of the founders of the Southern

Regional Council, and it was agreed that he should be asked to publish a correction of the false charges concerning SRC's origins.

Dr. Dent stated, for the Committee, that the program report contained valuable information which should be distributed as a means of acquainting persons with the types of work in which the Council is engaged. He recommended that the report be put in mimeographed form and distributed generally to appropriate persons.

The Executive Director indicated that the report would be sent to each Committee member in lots of five (5), accompanied by post cards for the purpose of requesting additional copies if desired.

Financial Reports

Mrs. Ruth Alexander and Paul Anthony submitted mimeographed copies of the January 1 - June 30, 1958 Audit and the Budget Report (attached) which were approved by the Committee.

Report on State Councils and Staff Meeting

Fred Routh presented a summary report of the State Staff Conference which was convened at Fisk University in conjunction with the Fisk Race Relations Institute in July. Representatives were present from the State Councils of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia and South Carolina. Harold Fleming, Fred Routh, C. H. Parrish, and John Hope of the staff, and Mr. and Mrs. James M. Dabbs, represented the Council.

It was reported that the state organizations are functioning on their own initiative since becoming independent groups as of October 1, 1957. Out of the discussions at the Conference, a helpful exchange of information resulted as to effective programs that can be developed by the State Councils.

Summary reports on individual State Councils followed. New

staff directors recently employed include: Georgia, Dr. W. C. Cowart; Tennessee, Mr. John Pate; and, Virginia, Mr. Paul Rilling. The Arkansas Council has added a second professional staff member, Mr. John Walker.

Rockefeller Brothers Fund Project

Earlier, the Executive Committee had been informed that the Rockefeller Brothers Fund had made available to the SRC a grant of $40,000 a year for a period of three years. The Executive Director reported that through this project it is the aim of SRC to use all the resources it can command to reach decision-makers as they are confronted by the increasing demands of change in the field of race relations. As a first step toward implementing the project, Dr. Leslie Dunbar was employed by the Council, on a temporary basis, to assess pertinent materials and data which may be used in this effort.

The project will embrace three main areas:

(1) Economic - (Business and Industry)

(2) Law Enforcement - (Police Officers and Community Leaders)

(3) Education - (Educators and Administrators)

The Committee discussed the project at length and gave the staff the benefit of their thinking on implementation of the program. It was generally agreed, however, that little should be done in the way of fixing program procedures until a project director has been selected.

GENERAL SESSION - Afternoon

Specific Proposals in Regard to Program Activities

A draft letter addressed to the President of the United States was presented to the Committee by the staff. The letter was approved by the Committee after several amendments were made. (Copy attached.) It was agreed that the letter should bear the signature of each Committee member present. It was further agreed that SRC should not release the letter to

the press or other-wise publicize this action. The Executive Director was directed by the Committee to deliver the letter personally to the President or to a suitable member of the President's staff.

Other Business

The Executive Director assured the Executive Committee that the staff is still mindful of its responsibility for planning and implementing the International Institute proposed at previous Committee meetings, but indicated that fund-raising efforts have slowed up its progress.

The Committee was asked by the Director if it would, at a later date, review the original conception of the Institute in the light of changing circumstances.

Annual Meeting

November 11 was reaffirmed as the date of the Annual Meeting, as prescribed by the By-Laws. It was agreed that an Executive Committee meeting be set for the afternoon of November 10, commencing at 1:30 p.m., to consider those matters to be submitted to the full Council for action.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

November 10, 1958

The Executive Committee met in the Board Room of Atlanta University at 2:00 P.M., Monday, November 10.

Members present were:

Mr. James M. Dabbs, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Mr. Marion A. Wright, Mr. Paul Christopher, Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Rev. Duncan Hunter, Miss Josephine Wilkins and Mr. John Wheeler.

Staff members present:

Harold C. Fleming, John Constable, Mrs. Ruth House Alexander, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Paul Anthony, Emory F. Via, John Hope, II, C. H. Parrish, Miss Marge Manderson, Frederick B. Routh and Mrs. Mildred Flowers.

REPORT ON PLANS FOR ANNUAL MEETING

The Executive Director reported that the forthcoming annual meeting promised to be well attended. It was anticipated that approximately 40 directors would be present.

Plans for the Annual Meeting, as approved, included an informal dinner session for the evening of the 10th. After dinner and informal remarks by Mr. Dabbs and other, the film "The Face of the South" was scheduled to be shown.

Prior to submission of the financial report for the Committee's approval the Executive Director reported on funds received since the report was prepared. These were:

From the William Emerson estate, stocks of an estimated value of $18,700.

From The Taconic Foundation, an unsolicited grant of $2,500.

From the Ottinger Foundation, an unsolicited grant of $1,500.

From the New World Foundation, a $10,000 grant to be used as a contingency fund for useful Southern efforts, to be applied toward the expenses and obligations of the Council.

In reference to the contingency fund grant from the New World Foundation the Committee, after discussion, determined that at a future date the Committee should decide the procedure for handling these funds and for accepting and handling other funds which might be presented to the Council. The committee indicated that this matter would be reviewed at the January 1959 meeting of the Committee.

The financial report for 1958 - an unaudited statement of actual and estimated income and expenses - was presented by Mrs. Alexander. The Committee approved this report for presentation to the annual meeting.

The proposed budget for 1959 was presented by Mr. Anthony. Following a careful study of this budget, the Committee approved the budged for presentation to the annual meeting.

The agenda for the annual meeting was presented and approved by the Committee.

Staff recommendations for state aid in 1959 were presented by Mr. Routh. After a review of current and planned programs of the state councils, the Committee approved thestaff report for presentation to the annual meeting.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

The Committee met in executive session to hear a report of the Personnel Committee. The results of this meeting were:

(1) Approval of the establishment of the staff position

of Director of Research at the salary fixed by the Personnel Committee:

(2) Recommendation of staff benefits as follows, to be submitted to the annual meeting.

At the option of the staff, the Council will pay full premiums for BlueCross-Blue Shield insurance, or one-half of such premiums and one-half of the premiums for term life insurance in the amounts approved by the Executive Committee.

(3) A decision to review all staff salaries at the January 1959 meeting of the Committee, with a particular view to establishing salary ranges and reviewing annual increments.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

November 11, 1958

GENERAL SESSION - 9:30 A.M.

The meeting of the Southern Regional Council convened at 9:30 A.M., on Tuesday, November 11, 1958 in Kresge Hall, Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia.

Invocation by the Reverend Caxton Doggett.

A list of Council members present is attached. All members of the professional staff were present.

Introductions and remarks were made by the President, Mr. James H. Dabbs.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

The attached report of the Executive Committee was given by the Chairman, Dr. Rufus E. Clement. The report was unanimously approved.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR:

The Executive Director gave a summary report of the program activities of the Council, mentioning the following:

(1) Fund-raising

While the Council's fund-raising efforts have been gratifyingly successful, a large amount of staff time has to be devoted to this effort. A new dimension has been added in recent months: that of serving as a resource and consultant to various foundations interested in the field of human relations in the South.

(2) Working with Government Agencies

An increasing amount of staff time and effort has been devoted to working with and providing information to various

agencies of the federal government. The staff feels that this work is of considerable importance.

(3) Work with Foreign Visitors

For some time the staff has been impressed with the quality of the foreign visitors sent to the Council and aware of the importance of working with these leaders from other countries. The Council's services for these visitors range from giving a brief interview to serving as sponsor for week-long visits. As some measure of the time required for the function, eighty-one visitors from eighteen countries have visited SRC thus far during 1958. However, there is no way in which this responsibility can be avoided.

There is hope that some contributor may, in time, be persuaded to underwrite this work, thus reimbursing the Council for the direct expenses and the staff time involved in this activity.

(4) Information and Fact-finding

The Council's relations with much of the press continue to be excellent, largely because of the Council's ability to supply thorough and reliable information on developments in Southern race relations. During the past year the staff has worked with representatives of virtually every major magazine in the country, a number of leading newspapers, and the news staffs of the three major television-radio-networks.

The Council's fact-finding efforts have resulted in a number of special reports during the past year. The registration and voting survey of 1956 is now being updated; a preliminary report was issued on November 3rd and a full report will be issued later.

For some time the staff has been dissatisfied with the circulation of New South. As state groups have adopted more independent policies, circulation has tended to drop and our normal limited promotion has not overcome this loss. In addition, we feel that New South can be of value to a considerably

larger audience than it now reaches. For these reasons the staff plans more direct promotion. It is also hoped that the magazine will present more original material prepared by the staff and others.

The increasing demands being made on the Council staff in the area of information and fact-finding and the growing number of special projects in this area call for a full-time Director of Research. The Personnel Committee has considered this proposal and will present a recommendation to the Council today.

(5) Consultant Service Program

The Consultant Service Program continues under the direction of Mr. John Hope. During the current year this program has provided concentrated consultant services to leadership of strategic communities. This service grew out of the needs of the several Virginia communities facing desegregation. In the cities of Charlottesville, Arlington and Norfolk, well qualified consultants spent considerable periods of time working with community leadership, the local human relations agencies, and others in attempting to prepare these cities for the transition they faced.

(6) Work with Labor

With regret, the Executive Director informed the Council that the services of the Labor Consultant, Mr. Emory F. Via, would end as of January 1, 1959. Mr. Via has accepted a position with the School of Workers at the University of Wisconsin. This will constitute a serious loss to the staff.

Mr. Via's salary for the year 1959 would have been paid through a grant from the Trade Union Program on Civil Liberties and Rights. This grant was made specifically for the salary of the individual and not for a labor program in general. This matter has been discussed with the director of the TUPCLR and it has been agreed that most of the funds earmarked for the Labor Consultant's salary will be returned.

(7) Interagency Coordination

SRC continues to serve as secretariat for and convener of meetings for some thirty organizations and agencies interested in race relations in the South. This, in the opinion of the staff, is a vital function. Through this effort agencies are able to inform each other of programs, to cooperated in implementing these programs and, on occasion, to undertake joint projects.

The staff hopes to expand this function to assist such groups as those ad hoc citizens' efforts to preserve public education.

(8) Fellowship of the Concerned

The Fellowship of the Concerned, under the direction of Mrs. M. E. Tilly, is an integral part of the work of the Council. This group, made up of representatives of the three faiths, has had a considerable influence over the South. This influence and the continuing achievements of the Fellowship of the Concerned are a tribute to the effort and devotion of Mrs. Tilly.

At the request of the Executive Director, Mrs. Tilly reported an October meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned, attended by some 125 Southern church women leaders. Alabama and Florida state-wide meetings have been held and others are being planned.

A discussion of the Director's report followed.

The Rev. Caxton Doggett suggested that an approach might be made to the Foreign Missions Board of the Methodist Church and other denominations on behalf of the work with foreign visitors. Members of the Council generally agreed that work with foreign visitors was important and should be continued.

It was moved and seconded that the Executive Committee review the Labor Consultant program and make a report to the

full Council at the next annual meeting. On the basis of this report the Council could determine whether or not special funds should be sought to continue this position.

The motion was unanimously adopted.

FINANCIAL REPORT OF 1958:

The financial report was presented by Mrs. Alexander, the Secretary-Treasurer. (See attached) Following the discussion reported below, the report was unanimously adopted.

As a supplementary note to the financial report, the Executive Director reported on unsolicited grants received from two foundations since the financial report had been prepared. These were the Ottinger Foundation, $1,500, and the Taconic Foundation, $2,500. A letter from the law firm of Bingham, Dana & Gould of Boston was read pertaining to the bequest of the William Emerson estate. This letter disclosed that a partial distribution of the residue of the Emerson estate provided the Council with securities that have a current market value of approximately $18,700.

Dr. Clement made the following motion: "The President and Secretary-Treasurer of the Council are hereby authorized to receive funds and bequests on behalf of the Council. They shall be authorized to sell securities in the name of the Council."

The motion was unanimously adopted.

After further discussion, the Council voted to instruct the Executive Committee, with the benefit of competent investment counsel, to consider at its next meeting whether the securities should be sold or retained, and whether or not the Emerson bequest should be placed in a special reserve fund rather than used for current expenses.

ACTION ON PROPOSED BUDGET, 1959:

The proposed budget for 1959 as approved by the Executive Committee was presented to the full Council by Mr. Paul Anthony, Administrative Assistant. After discussion, it was unanimously approved and adopted.

DISCUSSION

Mr. Muse requested that additional information be given the Council on the nature and status of the Southern Leadership Project supported by a three-year foundation grant.

The Executive Director explained that the primary purpose of the project would be to reach and assist Southern leaders - businessmen, educators, police officials, and the like - in adjusting to legally required changes in racial policies. Such approaches are to be made in terms of the special interests of the leadership groups concerned. The proposal on which this grant was based was read to the Council.

The project requires a director of considerable skill; preferably with a background in business and public relations. This position has not yet been filled.

It was voted that The Southern Heritage be sent to Southern governors, senators and superintendents of public education. The motion was adopted. The staff was instructed to use whatever methods seem best in transmitting these 55 copies of the book.

REPORT ON AID TO STATE COUNCILS:

The report on State Councils on Human Relations was presented by Mr. Fred Routh, Assistant Director. Proposed state programs were outlined as follows:

Alabama proposed to focus attention on hardship cases, to continue its work with ministerial groups, and to concentrate on the northern part of the state.

Arkansas hopes to do more work on merit employment, proposes more liaison work with organizations working in the field of human relations, and hopes to create more local councils in the state. Little Rock and its acute problems will continue to receive much attention.

Florida is concentrating much of its work in Dade County, the area where the first public school desegregation in Florida is expected. The Council has completed a survey dealing with problems of Latin-Americans in the state and will continue its work in this area. A state-wide meeting of religious leaders is being promoted. It is hoped that the Governor will speak at this meeting.

Georgia is making a special effort to establish relations with key people in the state. Thus far the new director, Dr. W. C. Cowart, has reached approximately 175 persons in this category. New officers have been elected and the board and executive committee have been considerably strengthened.

Kentucky is concentrating on merit employment and has planned a pilot project in Louisville in cooperation with the Louisville Urban League.

Louisiana Council has not yet resumed activity. However, Dr. Albert W. Dent has been serving informally as chairman of that group and has been successful in securing Miss Mary Raymond as prospective executive director. The group will concentrate on the New Orlenas area.

North Carolina has received a special grant for work on merit employment. Special emphasis is also being given to getting information to key school superintendents throughout the state and to working on interagency cooperation.

South Carolina has been promoting week-end conferences of leadership groups and fact-finding projects. A special area of concentration is that of cultivating key people,

including the non-committed.

Tennessee has been successful in pulling together a newly organized board and in securing Miss Louise Young as the new director. The board hopes to create local councils in Memphis, Nashville, Chattanooga, and Knoxville.

Texas continues to have difficulties. However, an intensive project in Houston is anticipated. The Texas Council director continues to work on a part-time basis.

Virginia has recently acquired a new director, Mr. Paul Rilling, who is doing an excellent job. This group is carrying out a sound educational program aimed at key people in the state, interagency cooperation, and special services to those cities under court order to desegregate.

The staff recommendations for state aid for 1959, as approved earlier by the Executive Committee, were submitted by Mr. Routh (see attached). A motion that these recommendations be approved was seconded and adopted.

EXECUTIVE SESSION (Staff on Call)

Following reports of the Personnel and Nominating Committees, the following actions were taken:

(1) The position of the Director of Research was established; the duties, salary, and qualifications to be as prescribed by the Personnel Committee.

(2) A new staff benefit was approved. At the option of the staff, the Council will pay full premiums for Blue Cross-Blue Shield insurance, or one-half of such premiums and one-half of the premiums for term life insurance in the amounts approved by the Executive Committee.

(3) The report of the Nominating Committee was approved, as follows:

(a) The present officers are re-elected.

(b) The present members of the Executive Committee are re-elected.

(c) The Nominating Committee for 1959 shall be the Rev. W. Carroll Brooke, Miss Dorcas Ruthenburg, and Mr. L. D. Milton, plus two further members to be elected by the Executive Committee as prescribed in the By-Laws.

(d) The following new members and alternates are nominated:

The Rev. Thomas Thrasher (W)
Episcopal Church of the Ascension
Montgomery, Alabama

Dr. Arthur Gray (N)
President, Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Mr. Eric Severeid (W)
Radio and Television Commentator
Fairfax, Virginia

Mr. Lee B. Thomas, Jr. (W)
Executive Vice-President
American Saw and Tool Company
Louisville, Kentucky

Mr. Harry Elsan (W)
Businessman
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. A. G. Gaston (N)
President
Booker T. Washington Ins. Company
Birmingham, Alabama

Dr. H. Franklin Williams (W)
Vice-President
The University of Miami
Coral Gables, Florida

Mr. Thomas F. Boushal (W)
Banker
Richmond, Virginia

Miss Alice Cobb (W)
Scarritt College
Nashville, Tennessee

Mr. Philip Stern, Editor (W)
Northern Virginia Sun
Arlington, Virginia

The Rev. Hubert Beckwith (W)
Congregational Christian Church
Annandale, Virginia

Dr. Frank Daniel (W)
Physician
Charlottesville, Virginia

Mr. E. T. Kehrer (W)
Regional Director, ILGWU
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. A. M. Secrest (W)
Editor, Cheraw Chronicle
Cheraw, South Carolina

General Session - Discussion

It was voted that the staff draw up a statement for the press condemning the recent bombings and other acts of violence in the South. The staff was further instructed to emphasize the Council's concern for the lack of prosecution of those responsible for these acts.

Mr. Wheeler made a statement of appreciation to the officers and staff of the Council for the skill and effectiveness displayed during the past year. He cited the improved financial condition of the Council as one measure of its success.

Miss Wilkins expressed appreciation for the preparation and planning of the meeting.

Rabbi Mantinband recalled the difficult years in which Dr. George Mitchell, through dedication and personal sacrifice, had kept the Council alive. Mr. Wright seconded these sentiments and moved that a special greeting be conveyed to Dr. Mitchell. This was unanimously resolved.

A resolution was adopted expressing the thanks of the Council to Atlanta University and Clark College for their hospitality and courtesies.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned at 3:30 P.M.

MEMBERS IN ATTENDANCE AT ANNUAL MEETING

November 11, 1958

Mrs. W. F. Bates
North Little Rock, Ark.

M. Carroll Brooke
Staunton, Va.

Mrs. Myra J. Bryant
North Birmingham, Ala.

I. H. Burney
Jacksonville, Fla.

Irving E. Carlyle
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Colbert S. Cartwright
Little Rock, Ark.

Paul R. Christopher
Knoxville, Tenn.

Rufus E. Clement
Atlanta, Ga.

James A. Colston
Knoxville, Tenn.

Mrs. Margaret Crate
Houston, Tex.

James M. Dabbs
Mayesville, S. C.

Herbert Davidson
Daytona Beach, Fla.

Caxton Doggett
Winter Park, Fla.

S. E. Duncan
Reidsville, N. C.

Paul Green
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Atlanta, Ga.

M. LaFayette Harris
Little Rock, Ark.

Duncan Hunter
Alexander City, Ala.

Guy B. Johnson
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Mrs. Austin Kimball
Gainesville, Fla.

Rabbi Charles Mantinband
Hattiesburg, Miss.

E. A. McDowell
Wake Forest, N. C.

Riley B. Montgomery
Lexington, Kentucky

Alonzo G. Moron
Hampton, Va.

Benjamin Muse
Manassas, Va.

Mrs. J. N. Rayzor
Houston, Tex.

Miss Dorcas Ruthenburg
Louisville, Ky.

Walter Sharp
Nashville, Tenn.

Courtney Siceloff
Frogmore, S. C.

Charles T. Steele
Louisville, Ky.

James E. Stewart
Oklahoma City, Okla.

James Stokely
Newport, Tenn.

Miss Florence Sytz
New Orleans, La.

John H. Wheeler
Durham, N. C.

Raymond M. Wheeler
Charlotte, N. C.

Miss Josephine Wilkins
Athens, Ga.

Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, N. C.

Thomas W. Young
Norfolk, Va.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO THE ANNUAL MEETING

Presented by

DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN

November 11, 1958

Since the full Council was last assembled your Executive Committee has met four times to carry out the mandates of the 1957 Annual Meeting and to give policy direction to the staff.

Problems created by resistance to desegregation remain critical in much of the South. So long as this is the case, none of us can afford to be content with our efforts, individually or organizationally, to promote just and lasting solutions. Yet we can take some satisfaction from the fact that the Southern Regional Council has made significant achievements in the past year, and that it is today operating on a larger and more effective scale than ever before in its fifteen years of existence.

One mark of the Council's importance to the South in this troubled time has been the unprecedentedly full attendance and active participation of the Executive Committee. Another is this meeting itself. We are strengthened and gratified by the presence of most of the new members elected last November. Those who accepted election are:

Dr. James A. Colston, Knoxville, Tenn.; Dr. Merrimon Cunninggim, Dallas, Tex.; Mr. S. E. Duncan, Raleigh, N. C.; Mr. Paul Green, Chapel Hill, N. C.; Mrs. Austin Kimball, Gainesville, Fla.; Rabbi Charles Mantinband, Hattiesburg, Miss.; Mr. Benjamin Muse, Manassas, Virginia; Dr. Samuel Proctor, Richmond, Va.; Rabbi Jacob Rothschild, Atlanta, Gal; Mr. Dan Whitsett, Sylacauga, Ala.; Dr. Bell I. Wiley, Atlanta, Ga.; Mr. Irving Carlyle, Winston-Salem, N. C.; Mr. James Stokley, Newport, Tenn.; Mr. Walter Sharp, Nashville, Tenn.; Dr. Stephen Wright, Nashville, Tenn.; and Dr. Riley B. Montgomery, Lexington, Ky.

If one measure of an organization's effectiveness is the willingness of able, influential persons to give their leader-

ship and support, then most certainly the Southern Regional Council's worth is well attested.

You have all received periodic reports on the program activities of the Council, and it would be superfluous in this report to review in detail the many and varied activities which the organization has carried on.

Your Executive Committee has counseled closely with the staff on program activities during the past year. We can note with some pride that the Council is called upon for an ever-increasing range of services to those who are working constructively on Southern problems, at local, state, and national levels. Gratifying as this may be, however, it raises difficulties which we cannot ignore. The very number and magnitude of the demands which are made upon the Council put a great strain on our personnel and financial resources. Although both our staff and our budget have grown appreciably, the problems and opportunities which confront us have grown even more. The Executive Director will have more to say about these considerations, which call for the best judgment of every one of us.

The financial condition of the Council has been substantially improved. Many of you will recall vividly the time, not long past, when our solvency was measured in days, or even hours. Now we can at least discuss our financial needs in terms of the coming year. As you will observe from the financial reports to be presented shortly, the Council has gained support from important new sources during the past year. The question is whether we can hold this support and supplement it as needed to continue our operation at the same level in the period ahead.

One measure of our improved financial stability is the consideration given by the Executive Committee to added staff security and benefits. We are conscious of the fact that the Council, unlike such established institutions as universities and business organizations, can offer little in the way of long-range prospects of tenure, advancement, and

retirement. Accordingly, the Executive Committee has given consideration to additional staff benefits that are within our means and may compensate in part for the lack of more permanent job security. The Committee's recommendations will be placed before you in today's session.

Regretfully, we report the impending loss to the staff of Emory Via, who for the past two years has served as the Council's Labor Consultant. As of January 1, Mr. Via will join the faculty of the School for Workers at the University of Wisconsin. The new position affords him an opportunity to advance his career in the academic field which he could hardly forego. His able and devoted services to the Council have earned him the appreciation of our organization and of the Southern labor movement as well. We are grateful, also, to the Trade Union Program for Civil Rights and Civil Liberties whose generosity made this special project possible. Although the position of Labor Consultant cannot be continued, the Executive Committee will later present recommendations for other means of strengthening the Council's staff.

The other matters to which the Executive Committee has addressed itself in the past year have been made known to you in various reports and mailings. We have given the staff direction and assistance in countering extremist attacks upon the Council's reputation, in continuing program and financial aid to the state councils on human relations, and in expanding our central offices in Atlanta.

One action taken by the Executive Committee perhaps deserves special mention. At its August meeting, the Committee adopted a letter to President Eisenhower, calling on him to express unequivocally the Executive Department's determination to see that the orders of the Federal Courts are upheld. The Director was instructed to deliver the letter personally to the White House and to reinforce its contents by discussions with administration officials. The Executive Director subsequently presented the letter to the Assistant to the President and later discussed it as well with the Attorney

General and the chief of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division. It is a tribute to the Council's recognition in its field that these interviews in Washington were granted within a few hours after they were requested. And, while leadership in these matters may leave much to be desired, the Council's representation played a substantial part in the issuance of one of the few strong statements on law and order so far issued by the President.

This, then, is the report of your Executive Committee as the Southern Regional Council nears the end of its fifteenth year of existence.

There is much to be done if the Council is to live up to the challenge of its sixteenth year. Its area of influence and effectiveness needs to be broadened, its financial base needs further solidifying, its staff structure needs to be strengthened to meet the staggering demands which a time of crisis makes upon an organization like ours. But as we confront these needs, we can rest assured that we have in the Council and instrument in which we can confidently invest our hopes and our efforts. It has been tested by time and has proved its worth by solid accomplishments. Given our best leadership and imagination, there are no limits to the contribution it can make.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
January 26, 1959

The meeting of the Executive Committee convened at 10:00 a.m., in the Conference Room of the Southern Regional Council, with Dr. Rufus E. Clement presiding.

Present were:

Mr. Paul Christopher, Mr. James M. Dabbs, Dr. John Griffin, Mr. Joseph Haas, Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Rev. Duncan Hunter, Mr. John Wheeler, Miss Josephine Wilkins, and Mr. Marion A. Wright. Dr. B. R. Brazeal joined the group for lunch.

All members of the professional staff were present. Mrs. Mildred Flowers served as secretary.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Executive sessions were held at 10:00 a.m. and immediately after lunch. During these meetings the Committee heard a report of the Personnel Committee and adopted the recommendations that all staff members be given their annual salary increment on their anniversary date. The salary of the Executive Director was raised by $1,000. The Personnel Committee reported that at a future date a schedule of maximum salaries will be established for each staff position.

GENERAL SESSION

Ratification of Minutes of Last Executive Committee Meeting and the Annual Meeting

The staff was directed to make an amendment to the minutes of the Annual Meeting under Sec. 5, p. 3. "Consultant Service Program" rewording the sentence "This service grew out of the needs of the several Virginia communities facing desegregation." It was to be made clear that the Virginia program and not the Consultant Service Program grew out of the conditions in Virginia.

With the correction noted above, the minutes of the Annual Meeting and of the Executive Committee meeting of November 11, 1958 were unanimously approved and adopted.

Report of the Executive Director

Due to the unusually large number of items before the Committee the Director excluded from his report the usual account of program activities.

The Committee was informed of a substantial gift from an individual donor. This gift provided $20,000 in support of the Consultant Service Program during 1959; $25,000 a year for two years (1959-1960) in support of the newly organized research department; and, $25,000 for immediate additional grants-in-aid to the State Councils on Human Relations. The gift was made in Gulf Oil stock of a market value on the day of receipt of approximately $98,280.00

The Director also reported that the Council had received a total in cash and securities of approximately $23,832, from the William Emerson bequest.

Largely due to these two unexpected gifts the Council ended the year 1958 in sound financial condition.

Financial Reports

Mrs. Ruth Alexander reported that the 1958 audit was being prepared and would be mailed to each member when completed. An unaudited statement of income and expenses for the year was circulated.

Mr. Paul Anthony presented a revised proposed budget, primarily reflecting the changed situation brought about by the gifts mentioned above. The proposed budget was compared with the budget approved by the annual meeting. Following discussion, the revised budget was unanimously adopted (copy attached).

Establishment of Reserve Fund

The Executive Director made a staff recommendation that a Reserve Fund be established by the Committee.

A motion was made and unanimously adopted that the Executive Committee establish the recommended reserve fund.

A second motion "That the reserve fund shall be disbursed only by official action of the Executive Committee" was unanimously adopted.

Following discussion of funds on hand, the following motion was made and adopted: "That all funds received from the William Emerson bequest plus any surplus funds from 1958 general operations shall be deposited in the reserve fund."

It was further moved and adopted that "The reserve fund be a separately established account."

The Committee was in agreement that conditions called for a Finance Committee to direct the staff in the establishment of the reserve fund, the buying and selling of securities, and such other matters as might be involved in the handling of the Council's funds. Accordingly, the motion was made: "That a finance committee be appointed by the President of the Council to represent the Executive Committee in the Council's financial transactions and to advise the staff on investments; said Committee to have the full power to invest monies and to sell securities as conditions may warrant and as they find it advisable." The motion was unanimously adopted.

Subsequently the President appointed Miss Josephine Wilkins, Mr. Joseph Haas, and Mr. L. D. Milton as the members of the Finance Committee.

A final motion was offered: "That the President and Secretary-Treasurer of the Corporation be hereby authorized and directed to execute such documents pertaining to the sale or purchase of securities as may be required." The motion was unanimously adopted.

Council Membership

The Director reported that the following persons have accepted membership on the Council:

Rev. Thomas Thrasher, Montgomery, Alabama; Dr. Arthur Gray, Talladega, Alabama; Mr. Lee B. Thomas, Jr., Louisville, Kentucky; Mr. A. G. Gaston, Birmingham, Alabama; Dr. H. Franklin Williams, Coral Gables, Florida; Rev. Hubert Beckwith, Annandale, Virginia. (Mr. Harry Elsan of Atlanta is presently considering acceptance.)

It was learned from Miss Alice Cobb of Nashville, Tenn. that she is willing to accept membership on the Council but will be leaving the region for a period of two years. The Committee determined that Miss Cobb was ineligible for membership, since the By-Laws of the Council require residence within the region as a requirement for membership. The staff was directed to inform Miss Cobb of this fact, stating that her name will come before the Council for reconsideration upon her return to the South.

On being informed of the death of Mrs. Myra J. Bryant, the Committee passed the following resolution, with the request that it be sent to Mrs. Bryant's family:

> "The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council learns with regret of the death of Mrs. Myra J. Bryant of Birmingham, Alabama. Churchwoman, civic leader, and member of this Council, the loss of her efforts on behalf of human dignity in the South will be deeply felt."

The death of Mrs. Bryant, the declination of Mr. Eric Severeid, and the special disposition of Miss Cobb leaves three vacancies. The staff was directed to attempt to fill two of these from the nominated alternates as approved at the Annual Meeting. The Director was instructed to bring additional staff recommendations to the next meeting of the Committee of persons to be considered for the vacancy created by Mrs. Bryant's death.

In accordance with the provisions of the By-Laws, the

Committee elected Dr. Raymond Wheeler of Charlotte, N. C., and Mr. Thomas Young of Norfolk, Va., to the Nominating Committee to serve with the three members elected at the Annual Meeting.

Authorization of SRC Safety Deposit Box

The Committee unanimously adopted the attached resolution as prepared by the First National Bank of Atlanta, authorizing the staff to maintain a safety deposit box for the Council's securities and other items. This resolution was adopted with the following provisions: "That no negotiable securities or cash be kept in the box; that persons authorized to have access to the box shall be the Chairman of the Executive Committee, the Executive Director, the Secretary-Treasurer, and the Administrative Assistant."

Report on Staff Benefits

It was reported that of the choice of benefits offered the staff at the Annual Meeting, the program chosen was one whereby the Council would pay one-half of the costs of Blue Cross - Blue Shield Insurance and one-half of the cost of term life insurance in the amounts of $10,000 for each professional and $4,000 for each clerical staff member. The current Blue Cross-Blue Shield program will continue and a group life policy has been secured from the Aetna Life Insurance Company.

Tax Exemption and the State Councils

The Committee discussed at length the tax exempt status of the various state councils and SRC's policy of grants-in-aid to them. Mr. Haas agreed to review the situation and bring his recommendations to the Committee at the next meeting.

Fellowship of the Concerned

Mrs. M. E. Tilly presented a resolution from the regional meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned held in Atlanta, October 16-17, recommending that SRC take steps toward initiating a "Save Our Schools" campaign. The resolution called on the Council to hold a conference of Southern business, education, civic and religious leaders to form a permanent

"Save Our Schools" organization. The Committee left to the Director and Mrs. Tilly discretion in this matter.

Labor Consultant Program

The Committee heard a report prepared by Emory Via, former labor consultant for the Council. There followed a discussion of the possibility of continuing this program. It was the opinion of the Committee that continuation of the program should be considered if a qualified person could be found to direct the work and if funds could be secured for the program. The Executive Director was directed to investigate these possibilities.

Grants-in-Aid to State Groups

The assistant director reported on the distribution of the regular grants-in-aid to the state groups and on the allocation of extra funds made possible from an individual gift. Total grants to be made are:

GRANTS-IN-AID TO STATE COUNCILS
1 9 5 9

State	Grants Approved at Annual Meeting	New Grants to State Groups	Total Grants
Alabama	$4,200	$3,500	$7,700
Arkansas	3,600	2,500	6,100
Florida	3,500	2,500	6,000
Georgia	3,800	2,500	6,300
Kentucky	2,000	1,000	3,000
Louisiana	2,000	1,000	3,000
North Carolina	4,000	2,500	6,500
South Carolina	3,800	3,000	6,800
Tennessee	3,500	2,500	6,000
Texas	600	1,000	1,600
Virginia	4,000	3,000	7,000
		Total:	$60,000

An informal report of program activities was given by the Executive Director.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

Minutes - 7
January 26, 1959

C O P Y

CERTIFICATE OF AUTHORITY AUTHORIZING
THE RENTING OF AND ACCESS TO SAFETY DEPOSIT BOX (ES)
FROM THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF ATLANTA, GA.

I hereby certify that the following is a true and correct copy of a certain resolution of the Board of Directors of_____ _____a corporation duly organized and existing under the laws of the State of_____having its principal office and place of business in_____State of_____duly adopted in accordance with the By-Laws of the Company at a meeting of said Board on the 26th day of Jan 1959, as the same appears upon the Minute Book of the Company, and that said resolution has not been subsequently modified or rescinded:

RESOLVED:

That a safety deposit box or boxes be rented by this corporation from The First National Bank of Atlanta, and that any of the following officers of this corporation, to-wit:

shall have authority in the name of the Company to enter into contracts of rental with said Bank covering safety deposit boxes in the vaults of said Bank, to have access to any safety box so rented, to cancel contracts of rental and to represent this Company in all matters pertaining to safety deposit boxes. Each of the officers designated is authorized to appoint a deputy or deputies to act in his stead, and to revoke any appointment of any such deputy appointed by him. Said officers and any deputy or deputies appointed by any such officer shall have full authority to enter safety deposit boxes rented in the Company's name at any time, and to remove therefrom any portion or all of the contents thereof. Said Bank may relyupon the authority conferred hereby until receipt by it of a certified copy of a resolution of this Board revoking or modifying these resolutions, and the said bank may rely upon the genuineness of such signatures of such officers and deputies as may be furnished such bank by the secretary of this Company.

I further certify that the following are the genuine

signatures of the officers named in the above resolution, to-wit:

_____

_____

_____

_____

IN WITNESS WHEREOF I have hereunto subscribed my name and affixed the seal of the corporation on this the 26th day of Jan 19 59.

_____(SEAL)
Secretary

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

June 3, 1959

The meeting of the Executive Committee convened at 10:00 a.m., in the Conference Room of the Southern Regional Council, with Dr. Rufus E. Clement presiding.

Present were: Mr. James M. Dabbs, Mr. Marion A. Wright, Mr. Paul Christopher, Miss Josephine Wilkins, Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Mr. John Wheeler, Rev. Duncan Hunter, and Dean B. R. Brazeal.

All members of the professional staff of the Council were present (including Mr. Paul Rilling who joins the staff July 1). Mrs. Mildred Flowers served as secretary.

Invocation by the Rev. Duncan Hunter.

RATIFICATION OF MINUTES OF LAST MEETING

The minutes of the meeting of January 26, 1959 were unanimously approved and adopted.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

The Executive Director expressed regret at the resignation of Mr. Frederick B. Routh who recently accepted the position as head of the Michigan Fair Employment Practices Commission.

The Committee instructed the staff to prepare and send to Mr. Routh a formal expression of the Committee's regret of his leaving and best wishes in his new position. Accordingly, the following was sent to Mr. Routh:

> The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council wishes to express its deep regret at the resignation of Mr. Frederick B. Routh as Assistant Director of this Council. We acknowledge with warm appreciation his invaluable services to this organization and his outstanding contribution to the advancement of human dignity in the South. May he enjoy success and happiness in his important new work.

The Director reported the actions of the Personnel Committee in appointing the following new staff members: Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar as director of the newly created Research Department; Mr. Paul Rilling as Director of Field Activities to replace Mr. Routh; and, Mr. Benjamin Muse as part-time Director of the Southern Leadership Project.

The Committee was informed of the honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters conferred on Mr. Dabbs by Morehouse College and of the appointment of Dr. C. H. Parrish as head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Louisville.

The Committee was informed of the deaths of Bishop E. A. Penick and Dr. E. C. Peters (both SRC board members), and Dr. Harry Walker of Howard University who served as a consultant to the Council. A motion was unanimously approved that the following formal expressions be sent to the families of the deceased:

Penick: The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council learns with regret of the death of Bishop Edwin A. Penick of Raleigh, North Carolina. Churchman, humanitarian, and member of this Council, the loss of his efforts on behalf of human dignity in the South will be deeply felt.

Peters: The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council lears with regret of the death of Dr. E. C. Peters of Atlanta, Georgia. Churchman, educator, and member of this Council, the loss of his efforts on behalf of human dignity in the South will be deeply felt.

Walker: The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council learns with regret of the death of Dr. Harry J. Walker of Washington, D. C. Scholar, teacher, and consultant to this Council, the loss of his efforts on behalf of human dignity in the South will be deeply felt. His family has our deepest sympathy.

The Committee discussed recent comments made by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt in which it appeared that she was not aware of the current role of the Council. Following the discussion the committee proposed that Mrs. Roosevelt be approaced and informed of the work of the Council. Since

she was to see Mrs. Roosevelt on other matters in the near future, the Committee requested that Miss Wilkins undertake this assignment.

The Committee was informed of two recent Council reprints of interest: an article by John Lofton in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette quoting Mr. Dabbs at length in answer to the "Putnam Letter," and a reprint of the Congressional Record in which, following an attack by Rep. Dale Alford, Rep. Richard Bolling inserted into the record editorials concerning SRC from the Richmond Times Dispatch and the Chattanooga Times.

NEW PROGRAMS AND PERSONNEL

Messrs. Rilling, Dunbar, and Muse were asked to summarize their current and planned programs.

Since Mr. Rilling will not officially join the staff until July 1, his remarks were confined to the work being carried on in Virginia and his anticipation of joining the Council and returning to Atlanta.

As reported by Dr. Dunbar, eleven projects are currently being developed by the Research Department:

(1) The Violence, Intimidation and Reprisal Report (the joint fact-finding, interagency project) completed and ready for release.
(2) Survey of Registration and Voting - an updating of the 1956 study - nearing completion.
(3) Study of waiting room facilities in selected Southern cities.
(4) "L" Reports 1 through 4 completed, and others being planned, in connection with the Southern Leadership Project.
(5) A published report on private schools being prepared in cooperation with several members of the faculty of the Department of Education of Emory University.
(6) Study on treatment of racial news by the Southern press.
(7) A published report on the events and experience of

the Norfolk school crisis during the past year.

(8) Dr. Donald Dewey of the Economics Department of Duke University has been commissioned to do a study on Southern industrialization.

(9) Dr. Parrish is completing a report on the general subject of the urban context of the segregation issue.

(10) A chronology on the "South and the Supreme Court School Decision," is being updated through 1958.

(11) "Next Steps in the South" is presently being updated.

Colonel Muse gave a brief summary of his visits to Tallahassee and Miami, Florida. During these visits, interviews and consultations were held with top city and state officials, including the Governor and several members of his staff. Other cities to be visited in the near future include Knoxville, Nashville and New Orleans.

COUNCIL MEMBERSHIP

At the January 26 meeting of the Committee, it was reported that Miss Alice Cobb of Nashville planned to be away from the region for two years. Since that time Miss Cobb has informed the Director that her plans have been changed. In view of this information, Miss Cobb was accepted to Council membership.

It was reported that three additional vacancies in the Council had been created by the deaths of Mrs. Bryant, Dr. Peters, and Bishop Penick. It was unanimously approved and adopted that these vacancies be considered by the Nominating Committee as a part of its assignment before the next Annual Meeting.

The Director called to the attention of the Committee, Article II, Section 1-B, of the By-Laws which reads:

"...No such member shall serve more than two consecutive full terms of four years each."

This section, it was pointed out, will ultimately make all of the present members ineligible and thus raises the question of continuity of the organization. (The provision was made at a time when the Council was a general membership organization.)

It was unanimously approved and adopted that the Committee should recommend a change in this section of the By-Laws at the next annual meeting. Purpose of the change would be to prevent the depletion and/or limitation of Board membership at any given time. A special committee was appointed with the responsibility of wording the suggested change; the Committee's suggestion to be presented to the next meeting of the Executive Committee. Members appointed were: Miss Josephine Wilkins, Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, and Dr. B. R. Brazeal.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

After discussion, the Committee unanimously agreed that the designation of an Assistant Director, formerly held by Mr. Routh, will not be made at this time. In the absence of the Executive Director each professional staff member will exercise responsibility for his particular phase of the Council's work. The Director can always be reached if a serious policy question arises in his absence.

Until such time as an Assistant Director is designated, it was unanimously resolved that Paul Anthony, being Administrative Assistant of the Southern Regional Council, is hereby authorized to be co-signer of checks drawn on the account of the Southern Regional Council.

GENERAL SESSION

REPORT OF FINANCE COMMITTEE

Miss Wilkins reported on two meetings held by the Finance Committee to determine the disposition of securities now being held by SRC. The group was reminded that the bulk of the securities held are in Gulf Oil Stock; the per-share value of which has sharply decreased since the time of receipt.

It was recognized by the Committee that because of the nature and structure of the Council, such securities could not be held over any appreciable period. But, in view of the circumstances, it was recommended that the securities now owned should be held until such time as they can be disposed of at little or no loss, or until the funds must be used for operations. Decisions on investments of the Reserve Fund will not be made until problems with current holdings are resolved.

FINANCIAL REPORTS

Mrs. Alexander presented a report on income and expenses for the period January 1 - April 30, 1959. Mr. Anthony presented an analysis of anticipated expenditures and income for the remainder of the year. These reports were approved and adopted by the Committee. (See attached)

PROPOSAL BY LOUIS de ROCHEMONT ASSOCIATES - FILM PRODUCERS

Mr. Fleming reported that the Council had been approached by Louis deRochemont Associates on the possibility of having the Council sponsor a deRochemont=produced film entitled "Wealth of Violence," depicting the Clinton, Tennessee desegregation experience. The proposal provided that the producers seek foundation and other philanthropic support for the production of the movie; any net profits received from the showing of the film to be contributed to the Southern Regional Council.

During a lengthy discussion of this matter, the Committee raised a number of questions, including: the effect on the Council's tax exempt status in such an arrangement; the public relations effect of such an arrangement; the merits of the script; and, the effect of this proposal on the Council's other fund-raising activities. To resolve these questions, the Committee appointed a special sub-committee consisting of Mr. J. M. Dabbs, Mr. John Wheeler, and the Rev. Duncan

Hunter. The sub-committee was to seek competent legal advice and advice on the merits of the script; thereafter to make a final decision on the proposal.

The Executive Director suggested that it might be desirable to have the Council issue a public statement of policy and comment at the time of the Annual Meeting. This recommendation was unanimously approved with the request that the staff prepare a draft of such a statement for the consideration of the Executive Committee at the next meeting.

SPECIAL CONFERENCE

Mr. Dabbs pointed out that Southerners presently use, and are influenced by, words and symbos which have become misleading or outmoded. He submitted that, in the process of needed changes, it would be desirable to develop new words and symbos which would more accurately meet the needs of the new South. For this purpose he recommended that a workshop be held in which a small number of creative Southerners - editors, authors and historians - be brought together to consider this problem.

The Committee endorsed the proposal and instructed the staff to assist Mr. Dabbs in setting up such a conference.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 3:15 p.m.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
October 5, 1959

The Executive Committee convened in the SRC Conference Room at 10:00 A.M., with the Chairman, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, presiding.

Those present: Mr. James M. Dabbs, Mr. Marion A. Wright, Dr. B. R. Brazeal, Mr. Duncan Hunter, Mr. John Wheeler, Mr. Paul Christopher, Dr. Albert W. Dent, Miss Josephine Wilkins, and Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton.

All members of the professional staff of SRC were present in general sessions with Mrs. Mildred Flowers serving as secretary.

Invocation by Dr. B. R. Brazeal.

RATIFICATION OF MINUTES OF LAST MEETING

The minutes of the June 3, 1959 meeting of the Executive Committee were unanimously approved and adopted.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

The Director dispensed with the formal program report and spoke briefly of the work being carried on in the newly established Research Department and the Southern Leadership Project, pointing out the impact being made through each.

The Director stated that the Council's potential is much greater than at any time in its history. It was suggested that the time may have come for the Council to begin a basic evaluation of its activities in terms of the changing climate in the South to determine the kind of organization it should be in the period ahead.

The Director asked that a report be made on the activities of the Southern Leadership Project to date. Mr. Benjamin Muse reported briefly on recent field trips which had taken him to Chattanooga and Knoxville, Tennessee and indicated that further trips are planned for Houston and Dallas, Texas.

Discussion followed.

DECISIONS TO COME BEFORE ANNUAL MEETING

(1) Consideration of Change of Date:

It was pointed out that November 11, the date for the Annual Meeting, has posed some problems for several of the Council's members, particularly college presidents. Suggestions were asked for in connection with the possible change of date. Discussion followed with Dr. Clement and Dr. Dent, both college presidents, pointing out that any time in October or November would pose problems for them, and suggesting that the date remain as set. A motion that the Annual Meeting be held on November 11 was unanimously adopted.

(2) Proposed 1960 Budget:

Mr. Anthony presented the proposed budgets for 1960. After discussion, the Committee voted an increase for two items in the budget: travel, to be increased from $7,250 to $8,000 and printing, increased from $1,500 to $3,000.

With these changes the budgets were unanimously approved and adopted. (See attached.)

(3) Proposed Statement for the Council:

A proposed statement by the Council for consideration at the Annual Meeting was distributed and read. After considerable discussion, the staff was instructed to re-draft the statement embodying changes made by the committee, after which copies should be sent to each member of the Council prior to Annual Meeting. (See attached.) It was the consensus of the Committee that such statements should be distributed in advance of the meeting at which they are to be considered.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Having heard a report and recommendations from the Personnel Committee, the Executive Committee voted as follows:

1. That 1960 salary increments be granted to all staff members completing a year of service since employment or last increment;

2. That thereafter prescribed annual increments be abolished and future increases be considered individually in the light of performance and available resources;

3. That present minimum salaries for each position be retained, but that no maximums be set;

4. That, effective January 1, 1960, the Field Director, under the Executive Director, be responsible for the administration of the Consultant Service Program, but that the Chief Consultant be called upon to assist in the planning and implementation of the program. That the remuneration of the Chief Consultant be $40 per day and not less than a total of $2,000 during 1960; that members of the regular consultant panel receive a fee of $40 per day;

5. That Mr. Benjamin Muse be employed as director of the Southern Leadership Project at four-fifths of full time and salary based on an annual rate of $10,000; that Mr. Muse be authorized to engage project consultants commensurate with the budget and subject to prior approval by the Executive Director, who shall keep the Personnel Committee informed of such arrangements;

6. That the position of Administrative Assistant be redesignated effective January 1, 1960, "Executive Assistant," in recognition of the added responsibilities and initiative which have devolved on this position; the annual salary shall be $7,000;

7. That these minutes include a resolution authorizing the Executive Assistant to serve as co-signer of checks; to wit -- "that Paul Anthony, being Executive Assistant of the Southern Regional Council, is hereby authorized to be co-signer of checks drawn on the account of the Southern Regional Council";

8. That the annual salary of the Executive Director be increased $1,000;

9. That an expression of appreciation to the staff be adopted.

GENERAL SESSION

STAFF RECOMMENDATIONS ON STATE GRANTS-IN-AID

Mr. Rilling made brief summary reports on the status of each State Council on Human Relations and submitted proposed allocations for 1960. (See attached)

Special reports were given on the condition of the Florida and Tennessee Councils. The Florida Council is in a critical condition financially and may not be able to survive. The Committee was informed of the recommendations the SRC staff had made to the Executive Committee of the Florida Council. The Tennessee Council has not shown the desired fund-raising initiative and it is highly desirable that this condition be changed in the near future. For these reasons the staff recommended that the proposed allocations for these state councils be subject to the correction of these conditions.

A motion was made that the staff recommendations for $33,000 in grants-in-aid to the state councils be approved as submitted, with the provision that allocations for the Tennessee and Florida Councils be subject to staff review and contingent on fund-raising and program performance. This motion was unanimously adopted.

CONSIDERATION OF BY-LAWS CHANGES

The following changes in the By-Laws were unanimously approved by the Committee to be submitted for consideration by the full Council at the Annual Meeting:

Article II, Section 1. Members.

A1 and A2. Delete and substitute: "A. The members of the corporation shall be not more than 80 or less than 64 persons, hereafter called members." Delete all succeeding references to ex-officio members in these by-laws.

B. Amend to reas as follows: "A member shall hold office for four years or until he shall have resigned, died, or been removed in the manner provided by Section 8 of this article. A member may be eligible to succeed himself, however, there

shall be at least five new members elected each year."

Article IV. Affiliates.

Delete entire article.

Article V, Section 4. Nominating Committee.

Add at the end of Section 4 the following sentence: "A provided in Article II, Section 1B, the Nominating Committee shall include the names of at least five new persons in its slate of nominees."

/Note: In order to facilitate the amendment proposed for Article II, Section 1B, it is recommended that at the Annual Meeting of November 11, 1959, all members, present and absent, be divided by lot into four equal classes, to expire successively in 1960, 1961, 1962, and 1963./

REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE

Miss Wilkins reported the following action taken by the Finance Committee:

It was unanimously agreed that the Executive Committee should be asked to approve this statement of policy: "Gifts of securities designated for specific purposes shall be sold immediately upon receipt. Unrestricted gifts of securities shall be held pending action by a majority of the Finance Committee, the members of which shall be contacted immediately."

The forgoing report was unanimously approved and adopted by the Executive Committee.

PLANS FOR CONFERENCE ON SOUTHERN IMAGES

As agreed upon in the June 3 meeting of the Executive Committee, a small conference is being planned through the efforts of Mr. Dabbs and the SRC staff to bring together Southern editors, authors and historians to develop new words and symbols which would more accurately meet the needs of the new South.

Mr. Dabbs reported on the current plans for such a conference to be held in williamsburg, Virginia, October 21 and 22.

Mr. Dabbs reported that the following persons have indicated their willingness to participate in the conference: Mr. Paul Green, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, Mr. Clement Eaton, Col. Francis Pickens Miller, Mr. Roland Fry, Mr. Gideon Frye, and Dr. C. Vann Woodward.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON de ROCHEMONT PROPOSAL

Mr. Wheeler reported that the sub-committee to consider the film, "Wealth of Violence," recommended the following action: That the Louis deRochemont Associates be informed that the script is weak and too violence-centered. In summary, the sub-committee's position is as follows:

(1) We have a high opinion of Louis deRochemont Associates and would welcome an opportunity for this kind of cooperation.

(2) We feel that our reservations about the present script can be met by revision of the admittedly basic and extensive sort indicated.

(3) We will be glad at any time to discuss proposed revisions or to consider further drafts.

(4) If we agree upon a script, SRC will cooperate wholeheartedly in efforts to convince potential backers of the value and importance of the proposed production.

The Executive Committee endorsed the actions of the sub-committee on the deRochemont proposal and agreed that, because of possible complications in regard to SRC's tax exempt status as reported by a competent legal adviser on this matter, the deRochemont proposal would not be taken on by SRC as proposed by the film company.

OTHER BUSINESS

The Executive Director reminded the group that the increase in annual meeting attendance is beginning to demand a more spacious meeting place. It was recalled that last year's

meeting was held in Kresge Hall, Clark College, but some complications might be fortcoming this year since Mrs. Tilly will be convening a meeting there a week or so prior to SRC's annual meeting.

After discussion, Dr. Dent made a motion that Dr. Clement be asked to provide the best possible space on the Atlanta University campus. This was agreed upon.

With no other business, the meeting adjourned.

NOT FOR PUBLICATION OR QUOTATION

PROPOSED STATEMENT FOR CONSIDERATION BY THE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL IN ANNUAL MEETING
November, 1959

What is right for the South to do has become what is practically urgent for the South to do. During the five years since the Supreme Court's decision in the School Segregation Cases, vast transformations have occurred throughout the world. One has only to recall the advent of space explorations; the fearsome developments in military weapons; the incredible industrialization of China; the growing economic and technological power of the Soviet Union; the emergence of African and Asian nationalism; or the amazing increase of the earth's population.

During these same years, the South has straddled the realities of the twentieth century. Its economic progress has kept pace with the demands of the times. Much of its political leadership, in willful evasion of the Constitution, has seceded from reality. Not for long can this schizophrenia be kept from tearing down the South's economic chance, its moral vigor, and the remnants of its once great capacity to supply statesmen for the country. Nor can it be restrained from invading the self-interest of every Southerner -- the business man whose operations are endangered by the decay of law and order, the worker and consumer whose fortunes depend on the health of the economy, the youth whose education is threatened by interruption.

The harsh shouts of the Citizens Councils have little sense or relevance under the arc of man-made satellites; the filibuster, the electoral purge, the closed school are equally useless in meeting the challenge of an alien system. Unless this thoughtless resistance to both law and reality can be outgrown, the region will be a liability to the nation and the cause of human freedom which the South has believed itself to love.

An urgent objective should be to get the issue of school desegregation out of the courts and into the custody of re-

sponsible educators.

The American legal system assumes that when the law has been declared in a case, all persons in similar situations will comply, even though not parties to the case. Neither American constitutionalism nor the Common Law contemplates and endless web of litigation for the spreading of every legal concept. Nor is this the path to desegregation as a rewarding adventure in human relations.

The irresponsibility of most Southern political leadership has decreed this ordeal of litigation, and, for the present at least, seems incompetent in many states to undo the obstruction it has caused.

But positive local leadership has been available in certain areas of the South. These places give witness to the fact that where there is leadership, desegregation can be handled by Southerners without the coercion of federal courts; they have shown that the South can avoid a second Reconstruction by reconstructing itself. To mobilize such leadership in other communities is the first order of business for concerned persons.

There is a growing understanding that school closings, violence, demagoguery, and the products of defiance come with a price tag. The South has moved too far in recent years toward reclaiming its economic equality with the rest of the country; only the ignorant or the self-serving would want to destroy that progress.

Those communities which have desegregated, whether voluntarily or through court order, are now free, as they never before have been, to resolve the problem of race relations. They can do so by accepting the only approach that has ever had a realistic promise -- that is, by treating their Negro citizens as individuals, and not as impersonal "problems." Instead of submitting themselves to court dictation, they can choose to control their own schools, by moving in advance of the courts to end segregation in good faith.

Southern communities need to redefine their school problem: instead of "How few Negroes must we admit?", they need to consider, "How best can we educate all our youth?" Neither under the law nor within today's social complexities is a segregated school system adequate to equip our young people.

By revising the question, one moves from a political to a professional problem, to be solved not by politicians but by educators; and that is as it should be. Such a change in terms is probably the indispensable prelude to the changed policies which are required to extricate the South from its present confusion.

In this connection, we condemn the use by some state and school districts of so-called pupil placement as a device to evade or to minimize desegregation. When placement is not guided by professional concern and criteria, but is designed to perpetuate racial separation, its use will only prolong the South's unrest.

In the present climate there can be value in plans, such as that of Louisville, which permits both Negro and white students relatively easy transfer out of assigned schools. But plans which put on the Negro child and parent the total social and psychological burden of achieving desegregaion are unjust and patently intended to escape the law. It is indefensible that parents and children should have to run the gauntlet of a hostile school board in order to enjoy their rights under law.

The Southern Regional Council was conceived sixteen years ago out of the conviction that Southerners themselves must ultimately work out democratic solutions to the South's problems. We remain convinced that the South, out of its long experience and abundant kindliness, will someday set an example for every part of the world where persons of different color live together. The way to begin is with white and Negro citizens planning together school systems that will respect the personality and rights of each student, and to do this as one phase of a general movement toward ending segregation in all

public life. Thus will we hasten the time when Southerners are distinguished from each other by individuality, not by race, and are bound to each other by a consciousness, not of color, but of common humanity.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING
Atlanta, Georgia
November 11, 1959

GENERAL SESSION - 9:30 AM

The Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council convened at 9:30 a.m., on Wednesday, November 11, 1959 in the Atlanta University Dining Hall, Atlanta, Georgia.

Invocation by Dr. Harry V. Richardson.

Attached is a list of the Council members present. All members of the professional staff were present, with Mrs. Mildred Flowers serving as secretary.

Introductions and remarks were made by the President, Mr. James M. Dabbs.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

In the absence of the Chairman of the Committee, the attached report of the Executive Committee was given by Mr. Marion A. Wright. The report was unanimously approved and adopted.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

The Executive Director pointed out that SRC has been strengthened by the addition of several capable persons to its professional staff: Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar as Director of Research, Mr. Paul Riling as Director of Field Activities, and Mr. Benjamin Muse as Director of the Southern Leadership Project. For a number of years there has been a necessary and desirable tendency toward gradual staff expansion. However, the staff is aware of the implications of this trend, especially in terms of budget, and is anxious to keep expansion under control.

The Director reported that in terms of fund-raising, the year has been a particularly successful one. However, there remains the inherent problem of each year having to face a sizeable fund-raising task. Hope was expressed that at some time in the future the Council could face this problem and find at least a partial solution.

The Director indicated his pleasure at the high quality of persons who serve as members of the Council and commended their willingness to work with the staff. Especially noted were the numerous efforts and speeches made on behalf of the Council by Mr. Dabbs and Mr. Wright.

There followed discussion of the Reports of the Executive Committee and the Executive Director.

The question was raised as to whether or not the staff now participated in a Council-sponsored retirement program. On learning that no such program existed, the following motion was offered:

That the Executive Committee give consideration to a staff retirement program and institute such a program if possible.

The motion was unanimously approved and adopted.

FINANCIAL REPORTS

Mrs. Alexander presented a report of income and expenses for 1959 to date. Mr. Anthony presented the proposed budget for 1960. (See attached)

Discussion followed, after which the following motion was made:

That the proposed budget for 1960 be approved on the condition that, from time to time, the Executive Committee review the budget and make such revisions as may be necessary in order to keep the operation in line with available funds.

The motion was unanimously approved and adopted.

REPORT ON STATE COUNCILS AND PROPOSED AID FOR 1960

Mr. Rilling briefly outlined the work being carried on by each State Council on Human Relations and submitted the attached schedule showing proposed grants-in-aid for 1960, as recommended by the Executive Committee.

A question was raised as to why no grant was recommended for the Texas Council. It was explained that the Texas Council which is without staff, had not made a request for aid in 1960.

The 1959 Texas grant of $600 was given to the Houston Council on Human Relations with the approval of the Texas Council. Following discussion by Texas members of SRC, it was agreed that the Executive Committee and staff would give every possible consideration to any future request for program and financial help from the Texas Council.

The grants-in-aid schedule included the establishment of a discretionary fund of $1,300 which would be used to meet emergencies that may arise. Also included was the suggestion that allocations for Florida and Tennessee be approved on a conditional basis: the first quarterly payment to Florida should not be released unless that Council showed a substantial improvement in its financial condition; third and fourth quarter allocations for Tennessee should be released only if that council has raised a substantial portion of its budget by the end of the second quarter.

The grants-in-aid as reported in the attached schedule, subject to the conditions listed above, were unanimously approved and adopted.

REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE

The report of the Finance Committee was presented by Mr. Milton. It was unanimously approved and adopted. (See attached.)

EXECUTIVE SESSION - Staff on Call

By motion, duly seconded and passed, the Executive Director and the Secretary-Treasurer were confirmed for the coming year.

GENERAL SESSION

REPORT OF THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE

The report of the Nominating Committee was made by Mr. Thomas W. Young, Chairman. The report was approved and adopted as follows:

President	James M. Dabbs
Vice-Presidents	Marion A. Wright Albert W. Dent Miss Josephine Wilkins Rufus E. Clement
Legal Counsel	Joseph Haas
Executive Committee (In addition to officers listed above)	Paul Christopher John A. Griffin Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton The Rev. Duncan Hunter Father Alexander O. Sigur John H. Wheeler L. D. Milton Rabbi Jacob Rothschild The Rev. W. Carroll Brooke

The following members whose terms expire in 1959 were re-elected:

Most Rev. Joseph B. Brunini, Herbert M. Davidson, Luther H. Foster, Harry L. Golden, C. G. Gomillion, M. LaFayette Harris, E. A. McDowell, Mrs. J. N. Rayzor, J. M. Richards, H. V. Richardson, Miss Florence Sytz, Mrs. J. F. Tillman, and Paul D. Willians.

The following new members and alternates were nominated:

Bishop John E. Hines, Houston, Texas; Mrs. Vivian Carter, Mason, Norfolk, Virginia: Fred D. Alexander, Charlotte, North Carolina; Mr. J. Ray Shute, Monroe, North Carolina; Francis Pickens Miller, Charlottesville, Virginia,; Brooks Hays, Nashville, Tennessee; and Stanton Smith, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Alternates: Omer Carmichael, Louisville, Kentucky; Stewart Carter, Fincastle, Virginia; Robert E. Leflar, Fayetteville, Ark.; Henry Brandis, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; Mrs. Morris Young, Anerson, South Carolina; Mrs. Abbie Clement Jackson, Louisville, Kentucky; and Barney Weeks, Birmingham, Alabama.

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO THE BY-LAWS

The following amendments to the By-Laws were unanimously approved and adopted:

Article II, Section 1. Members.

Delete A1 and A2. Substitute: "A. The members of the corporation shall be not more than 80 or less than 64 persons, hereafter called members." Delete all succeeding references to ex-officio members in thes By-Laws.

B. Amend to read as follows: "A member shall hold office for four years or until he shall have resigned, died, or been removed in the manner provided by Section 8 of this article. A member may be eligible to succeed himself; however, there shall be at least five new members elected each year."

Article IV. Affiliates.

Delete entire article.

Article V, Section 4. Nominating Committee.

Add at the end of Section 4 the following sentence: "As provided in Article II, Section 1B, the Nominating Committee shall include the names of at least five new persons in its slate of nominees."

DRAWING TO DETERMINE CLASSES

In order to facilitate the amendment proposed for Article II, Section 1B, it was recommended that all members, present and absent, be divided by lot into four equal classes, to expire successively in 1960, 1961, 1962 and 1963.

The procedure as approved and adopted by the full Council is that the members be divided alphabetically into appropriate classes beginning in 1960 and ending in 1963. The staff is instructed to inform each member, by mail, indicating the class in which he is to serve.

CONSIDERATION OF POLICY STATEMENT

A policy statement, as approved by the Executive Committee, was submitted to the full Council for consideration. After

much discussion, the staff was instructed to revise and issue the statement in the light of suggestions submitted by the members.

OTHER BUSINESS

The Council gave a vote of thanks to the staff for the effective performance of its duties during the year.

A motion was unanimously approved and adopted that an expression of appreciation go to Atlanta University for the use of its facilities.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned.

MEMBERS IN ATTENDANCE AT ANNUAL MEETING

November 11, 1959

Rev. Hubert Beckwith
Annandale, Virginia

Dr. B. R. Brazeal
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Irvin E. Carlyle
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Rev. C. S. Cartwright
Little Rock, Arkansas

Mr. Paul Christopher
Knoxville, Tennessee

Miss Alice Cobb
Nashville, Tennessee

Dr. James A. Colston
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mrs. James S. Crate
Houston, Texas

Dr. Merrimon Cuninggim
Dallas, Texas

Mr. Herbert Davidson
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dr. Albert W. Dent
New Orleans, Louisiana

Rev. Caxton Doggett
Winter Park, Florida

Dr. C. G. Gomillion
Tuskegee, Alabama

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. M. LaFayette Harris
Little Rock, Arkansas

Rev. Duncan Hunter
Alexander City, Alabama

Mr. E. T. Kehrer
Atlanta, Georgia

Rabbi Charles Mantinband
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Dr. E. A. McDowell
Wake Forest, North Carolina

Mr. L. D. Milton
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Riley B. Montgomery
Lexington, Kentucky

Mrs. J. N. Rayzor
Houston, Texas

Dr. Harry V. Richardson
Atlanta, Georgia

Miss Dorcas Ruthenburg
Louisville, Kentucky

Mr. Charles A. Shaw
Houston, Texas

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Frogmore, South Carolina

Mr. W. E. Solomon
columbia, South Carolina

Mr. JamesE. Stewart
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Mr. Ja mes Stokely
Newport, Tennessee

Miss Florence Sytz
New Orleans, Louisiana

Mr. Lee B. Thomas, Jr.
Louisville, Kentucky

Dr. Raymond Wheeler
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dr. H. Franklin Williams
Coral Gables, Florida

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dr. Stephen J. Wright
Nashville, Tennessee

Mr. Thomas W. Young
Norfolk, Virginia

Dr. Bell I. Wiley
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. H. C. Trenholm
Montgomery, Alabama

Mr. I. H. Burney
Jacksonville, Florida

Dr. & Mrs. N. K. Menon
Malaya
(Visiting guests)

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Mayesville, South Carolina

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO THE ANNUAL MEETING, 1959

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Chairman
Presented by: Mr. Marion A. Wright

November 11, 1959

Since the full Council was last assembled your Executive Committee has met three times to carry out the mandates of the 1958 Annual Meeting and to give policy direction to the staff.

This year, while emphasizing the seriousness of the problems which face us, has been an outstanding one for the Southern Regional Council. In the Report of the Executive Committee to this body last year the observation was made that: "(The Council's) area of influence and effectiveness needs to be broadened, its financial base needs further solidifying, its staff structure needs to be strengthened to meet the staggering demands which a time of crisis makes upon an organization like ours."

While much remains to be done, it is encouraging to report that substantial progress has been made in all of these areas.

A number of outstanding Southerners nominated by this body last year have accepted membership in the Council. They are: The Rev. Thomas Thrasher, Montgomery, Alabama; Dr. Arthur Gray, Talladega, Alabama; Mr. A. G. Gaston, Birmingham, Alabama; Dr. H. Franklin Williams, Coral Gables, Florida; Miss Alice Cobb, Nashville, Tennessee; the Rev. Hubert Beckwith, Annandale, Virginia; and, Mr. E. T. Kehrer, Atlanta, Georgia.

We are pleased that most of these new members are with us today. We welcome them and the contributions they have to make to the deliberations of this body.

Regretfully, during the year the Council lost three of its dedicated members because of death: Mrs. Myra J. Bryant,

Dr. E. C. Peters, and Bishop E. A. Penick. The Executive Committee, in the name of the Council, sent to the families of each of these members our expressions of sympathy and sense of loss.

There have been several significant staff changes during the year. The Executive Committee regretfully accepted the resignation of Mr. Frederick B. Routh, the Council's able Assistant Director, who is now Director of the Fair Employment Practices Commission of the State of Michigan. Mr. Routh is with us today and we welcome him back, even if for so short a time.

To assume the duties of Director of Field Activities, we were able to secure Mr. Paul Rilling, formerly the Director of the Virginia Council on Human Relations.

A new position has been created during the year, that of Director of Research. This much needed position of the Council's structure is being filled by Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, formerly Chairman of the Department of Political Science at Mount Holyoke College.

Another new position was created by the establishment of the Council's Southern Leadership Project, financed by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. You will recall that we discussed this project at length in our meeting last year. To fill this position we turned to our own board and persuaded Colonel Benjamin Muse to serve. Colonel Muse has the title and duties of the Director of the Southern Leadership Project. He took leave of absence as a Member of the Council when he began serving the Council in this new capacity.

We feel the Council is fortunate in having each of these men on the staff and that, because of the, we are now able to offer a number of needed services which were not possible in the past.

In addition to filling these positions, the Executive

Committee, acting on recommendations from the Personnel Committee, has reviewed salaries, granted merit increases and annual increments, and otherwise carried out its responsibilities with regard to personnel.

Twice during the year the Executive Committee made formal expressions of appreciation to the staff members for the quality of their work and commitment.

Financially, the Council is operating this year on a budget of approximately $280,000 for general operations and special projects. Last year at the annual meeting total budgets of $241,365 were approved. The increases over this amount, which were approved by the Executive Committee, have been possible largely because of unanticipated special project funds. These unexpected funds included a special gift of $25,000 for use as additional grants-in-aid-for state councils.

We feel that this enhanced financial status is a measure of the acceptance of the Council and its programs in national philanthropic circles.

In January of this year the Council, for the first time in its history, was able to establish a reserve fund. This fund is small - approximately $27,000 - but it does represent a move toward a much needed security of operation. During the coming year the Executive Committee plans to give additional attention to increasing our financial stability. We are anxious to reduce as much as possible the formidable fund-raising task which we now face each year.

The Council now has from time to time an appreciable amount of funds in short-term investments, receives portions of its grants in stocks, and has the modest reserve fund just mentioned. For these reasons, the Executive Committee has appointed a Finance Committee to make recommendations to theExecutive Committee on the handling of funds and to give the staff guidance in this area. The Committee consists of Miss Josephine Wilkins, Mr. Joseph Haas, and Mr. L. D. Milton.

The budget for 1960, as approved by the Executive Committee for your consideration today, represents a decrease from our current rate of expenditure. This proposed budget of $236,625 is the minimum necessary for a satisfactory central operation and for several worthwhile projects. We are hopeful that special project grants will allow us to increase this amount - especially in the area of grants-in-aid to the State Councils on Human Relations. We did not feel, however, that larger commitments could be made at this time, since even the minimum budget requires a substantial fund-raising efforts on the part of the staff.

Following a mandate from this body last year, the Executive Committee at its January meeting reviewed the Labor Consultant Program. The Committee heard a report prepared by Mr. Emory Via, former labor consultant. It was the opinion of the Committee that continuation of the program should be considered if a qualified person could be found to direct the work and if special funds could be secured for this purpose. To date, this combination of favorable factors has not been achieved. However, we will continue to be alert to opportunities in this field.

You have received in the mail proposed by-law changes which the Committee recommends to you after having given the matter serious consideration. These recommendations will be explained in greater detail later in this meeting. However, the Executive Committee is of the opinion that our present by-laws, which would automatically make approximately one-half of the present members ineligible for re-election within the next year, are unrealistic and wasteful of the talent and dedication which are now available to the Council.

In conclusion, it is the opinion of your Executive Committee that the Council has had a sound and rewarding year. There has been a substantial degree of recognition of the Council, its work and resources, in the national press, from governmental agencies, and from an appreciable number of private and public agencies and individuals in the South. This would

be satisfying in itself. But it is of particular significance that, because of this recognition, the Council's outreach and effectiveness have been greatly increased.

The major problems of any agency are those of using its resources to the fullest, seeing that information is received by those who should get it, having special skills brought to bear where they are most needed, and insuring that the all-too-limited funds and staff time are used in the most effective way.

Because of the increased recognition which the Council is receiving, these problems are less severe than formerly. As one of many possible examples, the private school study received considerable attention. The findings of this report needed to be widely disseminated, yet it strained the Council's resources to mail the study to a limited number of persons, including all public school superintendents in the South. Fortunately, however, our outreach was greatly increased; a major weekly news magazine devoted its education section to the report, a number of editorials appeared in daily papers ranging from the New York Times to the Richmond News Leader, and, perhaps most important of all, the stories from the wire services which gave the conclusions of the report were carried by most Southern newspapers as well as many in the rest of the nation.

In citing these positive developments, we do not mean to imply that any relaxation of effort is in order. Indeed, by the very nature of our concerns, there remains more to be done than any single organization could possibly accomplish. The Council must continue in its efforts at increased effectiveness, greater staff skills, and financial stability.

The Executive Committee wishes to commend all of the members of the staff of the Southern Regional Council for their devotion to duty and for the effective manner in which they are carrying out the wishes of the Southern Regional Council. The Executive Director, Mr. Harold Fleming, has given inspiring leadership to his staff and to the entire Council.

Your Executive Committee is pleased to report that 1959, the Council's 16th year of operation, has been a year of progress -- and, we hope, the prelude to an even more fruitful period to come.

REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE

November 11, 1959

At the last Annual Meeting, the Council was informed of a newly received bequest from the late William Emerson consisting of common stocks with a market value of approximately $18,000. After some discussion, the Council voted "to instruct the Executive Committee, with the benefit of competent investment counsel, to consider at its next meeting whether the securities should be sold or retained, and whether or not the Emerson bequest should be used for current expenses."

The Executive Committee met next on January 26, 1959. In the meantime, the Council had received a gift of 780 shares of Gulf Oil common stock, in response to our request for program support totaling $95,000. At the time of receipt, on December 31, 1958, the total market value of this stock was approximately $98,000. In the light of the Council's policy quoted above, this stock as well as the Emerson bequest was held pending action by the Executive Committee.

By the time of the Executive Committee Meeting, the market value of the Gulf stock had declined by a total of approximately $10,000. Subsequently, a Finance Committee was appointed to review and decide on the disposition of the existing investments and related questions.

As already reported, a reserve fund of approximately $27,000 was established.

Our advice from competent investment specialists was that Gulf Oil is a basically sound stock and has good prospects of rising again to our book value of $126 per share sooner or later. Accordingly, the Finance Committee decided that this stock as well as the Emerson bequest should be held so long as the cash assets of the Council permitted, in the hope that

a loss could be avoided. This is the situation at present. The aggregate market value of the Emerson stocks has remained virtually constant since we received it; the Gulf stock continues to be quoted at $10 or more per share below our book value. These stocks have paid regular dividends.

In order to avoid similar complications in the case of future stock gifts, the Finance Committee unanimously asked the Executive Committee to approve and recommend to this meeting the following statement of policy:

> "Gifts of securities designated for specific purposes shall be sold immediately upon receipt. Unrestricted gifts of securities shall be held pending action by a majority of the Finance Committee, the members of which shall be contacted immediately."

This proposal was approved by the Executive Committee on October 5 and is now submitted to you with the recommendation that it be adopted as the policy of the Council.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting

January 26, 1960

The meeting of the Executive Committee convened at 10:00 a.m. on January 26, 1960, in the Southern Regional Council Conference Room, with Dr. Clement, Chairman, presiding.

Those present:

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Fr. Alexander O. Sigur
Joseph Haas
The Rev. Duncan Hunter
Miss Josephine Wilkins
John Griffin
Rabbi Jacob Rothschild
John H. Wheeler
The Rev. W. Carroll Brooke
Marion A. Wright
Paul Christopher

Shortly before the meeting, Mr. Dabbs called to inform the Committee that he had experienced automobile trouble enroute and would not be able to attend.

All members of the professional staff were present, with Mrs. Mildred Flowers serving as secretary.

EXECUTIVE SESSION
(Staff on Call)

The following actions were taken in Executive Session: (1) Dr. Rufus E. Clement was re-elected as chairman of the Executive Committee; (2) the Personnel Committee was instructed to study the desirability of instituting a retirement plan for staff members and to make recommendations at the next Executive Committee meeting; (3) the staff was instructed to investigate plans available through other than commercial insurance companies and to inform the Personnel Committee of its findings.

GENERAL SESSION

The Committee gave a vote of thanks to the staff for the work performed during the past year.

Report of the Executive Director

The Executive Director expressed appreciation, on behalf of the staff, for the sentiments of the Executive Committee and pointed out that the staff feels strongly supported by the degree of Committee participation and interest in the affairs of the Council.

The newly elected members of the Committee, the Rev. W. Caroll Brooke and Rabbi Jacob Rothschild were welcomed to

their first meeting of the Committee.

The Director expressed his concern over the fact that at the Annual Meeting the demands of necessary administrative items left little time for the members to consider matters of program. He suggested that when the Executive Committee makes plans for the 1960 meeting, consideration might be given to scheduling a longer meeting in order that the full participation of the members might be possible.

The Director reported on the disposition of the Policy Statement as issued by the staff at the direction of the Annual Meeting. The statement received good publicity and editorial comment. The Committee expressed its satisfaction at the way in which this matter was handled.

The Director reported that a special gift of $25,000 had been received from an individual donor for the purpose of additional grants-in-aid to the State Councils on Human Relations. The distribution of these funds would be a matter for the Executive Committee to consider.

While the Council has been relatively free of attacks during the past months, the Director reported on the hearings of the Mississippi Legislative Investigating Committee. At these hearings SRC and the Council's members in Mississippi, especially Hodding Carter, came under attack during the testimony of professional witness, J. B. Matthews. The Director stated that it was a pleasure to report that these attacks received little attention outside Mississippi and were effectively rebutted, especially by Mr. Carter's paper, the Delta-Democrat Times of Greenville.

The Committee was reminded that for three years, through 1960, SRC has been able to rely on annual allotments of $50,000 from the terminal grant from the Fund for the Republic. After 1960 this source of support will no longer exist. In addition, the Research Department, now being underwritten as a special project through a two-year grant, will probably have to become a part of general operations after 1960. For these reasons, and in light of the Council's current relatively sound financial position, the Director recommended that one-half ($25,000) of

the 1960 Fund for the Republic allocation be set aside for use in 1961.

It was moved and adopted that the re-allocation of funds from the Fund for the Republic grant be approved as requested; $25,000 for use in 1960, $25,000 for use in 1961.

The Director reported that in recent weeks the Council found itself in an awkward financial position in terms of available cash. This condition came about because committed grants were not received when expected and the staff was reluctant to dispose of sound investments to meet a requirement of very short duration. In considering a short-term loan, it was discovered that the By-Laws make no specific provisions for negotiating loans.

In the specific instance described, however, on approval of two members of the Finance Committee, a loan was arranged through the Citizens Trust Company. The loan was repaid in two weeks and no interest charges were made.

For future situations, the Director recommended that the Committee remedy this situation.

The following motion was unanimously approved and adopted:

That the Executive Director, on approval of the Finance Committee, be authorized to negotiate such short-term loans as may be necessary to continue the operations of the Council; said loans to be signed by the Executive Director and the Secretary-Treasurer.

Financial Reports

Mrs. Alexander presented a summary account of income and expenses for the period January 1 through December 31, 1959.

Mr. Anthony presented a report on the status of securities presently held by SRC. (see attached)

Special Grants-in-Aid to State Councils

Paul Rilling presented a proposed schedule of grants-in-aid for the State Councils on Human Relations, representing the special grant of $25,000 provided by an individual donor.

In the case of each state council, special conditions were made as a part of the recommendation (see attached).

It was unanimously approved and adopted that the special grants be allocated as outlined; leaving to the staff the authorization to re-allocate any funds in instances where situations changed from that as reflected in the approved schedule.

Status of New Members - The following report was made on the response of persons invited to membership at Annual Meeting:

Bishop John E. Hines Houston, TEx	-	Invited, no response to date
Mrs. Vivian C. Mason Norfolk, Virginia	-	Accepted
Mr. Fred D. Alexander Charlotee, N. C.	-	Accepted
Mr. Stanton Smith Nashville, Tennessee	-	Accepted
Mr. J. Ray Shute Monroe, N. C.	-	Accepted
Mr. Francis Pickens Miller Charlottesville, Va.	-	Accepted
Mr. Brooks Hays Knoxville, Tennessee	-	Declined
Mr. Omer Carmichael Louisville, Kentucky	-	Invited, Died January 1960
Mr. Stewart Carter Fincastle, Virginia	-	Invited, no response to date

Election of Two Members to Nominating Committee

At the Annual Meeting of November 11, 1959, three members were elected to the Nominating Committee; Miss Dorcas Ruthenburg, Dr. Raymond Wheeler, and Mr. Thomas Young. As prescribed by the By-Laws, two additional members shall be elected by the Executive Committee.

The following were nominated: Dr. Stephen Wright and Mr. E. T. Kehrer. It was moved and adopted that the secretary record in these Minutes a unanimous vote for the Committee on the election of Dr. Wright and Mr. Kehrer.

Discussion of Program Activities

Each professional staff member presented brief summaries of program activities and prospects for the year, after which discussion followed.

Other Business

The Executive Director suggested that the Committee set the date of the next meeting. Three dates were suggested; April 26, April 29, and May 3.

The staff was instructed to poll the members to determine which of these dates would be most suitable.

Upon learning of the illness of Mr. M. E. Tilly, the Committee instructed the staff to convey to Mr. and Mrs. Tilly sumpathy and best wishes on behalf of the Committee.

With no other business, the meeting was adjourned.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting

May 3, 1960

The meeting of the Executive Committee convened at 10:00 a.m., on May 3, 1960, in the SRC Conference Room. Those present:

Rufus E. Clement, Chairman
James M. Dabbs
Albert W. Dent
Marion A. Wright
Miss Josephine Wilkins
The Rev. W. C. Brooke
Paul Christopher
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Rabbi Jacob Rothschild

All members of the professional staff were present, with Mrs. Mildred Flowers serving as secretary.

EXECUTIVE SESSION
(Staff on Call)

Following the Invocation, the Committee approved the proposed agenda. The Committee heard a report of the Personnel Committee, as follows:

At the request of the Executive Committee, the Personnel Committee met on February 26 to consider a staff retirement program. As resource persons, Mr. Fleming and Mr. Anthony were present for a portion of the meeting.

Following a review of present staff benefits, the financial condition of the Council, and the type of retirement programs available, it was the opinion of the Personnel Committee that a retirement program for the staff was feasible and desirable. We, therefore, recommend that such a program be instituted with the following provisions:

(1) That the program be submitted to the staff for their consideration and be instituted for all members of the staff if a majority accepts the plan, with the exception that present or future staff members of 50 years of age or more be given individual choice of whether or not they wish to participate;

(2) That the program be based on a total cost of 4% of the salary of each individual;

(3) That the program be contributory; the Council providing one-half the cost (or 2%) and the individual providing a like amount;

(4) That members of the staff shall be employed by the Council for one year before they become eligible for this benefit;

(5) That part-time or temporary employees shall not be eligible for participation;

(6) That the program be based on endowment type policies providing a stated amount of monthly retirement benefits with continuation, conversion, or withdrawal options for the individual upon termination of his employment with the Council;

(7) That the individual staff member shall not accept cash dividends, make loans, or otherwise take advantage of the provisions of the program as written while employed by the Council;

(8) That the Executive Assistant of the Council shall submit these requirements, as outlined above, to recognized insurance companies and shall, upon authorization from the Executive Committee, institute the program with the company offering the most desirable bid.

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Chairman
Miss Josephine Wilkins
Mr. James M. Dabbs

After discussing the matter at length, the Executive Committee approved the report of the Personnel Committee and adopted a motion that a staff retirement program be initiated as outlined in the report of the Personnel Committee.

GENERAL SESSION

Report of the Executive Director

The Director discussed the student protest movement and the ways in which this region-wide movement had affected the work of the Council.

The Research Department issued a Special Report on the student protests shortly after they began and at a time when analysis and interpretation was badly needed. The initial Report and the subsequent releases played a major role in the interpretation given the sit-ins by the press and in the

reactions of other organizations and individuals in the South and elsewhere. In Florida the Report has been used extensively by the Governor's office and is being distributed to the bi-racial committees being formed in the state at the request of the Governor.

The Southern Leadership Project, under the direction of Benjamin Muse, has carried on extensive work in Florida, North Carolina and Tennessee.

Two consultants were proved in Raleigh, N. C., at the request of the Mayor. In Nashville, similar services were provided. Both cities now have bi-racial committees engaged in seeking satisfactory solutions to the problems arising from the student protests.

The Director expressed appreciation to Mr. Dabbs and Mr. Wright for their numerous appearances on behalf of SRC, and particularly commended them for their recent appearances on national television programs.

The Director informed the Committee that the Council's production of research and fact-finding materials is at an all-time high. Perhaps at no time in the Council's history has so much significant material been produced and distributed. One of the most notable of these efforts is the pamphlet "The South and the Nation," reprint of a speech given by Governor Collins of Florida and the first in a series entitled, "Toward Regional Realism."

The Director also reported on the ways in which the Council continues to work with the Commission on Civil Rights, the Justice Department, and other Federal agencies.

During the discussion which followed, Dr. Clement suggested that SRC reprint an article by Mrs. Eliza Paschall, "The Southern Point of View," which appeared in the May issue of the Atlantic Monthly. The staff was asked to investigate the possibilities of this.

The Committee also asked the staff to look into the possibilities of having the Council, in the future, give suitable recognition and promotion to National Law Day.

Financial Reports

Mrs. Alexander presented a financial report on income and expenses for the first three months of the year. (See attached).

Mr. Anthony presented a budget analysis which revealed that the Council, in terms of total expenditures, has operated within its budget during the first quarter. While there yet remains the need for additional funds, the Council's major problem continues to be one of cash-on-hand. The Council's position with the securities held, particularly a majority of its common stock holdings, makes it necessary that securities not be sold if at all possible. Mr. Anthony estimated that it would be September or later before the need for cash would require a decision of the Finance Committee on this matter.

Mr. Fleming reported the following new grants: New World Foundation, $20,000; William C. Whitney, $5,000; Prynce Hopkins Fund, $1,000; Field Foundation, $25,000 for special aid to state councils through April 1961 (this amount is in addition to the Field Foundation's support of $25,000 a year for three years to the Council's general budget.) Requests have been made to the New York Foundation and the Aaron E. Norman Fund. Requests to labor organizations are pending.

The Director pointed out that securing aid for the Council's general operation continues to be a major problem. He indicated that this situation could be helped considerably if it were possible for the Council to make all future grants-in-aid to state councils from special funds received for that purpose rather than allocating grants from general operating funds. He recommended that the staff present a proposal to

the September meeting of the Executive Committee which would allow that a portion of new funds received for aid to state councils be used during 1961 toward meeting whatever commitments the Council assumed in aid to state councils. Mr. Fleming's recommendation was approved by the Committee.

Review of Internal Revenue Rulings

The Director reported that correspondence with the Internal Revenue Service had cleared up the doubts which had existed about the possible dangers involved in the Council's grants to state councils on human relations; without further responsibility of endangering SRC's tax-exempt status, grants-in-aid may be made to any organization having tax-exemption. Grants may also be made to any organization not having tax-exemption so long as the funds granted are used only for educational purposes as defined by the Internal Revenue Service and so long as the Council makes a reasonable effort to determine that this requirement is met.

It was reported, however, that the Internal Revenue Service raised some question as to the SRC Charter: In part the IRS letter stated:

> Your articles of incorporation list certain purposes which appear to be neither charitable nor educational as those terms are used.... However, since you have previously been determined to be exempt under Section 501(c) (3) and that exemption was not revoked prior to July 27, 1959, amendment of your articles of incorporation to bring them into complete compliance with the 'organizational test' set forth in the regulations will be required only if you seek a new determination of exemption.
>
> On the other hand, you will be expected in the future to conform your operations strictly with the 'operational test' set forth in the regulations....

The Director pointed out that this ruling clearly indicates that the final determination of SRC program and

policy is, therefore, the IRS "operational test" rather than the SRC Charter. He raised with the Committee the question of whether or not the full Council would want to take official notice of this condition. It was the opinion of the Committee, and a motion was so made and unanimously adopted that the Counsel, Mr. Haas, be asked to prepare a resolution that would take notice of the inadequacy of the SRC Charter in view of the Internal Revenue Service rulings, and the fact that SRC will henceforth be guided by the standards set forth in the IRS regulations.

It was further recommended that once such a document has been approved by the full Council, copies should be sent to the IRS and to state councils on human relations for their information and guidance.

Report on State Councils on Human Relations

Mr. Rilling submitted a schedule of "Financial Information on State Groups," supplemented by remarks regarding each. He informed the Committee that the Florida Council had met SRC's conditions and recommended that the Florida Council's conditional status be removed.

A motion was made and unanimously approved and adopted that the Florida Council on Human Relations be removed from its conditional status; that $1,500 be made available to the Florida Council immediately upon receipt of a satisfactory audit; that an additional $1,500 be made available to match all funds raised in excess of $3,000 by September 30, 1960.

Time and Length of Future Meetings

It was reported that the following concerns have been expressed by members of the Committee: (1) that meetings have been too occupied with administrative and financial affairs; (2) that meetings have not been of such length as to make adequate discussion of program possible; (3) that

the timing of the meetings is not convenient in terms of the travel schedules of the members.

After discussion, the following action was taken by the Committee: (1) requested that financial data be mailed to members in advance of each meeting; (2) set the time for future meetings to begin at 10:00 a.m., ending at 3:00 p.m.; (3) requested that the report of the Executive Director and the discussion of program by the Committee appear at the beginning of the agenda.

Tuesday, September 27 was selected as the date of the next Executive Committee meeting.

A discussion of program emphasis followed, after which the meeting adjourned at 2:45 p.m.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting

September 27, 1960

The Executive Committee convened at 10:00 a.m., September 27, 1960 in the Southern Regional Council Conference Room, 5 Forsyth Street, with Mr. J. M. Dabbs presiding in the absence of the chairman, Dr. Clement.

Those present: Mr. Marion A. Wright, The Rev. W. C. Brooke, Mr. Paul Christopher, Dr. John A. Griffin, the Rev. Duncan Hunter, Rabbi Jacob Rothschild, Father Alexander O. Sigur, Mr. John H. Wheeler, Mr. Joseph Haas, and Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton.

All members of the professional staff were present, with Mrs. Mildred Flowers serving as recording secretary.

Invocation by Rabbi Jacob Rothschild.

GENERAL SESSION

The agenda for the meeting was adopted, after which comments were made by the Executive Director on the program report mailed to members in advance.

Discussion of Program

The question was raised as to whether SRC services the Southern state advisory committees of the Commission on Civil Rights. It was reported that many of SRC's materials are sent to these committees and that they frequently request the Council's services and information. It was suggested that factual information furnished by SRC to any one state advisory comittee might be made available to all the committees in the region.

The staff was instructed to look into ways of providing each advisory committee in the South with the materials and information requested by or supplied to any state committee.

The Committee was brought up to date on the case of the Rev. Robert Hughes, Executive Director of the Alabama

Council on Human Relations, who was subpoenaed before the Grand Jury to answer questions relative to the part played by him in connection with a series of articles on Birmingham written by Harrison Salisbury of the New York Times. Mr. Hughes was jailed for several days - until the charges were dropped - for his refusal to answer questions concerning the membership and financial support of the Alabama Council; questions which he did not consider pertinent to the inquiry being made.

The question arose as to what aid SRC was providing to assist the Alabama Council in paying the considerable legal fees assumed by that group. The Executive Director reported that the staff is concerned about this situation, has informed some appropriate individuals and agencies of the needs of the Alabama Council, and is hopeful that some support from these sources will be forthcoming. The Director further stated that while SRC has a moral obligation to the state councils in such situations there is no binding commitment to assist in such matters after they have been completed; SRC cannot officially assume obligations for the actions of independent agencies where there is no control over the legal action, the attorneys, or the fees involved. Further, the serious question is raised of the use of tax-exempt funds by SRC in making grants for the purpose of paying legal fees. The Executive Committee agreed with this position and requested that the staff check the minutes of past meetings to determine what actions and/or policies had been established in the past in similar matters.

The Executive Committee further expressed the hope that SRC would do anything possible to assist the Alabama Council and asked that the staff express to Mr. Hughes their appreciation for the contribution he has made to the cause of human relations in Alabama and their admiration for the way in which he and the Alabama Council had met this crisis.

Mr, Haas suggested that SRC develop a project to reach presidents of state and local bar associations in an effort to alert them to their responsibilities in unpopular legal matters, and to point out to them the dangers involved when attorneys and bar associations abdicate such responsibilities.

The following motion was adoped and unanimously approved:

That a special committee be set up, composed of the attorneys who are members of the Southern Regional Council, to work on establishing communication with state and local bar association presidents in an effort to remind them of their professional responsibilities in unpopular causes.

Change of Date of Annual Meeting

The Executive Director reported that Mr. Herbert Davidson had questioned the date of November 9th (as established in the By-Laws) as being the best time for the Annual Meeting. Mr. Davidson expressed the feeling that since Election Day is November 8th, it would be difficult if not impossible for many of the members to be in Atlanta on the 9th. The Committee instructed the staff to poll the membership to determine whether they preferred November 9th or November 10th for the Annual Meeting and to notify the Members as soon as possible of the date decided upon.

Invitation of Guests to Annual Meeting

The Committee discussed the matter of inviting guests to the Annual Meeting. A motion was adopted and unanimously approved: that the Executive Director be authorized and requested to invite to the Annual Meeting Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, Mr. Leonard Haas, and any other guests that he felt appropriate; this to be done on approval of the President.

Arrangements for Annual Meeting

Mr. Anthony reported that the meeting would be held in the Dining Room of Bumstead Hall, Atlanta University. On the evening before the meeting a buffet supper and open house will be held at the SRC offices so that members can see the new quarters. These arrangements met with the approval of the Executive Committee.

Proposed Budgets for 1961

The proposed budgets for 1961, as mailed to the Committee in advance, were approved for submission to the full Council at the Annual Meeting.

Report on Fund-Raising

The Executive Director reported on current fund-raising efforts. The most important of these is the work being done in New York by Miss Josephine Wilkins. The Committee was informed of a buffet supper, arranged by Miss Wilkins and held on September 20th, in the home of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. The Council's President and Executive Director were present and had an opportunity to discuss the work of the Council with influential persons from whom new support may be forthcoming.

Miss Wilkins has also cultivated a number of foundations which have not assisted SRC in the past. To these potential new sources of funds, she is suggesting that the Council needs from new sources a total of $100,000 per year for five years. Thus far, this effort looks encouraging. The Director had an opportunity to call on some of these foundations while in New York for the Roosevelt supper and these contacts will be followed by formal requests.

The Committee was informed of Miss Wilkins' serious accident in which she was struck by a taxicab. She was highly commended for her efforts on behalf of the Council; particularly her efforts while hospitalized. The following telegram was sent to Miss Wilkins:

> "The Executive Committee salutes you with gratitude and affection. May our next meeting find you with us, as hale, hearty, and devoted as ever. J. M. Dabbs"

A report was made on an appeal for funds from labor being directed by Mr. E. T. Kehrer. Approximately 150 letters were sent to labor organizations over Mr. Kehrer's

signature setting forth the needs of the Council. Returns from these letters have yielded only part of the expected results. Follow-up letters are to be sent in the near future.

The Executive Director spoke of his forthcoming trip to California, at which time he hopes to develop new sources of support.

Resolution on Tax Exemption

During the year the Council has had correspondence with the Internal Revenue Service on several matters of policy. In the course of this correspondence the IRS pointed out weakenesses in the SRC's Charter. While these weaknesses do not jeopardize SRC's tax-exemption, they do have implications for the conduct of SRC affairs.

At the request of the Executive Committee Mr. Haas prepared the attached document, a resolution setting forth the Council's awareness of the inadequacy of the charter and establishing the policy that, where in doubt or question, the Southern Regional Council is to be guided by the standards set forth in the Internal Revenue Service regulations. This resolution and the attached document were unanimously approved and adopted by the Executive Committee.

Proposed Grants-in-Aid to State Councils

Mr. Rilling presented the schedule of proposed grants-in-aid to state councils for 1961. The Executive Committee unanimously approved and adopted this schedule for submission to the Annual Meeting.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

The Executive Director was asked to remind staff members that, whenever possible, they should notify board members in advance when they are to be in the members' area, and should make an effort to see or talk with such members.

It was voted that the Executive Committee shall next consider personnel matters at the January 1961 meeting; the Personnel Committee is asked to report at that meeting, and to accompany its report with job descriptions, salary schedule, and any other relevant information.

The Executive Director was instructed to write the Trustees of the Wesley Memorial Building expressing the Council's appreciation for the many years of friendly association and kindness the Council enjoyed in those quarters.

It was suggested that, in future cases of legal attack upon SRC or State Councils, the advice of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund might fruitfully be sought. Such consultation need not be formal or publicized, but could be informally carried out through NAACP's local associated counsel.

It was reported that the Executive Director had been officially selected by the U. S. - South Africa Leader Exchange Program to visit the Union of South Africa in 1961 or 1962. The Committee discussed the possible value to the Council of the Director's participation in this program. It was voted that, should the Director decide to accept and should other circumstances make the visit possible, the Director's participation in the program would have the Executive Committee's approval. It was further voted that Mr. Frank Loescher, director of the exchange program, might be advised of this policy decision.

GENERAL SESSION

The discussion of program and activities begun in the morning, continued during the afternoon session. Several matters which had come before the Committee at earlier meetings were reviewed. Among them were:

(1) The SRC program with college students. The Executive Director stated that the Council had no special staff or programs aimed at this group. However, the Council

has been instrumental in assisting all of the organizations working with students in the region including, The National Student Association, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and the YMCA and YWCA groups. Other functions such as providing materials, speakers, and consultants on request, continue.

It was the opinion of the Executive Committee that this program should be reviewed and that the SRC should give all possible assistance to students, student movements, and college administrators.

(2) Work with labor. It was suggested by the Executive Committee that all reasonable effort should be made to maintain contact with organized labor and that this group be assisted in all appropriate areas by the Council.

(3) International Institute. The proposed plan of holding an international institute - jointly sponsored by SRC and Atlanta University - was reviewed. The Executive Director reported that efforts to interest a foundation in this project were not successful. From the Committee, skeptism was expressed as to the usefulness of having such a conference on a Negro college campus. Some concern was also expressed over the cost of such a project; one member estimated a cost of $100,000 to $200,000 to carry out the project properly.

The Committee decided that the SRC staff, with the approval of Dr. Clement, should approach the University of North Carolina, Florida State University, and Vanderbilt to see if any of these institutions might be interested in holding such an institute. The Committee agreed it was important that such an institute be held if at all possible, but of little importance that SRC be publicly identified with the project.

With no further business, the meeting adjourned at 3:00 p.m.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Minutes of the Annual Meeting

November 10, 1960

The Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council convened at 9:45 a.m., November 10, 1960 in the Atlanta University Dining Hall, 50 Chestnut Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, Mr. Dabbs presiding.

A list of members present is attached. All members of the professional staff were present with Mrs. Mildred Flowers serving as recording secretary.

Invocation by Rabbi Charles Mantinband.

The attached agenda was amended to allow financial and other administrative reports to be given during the first general sessions, the Report of the Nominating Committee to be given during the Executive Session, and the discussion of the situation in the South to be held during the last general session.

Introduction and Remarks by the President

The President introduced the Members present, welcomed them to the Annual Meeting, and informed the body of the expressions of regret received from Members who could not be present.

In his brief introductory remarks the President reminded the body of the constantly changing forces which challenge the Council and its program. Particular emphasis was given the student protest movement and the implications of this movement for the region. These actions on the part of Southern youth were praised by the President and described as being in the finest of Southern traditions.

Report of the Executive Committee

In the absence of the Chairman of the Committee, the attached Report of the Executive Committee was presentesd by Mr. Paul Christopher.

Remarks of the Executive Director

On behalf of the staff, the Executive Director expressed his pleasure at the large number of Members in

attendance and his appreciation for the active role which many members had taken in Council affairs during the year.

Since a formal report of program activities was mailed to the members in advance and a discussion of the program was scheduled for the meeting, the Director limited his remarks to defining the role of the Council and the limitations placed upon Council activities. The limitations were described as being necessary for the continuation of the Council as a positive and effective force. Among them were:

(1) Political Activity. -- The Council cannot permit itself, as an organization, to become involved in any direct political activity, to support or oppose any candidate for public office, or to attempt to influence the passage or defeat of any legislation.

This does not mean that the Council is denied the right to assist government officials and agencies or otherwise to use educational methods for constructive social change.

The Director reported that the limitation on political activity is one which the staff has strictly enforced, since the Council's tax-exempt status is dependent upon adherence to it.

(2) Legal Action. -- Except in the obvious areas of self-defense and protection of its own interests, SRC is bound by its Charter to eschew legal action.

(3) Direct Action. -- The Council is not authorized by its Charter or policies to engage in demonstrations.

This means that the Council is not free to participate in sit-ins, picketing, or other public protests. While the Council avoids demonstrations, it can plan a unique and effective part in such matters through interpretation and information to the press, the public, and others.

(4) Publicity. -- Much of the Council's work can best be done without undue publicity.

This does not mean that SRC wishes to keep from public view the activities in which it is engaged. However, many of its cooperative efforts are more effectively carried on quietly. This avoids providing the Council's adversaries with a blueprint for opposition. Of equal, or perhaps greater importance, the Council is frequently able to play a decisive role because of its reputation for discretion and confidence and the absence of sensationalism.

Conversely, much of the publicity which the Council does receive is determined by these same policies; the Council's news releases, publications, and other efforts are received seriously by much of the press and other media because of its reputation for reliable and noteworthy effort.

Financial Reports

The report on income and expenses for 1960, to date, was presented by Mrs. Alexander. The Council was informed that the usual audit for the full year would be mailed to each member upon its completion in early 1961.

The proposed budget for 1961 was presented by Mr. Anthony. Following discussion and consideration of the items proposed, the following motion was made and unanimously adopted: That the budget be approved for 1961 subject to periodic review and revision as necessary by the Executive Committee.

Proposed Grants-in-Aid to State Councils on Human Relations

Mr. Rilling reported that the state councils continue to become more stable and self-supporting. The two Councils which had been on provisional status - Tennessee and Florida - have met the conditions set for them and are now functioning as stable operations.

In the area of fund-raising, it was reported that the state councils had raised approximately $40,000 during

the first three quarters of 1960, compared with a total of $33,000 raised during all of 1959.

The attached schedule of grants was proposed by the staff, with the following provisions:

(1) Aid to state councils is being removed from the general operating budget and placed in a special project budget;

(2) The total amount of aid proposed for 1961 is $50,000;

(3) The success of the matching-funds formula suggests that it should be continued.

Following Mr. Rilling's report the following motion was made and unanimously adopted: That the allocation of grants-in-aid be approved, but said grants are not to exceed $50,000 or such sums as may be secured for this particular purpose; the specific allocations shall be those recommended by the staff with any changes submitted to the Executive Committee for approval.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

By motion, unanimously approved and adopted, the Executive Director and the Secretary-Treasurer were confirmed for the coming year.

Report of the Nominating Committee

The report of the Nominating Committee was made by Miss Dorcas Ruthenburg. The report was approved and adopted as follows:

President	Mr. James M. Dabbs
Vice-Presidents:	Albert W. Dent Rufus E. Clement Marion A. Wright Miss Josephine Wilkins
Legal Counsel:	Joseph F. Haas
Nominating Committee:	Thomas W. Young Stephen J. Wright Raymond Wheeler
Executive Committee: (In addition to above listed officers)	W. Carroll Brooke Paul Christopher John A. Griffin

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Duncan Hunter
L. D. Milton
Rabbi Jacob Rothschild
Alexander O. Sigur
John H. Wheeler

Members - Class of '64: Fred D. Alexander
Hubert Beckwith
B. R. Brazeal
W. C. Brooke
Most Rev. Joseph B. Brunini
I. H. Burney
Irving E. Carlyle
Hodding Carter
C. S. Cartwright
Paul Christopher
Rufus E. Clement
James A. Colston
Mrs. James S. Crate
Jerome Crossman
James M. Dabbs
Herbert M. Davidson
Albert W. Dent

New Members - Class of '64:
Dr..Douglas Jackson, Dallas
Dr. Frank P. Graham, Chapel Hill
Mrs. Charles White, Houston

Class of '63:
Wiley Branton, Pine Bluff

Class of '62:
Henry Brandis, Chapel Hill

GENERAL SESSION

Mr. Dabbs expressed the gratitude of the full Council for the work of the staff during the past year.

A former member of longstanding and one active in the formation of the Council, Dr. Gordon Hancock, was introduced to the Members. Dr. Hancock expressed his appreciation for the way in which the organization had progressed. He traced the history of the Council, commenting on the contrast between the organization in past years and now. Dr. Hancock urged the Members to be prepared to change the emphasis from one of "desegregation" to "integration."

The meeting was turned over to Dr. John Griffin who led a discussion on the current situation in the South and its implications for SRC. Conditions in the states of Louisiana, Virginia, North Carolina and Arkansas were described by members from those areas.

The body was in agreement that:

(1) All of the Council's experiences and resources will be needed to meet the imminent problems arising from the spread of desegregation to the deep South.

(2) The change of national administrations may have profound effect on the progress of race relations in the nation. The Council should be prepared to advise and assist in every way possible.

(3) The student protest movement was noted as an indication of the profound restlessness on the part of a portion of the South's people. The Council was urged to use all its resources to interpret this movement to the region and the nation.

An expression of appreciation was made to Dr. Clement and Atlanta University for the use of the facilities provided.

With no further business, the meeting adjourned at 4:00 p.m.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO THE ANNUAL MEETING

1 9 6 0

Dr. Rufus Clement, Chairman
Presented by: Mr. Paul Christopher
November 10, 1960

Since the full Council was last assembled your Executive Committee has met three times to carry out the mandates of the 1959 Annual Meeting and to give policy direction to the staff.

We are pleased to report that, in our opinion, the year has been a productive one, and in several ways one of the most significant in the Council's 17 years of operation.

In terms of program, the staff -- which is the largest in the Council's history -- has been actively engaged in meeting the requests for services and the demands of events in this challenging time in the region. This will be evident to you in the Director's report of program activities. Financially, by past Council standards, at least, there has been a relative stability of operation. There remains the ever present problem of a substantial fund-raising effort each year but we are hopeful that the current level of support can be maintained and improved during the coming years.

Several outstanding Southerners nominated by this body last year have accepted membership in the Council. They are: Biship John E. Hines, Houston, Tex.; Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason, Norfolk, Va.; Mr. Fred D. Alexander, Charlotte, N. C.; Mr. Stanton Smith, Nashville, Tenn.; Mr. J. Ray Shute, Monroe, N. C.; and Colonel Francis Pickens Miller, Charlottesville, Va.

We are pleased that several of these new members are with us today. We welcome them and the contributions they have to make to the deliberations of this body.

Regretfully, during the year the Council lost two of its members by virtue of the fact that both moved from the region; Mr. Stanton Smith one of our newly elected members, and a member of longstanding, Dr. Merrimon Cuninggim of Dallas, Texas.

There have been no major staff changes during the year. However, we are pleased to report the part-time addition of Mr. J. J. Brewbaker, recently retired superintendent of schools of Norfolk, Virginia. He serves as a special consultant to the Southern Leadership Project, under the direction of Colonel Benjamin Muse. Mr. Brewbaker has been actively consulting with school superintendents, school boards, and private groups concerned with the crisis which currently exists in public education.

During the year the Executive Committee, acting on recommendations from the Personnel Committee, has reviewed salaries, granted merit increases, and otherwise carried out its responsibilities with regard to personnel.

At the Annual Meeting last year this body instructed the Executive Committee to investigate the possibilities of a staff retirement program and to institute such a program if it seemed feasible. We are pleased to report that this has been done. After a careful investigation, a retirement program has been established based on a total cost of 4% of the salary of each individual. The program is contributory; the Council providing one-half the cost (or 2%) and the individual providing a like amount. It is based on endowment type policies providing a stated amount of monthly rertirement benefits with continuuation, conversion, or withdrawal options for the individual upon termination of his employment with the Council.

At the September meeting of the Executive Committee it was proposed that the Council develop a project to reach presidents of state and local bar associations in an effort to alert them to their responsibilities in controversial situations, and to point out to them the dangers involved when attorneys and bar associations abdicate such responsibilities. Accordingly, the Executive Committee unanimously adopted the following motion: "That a special committee be set up,

Composed of the attorneys who are members of the Southern Regional Council, to work on establishing communication with state and local bar association presidents in an effort to remind them of their professional responsibilities in unpopular causes."

The Council is operating this year on a budget of $236,625. Also, the Council secured special grants for additional aid to state councils on human relations in the amount of $37,500. Thus, our total expenditures for the year will be approximately $275,000.00.

The budget for 1961, as approved by the Executive Committee for your consideration today, represents a total proposed expenditure of $265,475. When this proposed budget is presented, you will note that there remains $87,775 yet to be raised. This is a sizeable fund-raising task, but it is the opinion of the Executive Committee and the staff that this amount can be raised.

This rate of expenditure of approximately $275,000 per year has been maintained for the last two years and appears to be the general level of expenditure at which the Council can operate most efficiently. With this in mind, we hope during 1961 to raise from new sources an amount of $100,000 per year for a period of five years. If this goal could be reached, the Council's continued operation at its current level would be virtually assured. There would remain a substantial fund-raising responsibility each year but, hopefully, it would not be of the burdensome nature of the past several years. This would not only add a desired measure of stability but would free a substantial amount of professional staff time for program work.

This campaign for 1961 has already begun. A member of the Executive Committee, Miss Josephine Wilkins, has spent the past several months approaching foundations and attempting to interest new sources of support for the Council's program. Most regretfully, Miss Wilkins was the victim of a serious accident some weeks ago and is now confined to a New York hospital. It will, however, come as

no surprise to those who know her that Miss Wilkins' personal efforts on behalf of the Council have continued from her hospital bed.

The Director has had an opportunity to visit several of the foundations which Miss Wilkins has interested. Also as an outcome of Miss Wilkins' efforts, the President and the Director were recently the guests of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt at her home where Mrs. Roosevelt had invited a group of potential contributors to hear of the work of the Council.

Mr. E. T. Kehrer of the board has greatly assisted the staff in finding new sources of support from labor, and the Executive Director recently spent a week in California with potentially interested individuals and foundations. Both of these efforts should, in time, prove helpful.

In this regard also, the Members will be interested in knowing that in a letter of January 29, 1960, the Internal Revenue Service reaffirmed the Council's tax-exempt status.

The Executive Committee has exercised its responsibility in supervising the grants-in-aid program for the state councils on human relations. We are pleased to report that most of these state councils are showing increased vigor in both program and fund-raising. Later in the meeting, you will have before you, for approval, the grants-in-aid schedule for 1961, which has been reviewed and approved by the Executive Committee.

Another noteworthy event of the year has been the Council's move to more adequate quarters in downtown Atlanta. Many of you have seen the new office space and, while it is by no means elaborate, it does respresent a move toward a more business-like and efficient operation. Many Members will recall the former quarters in the Wesley Memorial Building and the Council's restricted and awkward efforts to expand and find adequate space for its growing operation. It is a significant commentary on the progress in the region and the gorwing status of

the organization that the Council was able to make this move, which would likely have been impossible a few years ago.

The Executive Committee has expressed to the Trustees of the Wesley Memorial Building the Council's deep gratitude for their assistance and understanding during the approximately 15 years in which the Council was a tenant in their building.

In conclusion, it is the opinion of your Executive Committee that the year 1960 has been a rewarding one. The programs and services of the Council have continued to grow to meet the ever-increasing demands placed upon them. There has been a continuing growth in the recognition of the Council as a constructive and responsible force in these changing times.

The Executive Committee, the staff, and -- we feel sure -- the Members of this body are aware that the responsibilities and challenges of the Council are such that we cannot entertain the least measure of complacency about our skills, our achievements, or our progress. It is in this spirit that we approach 1961 and the Council's 18th year of operation.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting

February 2, 1961

The meeting of the Executive Committee was called to order at 10:00 a.m. in the conference room of the Southern Regional Council on February 2, 1961, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, presiding.

Those present: Dr. Dent, Mr. Dabbs, Mr. Christopher, Mr. Wright, Mrs. Hamilton, Rabbi Rothschild, Mr. Wheeler, Mr. Brooke, and Dr. Griffin. All members of the professional staff were present, with Mrs. Flowers serving as recording secretary.

Executive Session

Following the invocation, the agenda was adopted as proposed. Dr. Clement expressed the wish that he not be re-elected to a further term as Chairman of the Executive Committee. Mr. John H. Wheeler was unanimously elected to the chairmanship.

Members of the Committee expressed their deep appreciation to Dr. Clement for the invaluable service he has rendered to the Committee and to the whole Council during his tenure as chairman.

The minutes of the last meeting were approved with the addition of a resolution on the Council's charter and tax-exemption submitted by Mr. Joseph Haas, Legal Counsel, as amended (see attached).

Mr. Dabbs presented the report of the Personnel Committee including written job descriptions and information on current salaries and tenure. The Committee's recommendations on salaries were approved, as was the Personnel Committee's recommendation that Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar be designated Assistant Director of the Council, in addition to his present title of Director of Research.

The Executive Director was invited into the meeting and informed of the actions taken in the Executive Session. On behalf of the staff, he expressed profound

gratitude for the leadership and cooperation which Dr. Clement has given to all of the affairs of the Council during his service as chairman of the Executive Committee. He also expressed for the staff gratification at Mr. Wheeler's election and willingness to assume these important duties.

The Committee was then declared in general session and the other members of the professional staff and the recording secretary were invited to join the Committee. The Chairman commended the staff members for the quality of their work and expressed to them the Committee's appreciation. It was noted that Mrs. Alexander was absent due to illness. The Committee requested that the staff convey to her their wishes for a speedy recovery.

GENERAL SESSION

Changes in Budget, 1961. -- Mr. Anthony made a report of the proposed changes in the operating budget for 1961. It was indicated that the revised budget was essentially the same as that approved at the Annual Meeting, with the exception that the Research Department budget had been deleted from the Special Projects section and added to the General Operating Budget and increased by $5,000.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, the recommended changes in the budget were approved.

Comments on Fund-Raising. -- Mr. Fleming pointed out that a total of $103,775 must yet be raised during 1961 if all expenditures, as budgeted, are met. Of this amount he reported that the Council is hopeful of a renewal of the New World Foundation's grant of $20,000 and of a grant from the Field Foundation which will allow an additional $12,500 in aid to state councils during the year. The Committee was also informed that the staff has made a request to the Rockefeller Foundation for a

grant of $50,000-a-year for five years. The outcome of this request is uncertain, since it is not a policy of that Foundation to assist organizations such as the Council. However, it was the opinion of the Director that the willingness of the Foundation's officers to consider the Council was of considerable significance.

Report on SRC's Common Stock Holdings. -- It was reported that SRC continues to hold (at book value) approximately $117,000 in stocks. Of these, the large holdings in Gulf Oil have been depressed in value since shortly after they were acquired as a gift in December 1958. The holdings are now approaching their book value for the first time in several years. The director reported that a series of recommendations are being prepared for the Finance Committee. The recommendations, if approved, will facilitate the sale of the stocks under the most favorable circumstances.

Report on New Members. -- At the 1960 Annual Meeting five new members were elected to Council membership: Mrs. Charles White, Houston, Texas; Mr. Wiley Branton, Pine Bluff, Arkansas; Dr. Douglas Jackson, Dallas, Texas; Dr. Frank Graham, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; and Mr. Henry Brandis, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. All but Mr. Brandis have accepted membership. Word from Mr. Brandis is expected shortly.

Discussion of Program. -- Program reports on major SRC activities, with the exception of the Southern Leadership Project, were mailed to the Committee in advance. Mr. Muse briefed the Committee on the recent activities of the Leadership Project, reporting that visits had been made to Alabama, North and South Carolina, and Virginia. Additional trips were planned for the near future in the Deep South. To date conferences have

been held with five governors and more than 40 newspaper editors in the South, in addition to a number of other community leaders.

Mr. Brewbaker, special school consultant, reported that he had just completed a trip to 21 cities in which he spoke with school superintendents and other individuals and groups concerned with public education. Mr. Brewbaker reported favorable reception in the great majority of these visits.

(The meeting adjourned at 12:30 p.m. for lunch and reconvened in general session at 1:30 p.m.)

SRC Committee of Attorneys. -- Mr. Haas, chairman of the Committee of Attorneys, was unable to be present. He reported by letter his plans for the Committee as follows:

> With regard to the matter concerning the Committee of Attorneys, I talked with Paul Anthony and suggested that he send me a list of attorneys who are either members of SRC, or who have done work for SRC, or who, for one reason or another, we know, (and I distinguish this particularly from 'believe') to be in sympathy with SRC. With this list, it will be my purpose to contact the attorneys with the suggestion that we undertake, each in our own local Bars, to create a better climate not only for SRC but also for all unpopular (from a local standpoint) causes. It seems that we will do SRC a service as well as the others for whom we speak if we approach this on the broad basis of using the Alabama situation merely as an example of what can happen to a particular unpopular cause rather than to try to make this just an SRC program alone. I would be particularly guided by the thoughts of Mr. Wright on this phase of the matter, because of his experience and because he is a fellow member of the Bar.

International Institute. -- The Executive Committee instructed the staff to continue to explore the idea of having an Institute on Race Relations and International Affairs held in the South. Suggested sponsors were rated in the following order: The University of North Carolina, Colonial Williamsburg, The American Association for the United Nations, and the American Assembly.

It was pointed out that the site of such an institute would have to be one where there were absolutely no racial restrictions on the facilities available.

In approaching potential sponsors, it was suggested that Dr. Frank Graham should be asked to assist with the University of North Carolina and, if Colonial Williamsburg is approached, the appropriate person would be Mr. Hummelsein.

In view of the interest and assistance of Dr. Guy Johnson at the University of North Carolina, the staff was instructed to awaite further word from Dr. Johnson before proceeding with the other potential sponsors.

Work with Colleges. -- An analysis of existing college programs in the South and SRC's role in this area was mailed to the Committee in advance. The Committee agreed that a full-scale college program with special SRC staff should not be undertaken. In lieu of this, and in addition to those programs now being carried on, the staff was instructed to do the following:

(1) Prepare a handbook or background report which would guide college administrators in carrying out campus desegregation.

(2) Add college and university presidents to SRC's list for appropriate mailings.

(3) Add student editors and student council presidents to the mailing list, particularly for New South.

SRC's Role with Respect to Direct Action. -- It was reported that the Council is often approached by groups and organizations requesting the Council's participation in demonstrations and other direct action.

It has been the Council's policy to decline such invitations since SRC's charter does not allow for such action and the Council's tax-exempt status could very well be affected by it; moreover, the Council has a clearly defined role of a different sort. The director requested that the Committee review this policy.

The Committee concurred in the thinking which had directed this policy in the past and instructed the staff to continue to avoid any action which would jeopardize the work of the Council or its tax-exempt status, or that would be contrary to the Charter or By-Laws.

Consideration of Labor Consultant. -- Mr. Christopher reported that the AFL-CIO had available funds for a labor consultant to work in the South in the area of race relations. These funds have not been used since AFL-CIO has not been able to find a person acceptable to them. It was Mr. Christopher's opinion that if SRC could find a suitable labor consultant, the AFL-CIO might consider making available the funds to support such a program under the Council's direction.

The Committee instructed the staff to work with Mr. Christopher in pursuing this matter further.

Report on The Federal Executive and Civil Rights. -- The Executive Director reported that the document, The Federal Executive and Civil Rights, had been well received by the press and key individuals throughout the country. There were indications that the report was being given serious attention within the Administration. It was agreed that this document, and the follow-up work which was indicated, constituted a major program effort of the Council. Dr. Dunbar, SRC director of research, was commended for his role in the preparation of this document.

Other Business.-- The Executive Director pointed out that the state councils on human relations are frequently overlooked when programs are being formulated. This, in the director's opinion, is regrettable since in some instances these local councils are the logical instruments for some of the programs considered by the staff and policy group. It was suggested that at a future meeting the functions of the state councils might be further explored.

The outgoing chairman, Dr. Clement, introduced the newly elected chairman, Mr. John H. Wheeler. Mr. Wheeler commented on the many contributions which Dr. Clement has made over a number of years to the Executive Committee and the Council. He stated that he felt the Committee will want to take some action, on behalf of the Council, in recognition of Dr. Clement's long service as chairman.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 3:00 p. m.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting

March 18, 1961

The meeting of the Executive Committee was called to order at 9:30 a.m., in the Conference Room of the Southern Regional Council on March 18, 1961, Mr. John H. Wheeler presiding.

Those present: Dr. Dent, Mr. Dabbs, Father Sigur, Miss Wilkins, Mr. Haas, Mr. Wright, Mr. Christopher, Mrs. Hamilton, Mr. Hunter, Dr. Griffin. All members of the professional staff were present.

The Committee took under consideration Mr. Fleming's letter of resignation, addressed to President Dabbs and circulated to each member of the Committee in advance of the meeting. Mr. Fleming was invited into the meeting. The Chairman expressed the Committee's regret at his leaving the Council, but pleasure in the prospect of his entering a new and useful field of service. At the request of the Committee, Mr. Fleming described the nature of his new duties, as consultant to the Taconic Foundation with the specific assignment of establishing an institute or center in Washington, D. C., to deal with human relations aspects of public policy.

After further discussion, the Committee adopted the following statement and motion:

> The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council accepts with regret the resignation of Harold Fleming, the Executive Director of the Council for the past four years.
>
> The Committee, however, cannot let Harold Fleming go without attempting to express its appreciation of the varied services he has rendered the Council and through the Council, the South, as Director of Information, Assistant Director, and Director, through the past fourteen years.
>
> While directing the Council in ever widening fields of action, he has at the same time deepened its understanding of and work for the South.

He has done this not only through his personal leadership but also through the recruitment, organization, and direction of a highly capable staff.

As a person he has exhibited a remarkable combination of objective detachment and deep commitment. Going now to a related work in the national Capitol, he will be the living exponent of what the South has sought for a hundred years, the Southern American, combining within himself both Southern richness and American directness.

The Council lets him go with regret but watches with pride his entrance upon the national scene.

It is significant that he goes to his new position during the centennial year of the Civil War, the new Southern American, who himself will help to bridge that old, unhappy gulf.

It was moved, seconded, and unanimously voted that Harold Fleming's resignation be accepted with regret, the resignation to take effect at such time between now and June 1st as may be agreed upon by the retiring Executive Director and the Executive Director-elect, in consultation with the Chairman of the Executive Committee. The retiring Director may, on his own choice, and in consultation with the Chairman of the Executive Committee, elect to work part-time on a pro-rata salary basis until the effective date of his resignation.

Mr. Fleming, in response to a question from the Chairman, stated that he recommended as his successor Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Director of Research and Assistant Director of the Co uncil. Dr. Dunbar's biographical data were presented and his qualifications discussed, following which it was moved, seconded, and unanimously voted that Dr. Dunbar be named to the position of Executive Director, at a salary of $10,000 per year to begin immediately; contingent on his acceptance. Dr. Dunbar is to assume the full duties of the Executive Director at such date between now and June 1 as may be mutually agreed upon by him and the retiring Executive Director, in consultation with the Chairman of the Executive Committee.

After discussion, it was agreed that other staff questions, including the filling of the positions of Assistant Director and Research Director, would be deferred until the next regular meeting on April 19.

The Committee instructed the staff to prepare a draft announcement of the change of Executive Directors, suitable for mailing to members and friends of the Council and for release to the press. When completed, the draft is to be submitted to Mr. Dabbs for such amendments or additions as he may care to make.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the Committee:

> Resolved, that Leslie W. Dunbar, being Assistant Director of the Southern Regional Council, and whose position becomes Executive Director, effective immediately, is hereby authorized to be co-signer of checks drawn on the account of the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Mr. Wright suggested that it might be appropriate to have an audit of the Council's finances as of the date on which the change of Directors becomes effective.

The Chairman was asked to inform Dr. Dunbar of the actions of the Committee and invite him into the meeting. When the meeting resumed, with Dr. Dunbar present, the Chairman expressed the Committee's hope that he would accept the position of Executive Director. Dr. Dunbar then made a statement of acceptance.

Other members of the staff were invited into the meeting and informed of the actions taken by the Committee in executive session. Various members of the staff expressed their pleasure in the decisions made and pledged their cooperation with and support of the new Executive Director.

Mr. Anthony reviewed the prospective income and expenses for general operations in 1961 and 1962. (Analysis attached.) He pointed out that since the analysis was prepared, the New York Foundation had awarded a grant of $5,000 for the current year.

A general discussion of finances and fund-raising followed.

The retiring Executive Director expressed appreciation to Members and staff of the Council for the support he had received from them during his tenure as Executive Director. He reminded them that he expects to continue his close working relationship with the Council and it is hoped that such a relationship will be of mutual benefit both to the Washington Institute and the Council.

It was agreed that the Executive Committee will meet, as originally scheduled, on April 19.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned.

C O P Y C O P Y

March 10, 1961

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rips Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

After almost fourteen years with the Southern Regional Council, it is hard to contemplate the idea of leaving. A recent proposal was so compelling, however, that I had to consider it seriously. And after long and sometimes painful reflection, I have agreed to undertake the establishment and direction of a new independent agency in Washington to be financed by the Taconic Foundation.

You will know my feelings better than I can describe them. I cannot imagine ever again having as many warm associations or deep satisfactions as my work with the Council has afforded. But I am conforted somewhat by two considerations.

The first is that my new work will not take me out of the field of race relations, but will be an extension of the efforts in which we have all been engaged. I expect to be in close touch with the Council and the South, and in a position to be helpful to both.

Secondly, the Council is equipped in every way -- in leadership, staff, financial prospects, and reputation -- to continue with undiminished effectiveness and growth. For once, I am convinced, the departure of a Southerner will add to rather than subtract from the sum total of our joint efforts.

The first step in my new assignment will be to initiate, as a trustee and consultant of the Taconic Foundation, the creation of the new agency, tentatively called the Washington Institute. The Institute will be intended to serve as a center for the exchange of ideas and information, for working conferences, and for stimulation of timely studies of race relations and public policy. It will be housed in a small building of its own in downtown Washington and will be modestly staffed. I hope it will serve, among other things, as an official Washington outpost for the Council.

I need hardly explain that there is some urgency about getting this operation underway while the new Administration is in an early and flexible stage. This is why I have requested a special meeting of the Executive

Committee to consider the choice of a new director and related questions. Without intruding on the Committee's prerogatives, I do want to say that I am firmly of the opinion that the Council has within its own staff the talent and leadership from which to choose a successor.

Leaving the Council's staff will be a painful wrench for me, and I am immodest enough to think that it may cause others some regret. But I have no doubt, and hope others will have none, that the Council's best and most productive years are still before it.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

/s/ HAROLD

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting

April 19, 1961

The meeting of the Executive Committee was called to order at 10:00 a.m., April 19, 1961 in the Conference Room of the Southern Regional Council with Mr. John Wheeler presiding.

Those present: Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Mr. James M. Dabbs, Dr. Albert Dent, Dr. John Griffin, Rabbi Jacpb Rothschild and Mr. Marion A. Wright. All members of the professional staff, except Mrs. M. E . Tilly, Mr. John Hope, II, and Dr. C. H. Parrish were present, with Mrs. Mildred Flowers serving as recording secretary.

Executive Session

Invocation by Rabbi Rothschild. The proposed agenda was unanimously adopted.

Ratification of Minutes of Last Meeting. -- The minutes of the last meeting were approved and adopted. The "Resolution on SRC's Charter and Tax Exemption, was read as required. The Committee requested that this item be placed near the top of the agenda for all future meetings.

Election of Members of Nominating Committee. -- As required by the By-Laws, the Executive Committee elected two Members to serve on the 1961 Nominating Committee: Dr. Harry V. Richardson and Dr. H. Franklin Williams.

Report on Personnel Recruitment. -- The Executive Director-elect reported to the Committee on efforts to fill the positions of Director of Research and Director of Information. On recommendation of Mr. Dunbar, the Executive Committee voted to

> authorize the Executive Director to abolish the position of Research File Clerk and substitute two (2) junior Research Assistants, at a beginning salary ranging from $3,000 to $3,600.

Other Matters for Executive Session. -- The Committee instructed the staff to communicate its best wishes to Miss Wilkins, who is still convalescing.

General Session

As an expression of appreciation for his long and valuable service, Dr. Rufus Clement was presented an inscribed desk pen. In making the presentation, Mr. Dabbs pointed out that Dr. Clement served as Chairman of the first meeting of the Incorporators of the Council and has served on the SRC Executive Committee since it was formed in 1944. In his response, Dr. Clement warmly thanked the Committee and pledged his continued support.

International Institute. -- Mr. Fleming reported that Dr. Guy Johnson had been approached on the possibility of having the proposed International Institute at the University of North Carolina. Dr. Johnson reported that the administration of the University was willing to pursue the idea further. At the suggestion of Mr. Fleming the Committee requested Mr. Wright to undertake personal negotiations with Dr. Johnson and the University. Mr. Wright accepted this responsibility.

The matter of financing such an undertaking was discussed, after which the following motion was made and unanimously adopted:

> That the staff enter discussions with the University of North Carolina regarding the proposed International Institute and be of such assistance as it can be in securing the necessary financing.

Membership. -- The matter of inviting Harold Fleming to membership was discussed by the Committee. It was pointed out that only one vacancy exists and that an invitation had been extended which, if accepted, would bring the Council to full membership. Also, Mr. Fleming is considering establishing residence in the District of Columbia, in which case he would be ineligible. With these conditions in mind, but with the desire to have the Committee's opinion a matter of record, the following motion was made and unanimously adopted:

The Executive Committee hereby elects Harold C. Fleming to membership on the Council for such vacancy as may exist or become available during the time he is eligible to serve.

Financial Matters. -- Mr. Anthony presented a report on the sale of securities held by the Council. The Finance Committee has directed the staff to sell all common stocks other than Dun & Bradstreet which shall become a part of the reserve fund. This action is being taken as favorable market prices allow, and is nearing completion. Henceforth, no committed SRC funds will be invested in common stocks. The reserve fund may, at the discretion of the Finance Committee, be invested in securities.

The Committee discussed at some length the matter of handling the reserve fund. Its opinion was that the current Finance Committee represented a valuable collection of investment knowledge. While it was left to the Finance Committee to make a final decision, the Executive Committee was of the opinion that it was unnecessarily costly and cumbersome to place the reserve fund under outside management.

It was reported that the present requirement of the signatures of the President of the Council and the Secretary-Treasurer in order to execute security transactions was awkward, since the two individuals resided in different places. To correct this and provide closer scrutiny the following motion was made and unanimously adopted:

That Lorimer D. Milton, as chairman of the Finance Committee, or Joseph F. Haas, as Legal Counsel, be authorized to execute the sale of securities together with the Secretary-Treasurer of the Council, Mrs. Ruth H. Alexander.

Recent Appointments and Activities of Committee Members. -- Mr. John H. Wheeler has been named to serve as a member of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. Mr. Wheeler reported that the Committee had held an organizational meeting and that he is encouraged by the President's order and the initial staffing and policies of the Committee.

Dr. Albert W. Dent has been appointed to the Advisory Committee of the Peace Corps and to the Federal Hospital Council. Dr. Dent stated that he felt the Federal Hospital Council appointment to be particularly significant since F.H.C. will be concerned with the policies of all hospitals receiving funds under the Hill-Burton Act.

Dr. Rufus E. Clement serves on the National Science Board.

Other members of the Council who have received recent appointments include Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, appointed to the Advisory Committee of the Peace Corps, and Bishop Joseph Brunini, as member of the Federal Hospital Council.

The Committee noted Colonel Benjamin Muse's new book, Virginia's Massive Resistance, released April 19. The book received very high praise from the retiring director who pointed out the substantial program value of this accounting of the Virginia conflict.

Following a discussion of these and other activities the Committee requested that the staff consider some way in which a listing, for information purposes, could be made of Council members, their appointments and activities.

Current Fund-Raising. -- Mr. Fleming reported on two grants just received by the Council: a grant from the Field Foundation for $25,000 per year for two years in support of SRC's aid to state councils; and, a grant of $50,000 for a one year period from the Rockefeller Foundation. The Committee expressed its appreciation for the fund-raising accomplishments of the retiring director.

Discussion of Civil War Centennial. -- Mr. Dunbar reported on a meeting with Mr. Dabbs, Dr. Bell Wiley, Mr. Anthony, Mr. Wright, and Mr. Muse which he had arranged to have these members consider means in which the Southern Regional Council could make a worthwhile contribution to the public discussion of the Civil War Centennial.

The Committee agreed with Mr. Dunbar that the Council did have a responsibility and requested that he go ahead with plans to have Mr. Dabbs and other Members prepare material which could be published and distributed in pamphlet form.

Other Business. -- The Committee requested that its commendation of the report, The Federal Executive and Civil Rights, and its recognition of the role of Mr. Dunbar in the preparation of that report become a matter of record.

Mr. Fleming gave the Committee his temporary Washington address and urged Members to contact him when in that area. It was the consensus of the group that, from its inception, the Potomac Institute and the Southern Regional Council should work closely together.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 3:00 p.m.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting

July 27, 1961

The meeting of the Executive Committee was called to order at 10:00 a.m., July 27, 1961 with Mr. Wheeler presiding.

Those present: Mr. Brooke, Mr. Christopher, Dr. Clement, Mr. Dabbs, Dr. Griffin, Mr. Haas, Mrs. Hamilton, Mr. Hunter, Miss Wilkins. All members of the professional staff were present, with Mrs. Miller serving as recording secretary.

Executive Session

Following the invocation, the proposed agenda was adopted and the "Resolution on SRC's Charter and Tax Exemption" was read. There ensued a discussion and clarification of the Resolution, with particular attention to the limits imposed on SRC activities.

Mr. Wheeler presented the report of the Personnel Committee, pointing out that, in so far as possible, it was a policy of the Council to pay competitive salaries to staff. After discussion, the following motion was made and unanimously adopted: That, as of August 1, the Council pay for all staff benefits and grant to all personnel a 5% increase in salary.

General Session

Mr. Dunbar introduced new staff members to the Executive Committee: Dr. Moss, Mrs. Boozer, and Miss Miller of the Research Department; Margaret Long, Director of Information. Mr. Wheeler expressed the pleasure of the Executive Committee over the continuing quality of the staff. Mr. Dunbar also announced the appointment of Mr. Julian Longley to serve as Industrial Consultant with Mr. Muse's Southern Leadership Project.

State Councils. Mr. Dunbar passed out reports of the activities, membership, and financial records of the

various state councils on human relations.

Foreign Visitors Center in Knoxville. Mr. Dunbar reported that because of some reluctance on the part of the Board of the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Stern Family Fund and the Southern Regional Council had decided not to pursue the project further at this time.

New Orleans Project. The director announced a grant of $5,000 from the Stern Family Fund to help finance program activities to aid the unhappy school situation in New Orleans as another school year approaches.

Unstaffed Areas. Mr. Dunbar stated that the staff was keenly aware of the need for field work in the states of Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. He hoped that some program could be worked out for these areas in the near future.

Voter Registration Effort. Mr. Dunbar reported on the possibility of a grant of money being made available to SRC to undertake a program of voter registration the southern states, with the cooperation of other organizations already active in the field. A lengthy discussion followed, including the question of SRC's tax exemption, and the wisdom of the Council's becoming involved with other organizations in such a project. The Executive Committee went on record as being heartily in favor of undertaking this assignment, if asked, provided that SRC not be merely a channel for the distribution of funds, but actually in charge of such a project, i.e., setting the direction of the endeavor and determining the distribution of funds within the limitations imposed by theCouncil's tax exemption and consistent with SRC policies and judgment.

Plans for Annual Meeting. The staff made several recommendations about the Annual Meeting, which will be held November 8 and 9: inviting a distinguished national

figure to be speaker at the annual dinner; inviting to non-business sessions of the Board all former Board members of SRC and presidents of the state councils; inviting the press to cover the addresses of the President and the guest speaker; and releasing a notice of the meeting to the press afterwards. The Executive Committee approved the ideas. The Committee requested that reports be made to the Board in writing before the meeting, so as to take up as little time as possible with routine business.

The schedule for the meeting is as follows:

Wednesday, November 8

10:00 a.m.	Executive Committee meeting
12:30 p.m.	Opening session; luncheon, speech by Mr. Dabbs
2:30-5:30 pm	Formal business session and beginning of program discussion, if time allows.
7:00 p.m.	Banquet and guest speaker

Thursday, November 9

9:30 a.m.- 12:30 p.m.	Report of the Executive Director and program session
12:30 p.m.	Lunch (tentative)

Financial Reports.

Report of the Finance Committee. -- The finance Committee, consisting of Mr. Haas, Mr. Milton, and Miss Wilkins, determined after careful consideration that the reserve fund of the Council should be placed under the management of the Trust Company of Georgia in the Common Trust Fund maintained by that institution.

Accordingly, on July 1, 3123 Common Trust Funds units were purchased, at a unit cost of $19.21, for a total investment of $59,992.83. Dividends are paid quarterly. These dividends and any appreciation on the shares owned will be reinvested in the Fund, unless the financial needs of the Council require otherwise.

Following this report, it was moved, seconded, and unanimously adopted: That the Executive Committee ratify the execution of the agreement.

Audit. -- Mrs. Alexander presented the financial statement taken from the audit. Mr. Anthony reported that expenses during the first six months of 1961 were within the amounts authorized by the budget. He further reported that a modest surplus was anticipated, which should take care of any additional obligations and requirements for the remainder of the year.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 3:30 p.m.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting

November 8, 1961

The meeting of the Executive Committee was called to order to 9:30 a.m., in the Board Room at Atlanta University on November 8, 1961, Mr. John Wheeler, presiding.

Others present: Mr. Dabbs, Dr. Dent, Mr. Wright, Miss Wilkins, Mr. Brooke, Mr. Christopher, Mrs. Hamilton, Mr. Hunter, and Rabbi Rothschild. Members of the professional staff were present with Mrs. Muriel Berger serving as recording secretary.

General Session

Following the invocation the proposed agenda was adopted.

The minutes of the last meeting were approved and adopted. The "Resolution on SRC's Charter and Tax Exemption" was read as required.

Financial Reports

Consideration of Reports to be Submitted to the Annual Meeting.

The report of the Secretary-Treasurer was made by Mrs. Alexander. Mrs. Alexander also reported receipt of a gift of $3,232.00, the final payment of the bequest from the William Emerson estate. Following discussion, it was moved, seconded, and unanimously adopted: That the final gift from the Emerson Estate be placed in the Reserve Fund.

It was moved, seconded, and unanimously adopted: That the Report of the Secretary-Treasurer be accepted as read, with an expression of appreciation to Mrs. Alexander.

Proposed Budgets

Mr. Anthony presented the proposed budgets for 1962. Following discussion and consideration of the individual items of the budgets, it was moved, seconded, and unanimously adopted: That the proposed budgets be submitted to the Annual Meeting with the recommendation that they be approved subject to review and revision, throughout the year, by the Executive Committee.

Proposed Grants-in-Aid:

Mr. Rilling presented proposals for distribution of a total of $50,000 for grants-in-aid, with an additional $2,000 subject to the availability of funds. The proposals were based on the past procedure of making funds available to state Councils on Human Relations on a matching funds basis. The method was reported to have been successful during the past year and generally well received by the state councils.

Following discussion, it was moved, seconded, and unanimously adopted: That the proposed schedule of grants-in-aid be submitted to the Annual Meeting.

Proposed Changes in the By-Laws

Proposed changes in the By-Laws were brought before the Committee for consideration. It was explained that these had been sent to all Members of the Council on October 5, 1961 in meeting the provision that proposed changes be brought to the attention of the Council at least 30 days before the Annual Meeting. Following discussion, it was moved, seconded, and unanimously adopted : That the proposed changes of Article II, Section I., Par. A. & B. of the By-Laws, increasing the membership of the Council to 100 from 80 members, be approved by the Executive Committee and be submitted to the Annual Meeting for consideration by the full Council.

Mr. Dunbar reported on developments pertaining to the proposed voter registration project and assured the Committee that discussions with the Taconic Foundation and potential cooperating agencies were proceeding according to the decisions reached by the Committee and its sub-committee in earlier meetings. He stated that, while such a possibility was unlikely, he felt that SRC should not undertake the project if it developed that the NAACP would not participate in such a program. The Committee agreed with this

opinion and moved, seconded, and unanimously adopted the following motion: That SRC make any request for funds to conduct a voter registration project contingent on the cooperation and participation of the NAACP in such a project and that if this participation and cooperation was not forthcoming that the matter be considered further.

Executive Session

The Committee met in Executive Session and in keeping with the requirements of the By-Laws moved, seconded, and unanimously adopted the following motion: That the Executive Committee recommends to the Council the confirmation of the present Executive Director, Secretary-Treasurer, and Counsel for the coming year.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at noon.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Minutes of the Annual Meeting
November 8-9, 1961

The Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council began on November 8, 1961 with an informal luncheon at 12:30 p.m., in the Atlanta University Dining Hall, Vice President Albert W. Dent presiding.

A list of Members attending the Annual Meeting is attached. All members of the professional staff were present, with Mrs. Muriel Berger serving as recording secretary. Other members of the SRC staff attended various sessions of the meeting as time and office duties allowed.

The business session began at 2:00 p.m., in the Atlanta University Student Dining Hall, President James McBride Dabbs presiding.

The report of the Executive Committee to the Council was given by the Chairman, Mr. John H. Wheeler. Following the report and a discussion of it, it was moved, seconded, and unanimously adopted: That the report of the Executive Committee be approved as read.

The report of the Secretary-Treasurer was given by Mrs. Alexander. Following discussion of the Council's financial position, the report was adopted as read.

The proposed budgets, as approved by the Executive Committee, were submitted by Mr. Anthony. Following discussion of the individual items under the general operations budget and a review of the proposed project expenditures, it was moved, seconded, and unanimously adopted: <u>That the proposed budgets for 1962 be approved subject to review and revision by the Executive Committee.</u>

The proposed grants-in-aid schedule for 1962, as approved by the Executive Committee, was presented by Mr. Rilling. In making the presentation Mr. Rilling. In making the presentation Mr. Rilling briefly reviewed the situation, needs, and accomplishments of each of the state councils. He pointed out the number of staff changes during the year and indicated the encouraging trend of increasing local financial support on the part

of most of the state councils. In spite of this, however, Mr. Rilling expressed the opinion that none of the state councils was at or near the point of being able to support itself without assistance from SRC.

There followed a period of question and comment on grants to specific councils and on the general grants-in-aid program. It was explained that the proposed grants of $50,000 would, if approved, represent a firm commitment on the part of ERC while the supplementary grant of $2,000 would be subject to the availability of funds. Any unused grants-in-aid funds from 1961 will be used as a contingency fund for supplementary aid to state councils and for related programs during 1962.

Several of the members expressed a concern for the needs of state councils with which they were familiar and urged that the grants-in-aid program be continued and that the funds in the program be increased if at all possible. Several members from Kentucky requested that they have an opportunity to meet with the staff to explore possibilities of assistance to the council in that state. It was agreed that this should be done.

It was moved, seconded, and unanimously adopted: That the proposed grants-in-aid for 1962 be approved in amount and distribution, subject to review and revision by the Executive Committee. The approved schedule is attached.

Proposed changes in the By-Laws were presented to the members. Earlier, as required by the By-Laws, the members had received the proposed changes and the Executive Committee, on November 8, had approved the changes to be presented to the full Council for consideration. These changes call for increasing Council membership from 80 to 100 persons, the increase to take place over a four year period, 1961 through 1964, with five additional members added to each class as elected. Following discussion it was moved, seconded, and unanimously adopted: <u>That the</u>

proposed changes in the By-Laws be approved as submitted.

Executive Session

In mid-afternoon the Council began an executive session, with the staff on call.

On recommendation of the Executive Committee it was moved, seconded, and unanimously adopted: That the Executive Director, Leslie W. Dunbar; Secretary-Treasurer Ruth House Alexander; and the Counsel, Joseph F. Haas, be confirmed for service during 1962.

The report of the Nominating Committee was given by Thomas W. Young. The report is as follows:

The Nominating Committee of 1961 consists of: Dr. Raymond Wheeler; H. V. Richardson; H. Franklin Williams; Stephen J. Wright, Thomas W. Young.

On September 28, 1961 this Committee met to select nominees for officers and members of the Southern Regional Council. By unanimous vote, the Committee adopted the following slate of nominees to be presented at the Annual Meeting of the Council:

Officers

President	James McBride Dabbs
Vice Presidents	Albert W. Dent Marion A. Wright Miss Josephine Wilkins Rufus E. Clement
Legal Counsel	Joseph F. Haas
Nominating Committee (two additional members appointed by Executive Committee)	Irving Carlyle Raymond Wheeler Thomas Young

Executive Committee
(in addition to the President, Vice Presidents and Counsel)

The Rev. W. C. Brooke; Paul R. Christopher, John A. Griffin, Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, H. Franklin Williams, Stephen J. Wright, Rabbi Jacob Rothschild, Father Alexander O. Sigure, John H. Wheeler

Members

Members of Class of 1961 Re-Elected to Class of 1965: Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason, The Rev. Caxton Doggett, Luther H. Foster, C. G. Gomillion, Arthur Gray, Paul E. Green, John A. Griffin, Joseph F. Haas, Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, The Rev. John E. Hines, the Rev. Duncan Hunter, Guy B. Johnson, E. T. Kehrer, Mrs. Austin Kimball, Z. A. Looby, Rabbi Charles Mantinband

New Members Elected to Class of 1962: The Rev. Theodore Gibson, Miami, Fla.

New Members Elected to Class of 1965: Dr. A. D. Beittel, Tougaloo, Miss,; Mrs. Vivion Brewer, Scott, Ark.; The Rev. M. D. McCollom, Orangeburg, S.C.; John P. Nelson, Jr., New Orleans, La.; Lucius H. Pitts, Birmingham, Ala.; David Scull, Annandale, Virginia; Andrew M. Secrest, Cheraw, S. C.; The Rev. Kelly M. Smith, Nashville, Tennessee.

Following discussion, it was moved, seconded, and unanimously adopted: That the report of the Nominating Committee be accepted as presented.

Following the adoption of the report of the Nominating Committee, the members held a discussion on matters to be considered by future nominating committees when selecting new members. Following this discussion the following motion was made, seconded, and unanimously adopted: It is the concensus of the Council that in considering nominations for membership in the Council, the Nominating Committee give due consideration to identification or potential identification with local and state councils, but that this consideration alone not exclude otherwise valuable potential members from SRC.

At 4:30 p.m., the meeting reconvened in general session for the first program session.

The members heard a report from Mrs. Tilly on her work and on the just-completed meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned. Mrs. Tilly was of the opinion that this meeting, with the largest attendance in history, had been the most successful one ever held.

Following discussion and a question and answer period, it was moved, seconded, and unanimously adopted: That the Council formally pay tribute to Mrs. Tilly for her outstanding work during the year and for her invaluable services during all of the Council's history.

In the absence of Mr. Muse, because of illness, Mr. Dunbar reported on the Southern Leadership Project. He expressed the opinion that this was one of the most valuable of the Council's programs and one that he hoped could be continued for an additional two years. A request for a grant to make this possible had been submitted to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker spoke of his work as the project's school consultant. He reported an increasing willingness of school officials to discuss school desegregation and to prepare for it. It was agreed that in Mr. Brewbaker's difficult area of operation care had to be taken to see that school officials did not look on minimum token desegregation as a statisfactory solution.

The members were told of a new project, Research in Pupil Adjustment, an effort to study in depth some of the pupils involved in newly desegregated school situations. The project staff, Dr. and Mrs. Robert Coles, were introduced.

The first program session ended at 5:30 p.m.

The members reassembled for dinner at 7:00 p.m., Mr. Dabbs presiding. The program consisted of a panel discussion on the subject of whether the present civil rights situation should be seen as encouraging or otherwise. Mr. Wheeler introduced the panel members who were Dr. Robert J. Harris, Dr. C. Eric Lincoln, and Mr. Louis Lomax.

The second program session began at 9:30 a.m., on November 9 at Dean Sage Hall, Atlanta University; Vice President Josephine Wilkins, presiding.

Mr. Dunbar gave the report of the Executive Director, stating that a formal written report would be mailed to the members at a later date. He expressed his pleasure at the number in attendance and the hope that in the morning session and thereafter members would give the staff the benefit of their assistance and counsel.

Mr. Dunbar referred to the statement issued by the Executive Committee on the occasion of Mr. Fleming's resignation and suggested that he felt it would be appropriate if the full Council endorsed this statement. It was moved, seconded, and unanimously adopted: That the statement issued by the Executive Committee in appreciation of Harold C. Fleming's services to SRC be adopted by the full Council.

The Director mentioned the major publications issued during the year and expressed his particular satisfaction over the reception given The Federal Executive and Civil Rights. He reviewed the plans, to date, of the proposed voter registration program and referred to SRC's role in this as another of the increasing needed ways in which the Council must attempt to serve other organizations working in the South in human relations.

Another area which would need greater program attention was that of work in the rural areas and states of the Deep South. Toward this end preliminary work is underway to re-establish human relations organizations in New Orleans and in Mississippi. In meeting this need, and the other anticipated needs of the next several years, Mr. Dunbar noted that the Council would have to maintain a posture which would allow it to be of maximum usefulness in the Deep South while at the same time develop programs for the more liberal parts of the region. It will take skill to meet these obligations with programs that do not seem to conflict.

The Director referred to a list of five questions which had been placed in the hands of the members. These represented subjects on which the staff would particularly like the guidance of the Council. The questions were:

1. How can SRC and the Councils on Human Relations do a more effective job in the small cities and rural areas?
2. With initiative in the civil rights movement now coming from a number of organizations, both new and old, what should be the relationship of SRC to them?
3. The latest "statement of policy and aims of the Southern Regional Council" was adopted in 1951. Do you believe there would be value in a new statement? If you are not prepared to comment on this question now, would you care sometime during the next few months to write your views to President Dabbs?
4. In the 1951 statement, one of SRC's functions was stated as follows:
   > To give special emphasis to the development of leadership among promising young Southerners of all races.

   Except through incidental ways, SRC has not discharged this function. Should we attempt it? How?
5. Do you see ways in which you as a member of the Council would like to be more closely involved or publicly identified with its program?

There followed a lengthy discussion of questions 1 through 4. Time did not permit discussion of Number 5. On the matter of a new statement of policy, members requested they be sent the full text of the 1951 statement; thereafter suggestions would be sent to Mr. Dabbs.

The Council unanimously passed the following motions before adjournment:

> That an expression of appreciation be sent to Dr. Clement and Atlanta University for the generous hospitality extended to the Council;
>
> That an expression of appreciation be sent to President Wynn and Gammon Theological Seminary for the housing accommodations provided members;

That the Executive Committee and staff be commended on the format of the 1961 Annual Meeting;

That the participants of the Panel at the Dinner Meeting be informed of the Council's appreciation for a stimulating program;

That greetings and a record of these proceedings be sent to Dr. and Mrs. George Mitchell;

On learning of the death of one of the original members, Mr. Philip Shulhafer, that a letter of condolence be sent to Mrs. Shulhafer.

The second program session adjourned at 12:30 p.m.

Lunch was served in the Atlanta University Dining Room at 1:00 p.m., Vice President Marion A. Wright presiding. The Presidential Address was delivered by Mr. Dabbs. (Full text of this address reprinted in the November 1961 issue of New South.)

There being no further business, the Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council adjourned at 2:30 p.m., November 9, 1961

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL IN ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER 8-9, 1961

Presented by John H. Wheeler, Chairman

- : -

Since the full Council was last assembled your Executive Committee has met five times to carry out the mandates of the 1960 Annual Meeting and to give policy direction to the staff.

This unusual number of meetings indicates, to some degree, the large number of program and administrative decisions which the Council has faced during the past year. These decisions will be reviewed for you here and in the Director's report on program activities.

Several outstanding Southerners nominated by this body last year have accepted membership in the Council. They are: Dr. Douglas Jackson, Dallas, Texas; Dr. Frank P. Graham, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; Mrs. Charles White, Houston, Texas; and Mr. Wiley Branton, Pine Bluff, Arkansas.

We are pleased that several of these new members are with us today. We welcome them and the contributions they have to make to the deliberations of this body.

There have been a number of major staff changes during the year. On March 10, 1960, Mr. Harold C. Fleming informed the President of the Council of his wish to resign as Executive Director in order that he might accept the position of Executive Vice-President of the Potomac Institute in Washington, D. C. The Executive Committee met on March, to consider this resignation. At that meeting, the Committee unanimously adopted the following statement and motion:

> The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council accepts with regret the resignation of Harold Fleming, the Executive Director of the Council for the past four years.
>
> The Committee, however, cannot let Harold Fleming go without attempting to express its

appreciation of the varied services he has rendered the Council, and through the Council, the South, as Director of Information, Assistant Director and Director through the past fourteen years.

While directing the Council in ever-widening fields of action, he has at the same time deepened its understanding of and work for the South.

He has done this not only through his personal leadership, but also through the recruitment, organization, and direction of a highly capable staff.

As a person he has exhibited a remarkable combination of objective detachment and deep commitment. Going now to a related work in the national Capital, he will be the living exponent of what the South has sought for a hundred years, and the Southern American, combining within himself both Southern richness and American directness.

The Council lets him go with regret but watches with pride his entrance upon the national scene.

It is significant that he goes to his new position during the Centennial year of the Civil War, the new Southern American, who himself will help to bridge that old, unhappy gulf.

While accepting this resignation with deep regret, the Committee was reassured by the fact that the Council had within its own staff the talent and leadership from which to choose a successor. Accordingly, after serious deliberation, the Committee unanimously voted that Leslie W. Dunbar, the Council's director of research, be named to the position of Executive Director. It is the Committee's feeling that Mr. Dunbar's experience and achievements before coming to the Council and his services to the Council as director of research, makes him eminently qualified for this position. We look forward to a continuing growth and effectiveness under his direction.

The position of Director of Research has been temporarily filled by Dr. James A. Moss, professor of Sociology at Union College. Dr. Moss has taken a year's leave of absence from his

permanent duties in order to serve in this capacity. We learned with regret of the resignation of Mr. John Constable as Director of Information. Mr. Constable is now with the United States Information Agency in Washington, D. C. To fill this position we were fortunate in securing Mrs. Margaret Long Leonard, author, novelist, and former columnist on the Atlanta Journal. Miss Marge Manderson, formerly Research Assistant has been appointed Administrative Secretary to the Director of Field Activities and her former position has been filled by Mrs. Margaret Boozer, most recently a teacher in the public school system of DeKalb County, Georgia.

We are pleased to announce these appointments and feel that the qualifications and dedication of these individuals reflects, in itself, the Council's stature and ability.

There has also been a major change within the Executive Committee. At the first meeting of the year, Dr. Rufus Clement expressed the wish that he not be re-elected to another term as chairman. The Committee regretfully respected Dr. Clement's wish and your present chairman was elected. At a later meeting, as an expression of his long and valuable service, Dr. Clement was presented an inscribed desk pen. In making the presentation, Mr. Dabbs pointed out that Dr. Clement served as chairman of the first meeting of the Incorporators of the Council and had served on the SRC Executive Committee since it was formed in 1944. In his response, Dr. Clement warmly thanked the Committee and pledged his continuing support.

We regret that Dr. Clement cannot be with us due to the fact that the Atlanta University Board is meeting today in New York City. In this regard, a number of persons, particularly those connected with colleges and universities, are finding the date of the Annual Meeting to be a difficult one. Early in the new year the Executive Committee hopes to consider this problem and to recommend a different date for the meeting of 1962. We would be pleased to have your suggestions on this matter.

Report of the Executive Committee
to the 1961 ANNUAL MEETING - 4.

The Executive Committee, and a sub-committee established for that purpose, have given considerable deliberation to a proposal whereby the Council would undertake a major research project in the area of voter registration. The matter is still under consideration and the Executive Director will give you more detail on it in his report.

As a continuing responsibility, your Executive Committee remains conscious of the Council's program in regard to the vital area of tax exemption. In February of this year the Committee adopted the following resolution on SRC's Charter and Tax-Exemption:

RESOLUTION ON SRC'S CHARTER AND TAX-EXEMPTION

WHEREAS, pursuant to advice dated January 29, 1960 from the Chief of the Exempt Organizations Branch of the Internal Revenue Service, this corporation was advised "You will be expected in the future to conform your operations strictly with the 'operational tests' set forth in the regulations;" and

WHEREAS, pursuant to said "operational tests" and organization is not regarded as exempt if it is an "action" organization, which means that a substantial part of its activities is attempting to influence legislation, by propaganda or otherwise, either by contacting or urging the public to contact members of a legislative body for the purpose of proposing, supporting or opposing legislation, or advocating the adoption or rejection of legislation.

NOW, THEREFORE, it is stated to be the policy of this body that no officer, agent or employee of Southern Regional Council shall, in the course of its operations, either contact or urge the public to contact members of any legislative body for the purpose of proposing, supporting or opposing legislation, nor shall any such member advocate the adoption or rejection of any legislation;

RESOLVED; that counsel for the Southern Regional Council be directed, periodically, to scrutinize and evaluate the activities of members of the staff so as to insure that such activities are consistent with the principles stated in this resolution and in the regulations defining the "operational tests" of the Internal Revenue Service;

RESOLVED FURTHER: that this resolution be read or referred to at every meeting of the Executive Committee, and shall be read at every annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council.

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: that no member of the staff or of the Southern Regional Council has the authority to speak for the Southern Regional Council in matters which are inhibited by the Internal Revenue Code.

February 1961

Last year this body adopted a budget of approximately $270,000. Generally, this rate of expenditure has been maintained. In January, the Executive Committee removed the research department from the special projects category and made this work a part of the general operations budget of the Council. It was the Committee's feeling that research activities have become a basic part of the Council's program.

Later in the year the Committee voted a five per cent rais in staff salaries and inaugurated a plan whereby the Council would pay the full costs for all basic staff benefits. This was done to bring professional staff salaries more in line with the national scale and to make clerical salaries more competitive with the Atlanta scale. These actions will increase the general operations budget by about $7,000 in 1962.

The Council's general financial condition remains relatively sound. We are pleased to report to you that this year SRC received a $50,000 grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, a major breakthrough for the Southern Regional Council and for the field of human relations. Largely because of this, the Council will end the year without deficit.

However, fund-raising remains the perennial problem. The proposed budget which will be submitted to you today, if approved, will call for approximately $115,000 in funds beyond those now committed. Of that amount to be

raised we are hopeful that some $75,000 will come from sources which have contributed in the past. Even if this hope proves justified, approximately $40,000 will have to be raised from new sources. In short, the matter of maintaining support from contributors and that of cultivating new sources continues to be a major concern and activity of the Committee and the Executive Director.

The Council has been able to create a modest reserve fund and during 1961 the Committee placed this fund - of $60,000 - in a separate account under the management of the Trust Company of Georgia. We are hopeful that this fund can be modestly increased each year. We feel that the Council's financial situation is always of such an indefinite nature that it is wise to maintain and increase this small measure of security.

In conclusion, it is the opinion of your Executive Committee that the year has been a good and productive one. We feel that ever increasing activities of the Council and the growing demands being made upon it are an encouraging indication of the organization's effectiveness and a measure of the confidence which others have in us.

There is nothing in our accomplishments which gives cause for complacency, too much remains undone, and the challenge before us is too great. However, as we approach 1962 - the Council's 19th year of operation - we can do so with the assurance that the Southern Regional Council is a constructive and responsible force in these changing times.

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

February 20, 1962

The meeting of the Executive Committee was convened at 10:00 a.m., February 20, 1962, in the Conference Room of the Southern Regional Council.

Those present: Paul Christopher, Rufus E. Clement, James M. Dabbs, Albert W. Dent, John A. Griffin, Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Rabbi Jacob Rothschild, Miss Josephine Wilkins, H. Franklin Williams, Marion A. Wright, Stephen J. Wright, and John H. Wheeler, Chairman, presiding. In addition, Joseph F. Haas was present for a portion of the meeting.

All members of the professional staff were present during the General Session, with Mrs. Mildred Johnson serving as recording secretary.

EXECUTIVE SESSION
(Staff on Call)

Following the invocation, the order of the items listed on the Agenda for consideration in the General Session was changed, after which the agenda was approved and adopted.

The minutes of the last meeting were approved and adopted. The "resolution on SRC's Charter and Tax Exemption" was read as required.

Report of the Personnel Committee. -- After the report of the Personnel Committee was presented, the full Committee requested: That, the Personnel Committee give consideration to the desirability of a formal statement on salary policy. After passage of this motion, the salary schedule for 1962, as recommended by the Personnel Committee, was approved.

Election of Member to Fill Unexpired Terms of Mr. Branton. --

To fill the vacancy in the Class of 1963, created by the resignation of Mr. Wiley Branton (in order to accept staff appointment), Miss Josephine Wilkins moved the election of Dr. Crawford Brock of Rome, Georgia. There were no other nominations. Dr. Brock was unanimously elected to the Class of 1963.

GENERAL SESSION

Report on Voter Education Project. -- It was reported that funds for the implementation of the Voter Education Project are not yet available. However, the Taconic Foundation has made an appropriation of $250,000 for the two-year project; the funds to be granted when the Project's tax-exempt status is confirmed by the Internal Revenue Service. Mr. Adrian DeWind of the New York firm of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton, and Garrison has been given the power of attorney to act in behalf of SRC in dealing with the IRS in this matter.

It was also reported that SRC has submitted a request for Project support to the Field Foundation. The Edgar Stern Family Fund has expressed some interest in the Project and has invited the Council to submit a request for support.

Mr. Branton reported that the Project has rented office space at 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., and has been operating on a part-time basis for approximately six weeks. During this period he and Mr. George Barrett, who is serving as a consultant, have made contact with a number of appropriate agencies, government offices, and local voter registration groups.

During the lengthy discussion of the Voter Education Project, the Executive Committee reminded the staff that its role should continue to be that of coordinator for participating agencies and that SRC's direct efforts should be defined as, and limited to, research.

The following motion was made, seconded and unanimously adopted: That, the staff of the Southern Regional Council be authorized to proceed with the Project, and that from time to time the Executive Committee be informed of its progress. Upon receipt of the Internal Revenue Service ruling, the Committee should be informed.

(Note: No report on State Councils was made since Mr. Rilling had to leave the meeting early for an out-of-town engagement.)

Southern Leadership Project - Mr. Muse. Mr. Muse reported on a conference of about 90 persons which he attended in Greenwich, Connecticut. The conference was called because of the growing concern over the radical right. Chairman was the Rev. Dean M. Kelly of the National Council of Churches. No program plans came from the conference through each individual and organization present was asked to propose programs at a second conference to be held in the near future.

Mr. Muse also spoke of SRC's efforts to obtain the services of former Atlanta Mayor William B. Hartsfield. This has not developed because of Mr. Hartsfield's heavy commitments since his retirement. However, he has assured Mr. Muse of his interest in SRC's program, and has expressed the hope that a small amount of his time can be devoted to SRC.

The meeting was adjourned at 12:30 p.m. for lunch and reconvened at 1:30 p.m.

Audit, Mrs. Alexander. - - Since a copy of the Financial Statement had been mailed to each member in advance, a detailed report on finances was not given.

Following a discussion of the large amount of funds in the checking account, the following motion was made, seconded and unanimously adopted: That, no more funds than necessary for the normal operation of the Council, be kept in a checking account; all other available funds to be invested in

savings or appropriate other interest earning investments.

Thereafter, it was unanimously adopted, That, Mrs. Alexander's report be accepted with gratitude.

Report on Reserve Fund and Funds to be Raised, Mr. Anthony. -- It was reported that the Council's reserve fund - in the Trust Company of Georgia managed account - now has a value of $63,736.36.

Of the funds yet to be raised for operations during 1962, it was reported that requests totaling $100,000 have now been placed before foundations or are being prepared for the near future. Also, the Committee was informed that the Rockefeller Brothers Fund has renewed support of the Leadership Project for two years.

Matters from the Annual Meeting, Mr. Dunbar. -- The following have accepted Council Membership:

Class of 1962: The Rev. Theodore Gibson of Miami.

Class of 1965: Dr. A. D. Beittel, Tougaloo, Miss.; Mr. Lucius Pitts, Birmingham, Ala.; The Rev. M. D. McCollom, Orangeburg, S. C.; Mr. John P. Nelson, Jr., New Orleans, La.; Mr. David Scull, Annandale, Va.; Mr. Andrew Secrest, Cheraw, S. C.; and the Rev. Kelly M. Smith, Nashville, Tenn. Mr. McNeil Smith of Greensboro, N. C. has accepted provisionally, with the request that his acceptance not become effective until early spring.

At the time of the Annual Meeting, the question was raised as to whether the Council's Policy Statement should be revised. The Director reported that, as requested, a copy of the Statement had been sent to each member, asking guidance on the matter. To date, ten members have replied they felt no changes necessary while four have indicated that some change should be considered. Mr. Dabbs reported on receiving several replies with approximately the same division

of opinion.

Mr. Haas reminded the Committee that the Statement, as it now stands, is in the files of the Internal Revenue Service and if changes were made the IRS might want to reopen its files in regard to this matter. Also, such a change would be ill-timed in light of the pending ruling on the Voter Education Project. In view of these matters, the following motion was made, seconded, and unanimously adopted: That, in view of the few replies received regarding Policy Statement changes, the staff is instructed to plan no revision of the Statement at this time.

Discussion of Program for 1962. -- A question was raised regarding the proposed international center directed by SRC in the Knoxville-TVA area. Mr. Dunbar reported that he had informed Mrs. Helen Hill Miller of the Stern Family Fund that SRC did not feel it could consider the matter further at this time, especially in light of the heavy demands of the Voter Education Project. The Committee concurred in this and proposed to the staff that the Stern Family Fund be urged to use the funds reserved for the Knoxville program in the Voter Education Project; a program which the Committee felt has greater potential for the region.

The question of SRC developing a youth leadership program was reopened. After hearing a report on present Council work in this area and a discussion of possible additional work, the Committee agreed that an expanded program would be desirable, if feasible. The following motion was made, seconded and unanimously passed: That a program for the development of young Southern leadership be placed on the projects-to-be-considered agenda of the staff and the results of their considerations be reported to the Committee at an early convenient meeting.

Mrs. Tilly reported that in early 1961 Emory University considered desegregating its Nursing School, partly from an awareness of the large amount of federal funds involved in this

program. Through Mrs. Tilly's efforts, two qualified Negro nurses were found who made application for graduate training. After much negotiating, Emory took the position that it would not desegregate until its state tax exempt status was clarified. It was Mrs. Tilly's feelings that this was an act of evasion which would bear investigation. After discussion, the following motion was made, seconded, and unanimously passed: That a way be found by which the facts involved in Emory's refusal to accept these nurses be brought to the attention of the following persons: The U. S. Attorney-General, the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, Mr. Harris Wofford, Special Assistant to the President of the United States, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, and Mr. Harold C. Fleming of the Potomac Institute. The above mentioned persons to be furnished with documented evidence and facts.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 3:30 p.m.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

May 30, 1962

The meeting of the Executive Committee convened in the Conference Room of the Southern Regional Council at 10:00 a.m., Wednesday, May 30, 1962, John H. Wheeler, presiding.

Those present: The Rev. W. Carroll Brooke, Paul Christopher, Rufus E. Clement, James M. Dabbs, Albert W. Dent, John A. Griffin, Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Rabbi Jacob Rothschild, Rt. Rev. Msgr. Alexander O. Sigur, H. Franklin Williams, Marion A. Wright, and Stephen J. Wright.

All members of the professional staff were present during the General Session, with Mrs. Mildred M. Johnson serving as recording secretary.

EXECUTIVE SESSION
(Staff on Call)

Following the invocation, the order of the items listed on the Agenda for consideration in the General Session was changed, after which the agenda was approved and adopted.

The minutes of the last meeting were approved and adopted. The "Resolution on SRC's Charter and Tax Exemption" was read as required.

Election of (2) Members to the Nominating Committee.-- As required in the By-Laws, the Committee elected two members to serve on the Nominating Committee with the three members elected at the annual meeting. Elected were: Rabbi Charles Mantinband (alternate; Most Rev. Joseph B. Brunini) and Dr. Luther H. Foster (alternate; Dr. Arthur Gray).

GENERAL SESSION

During a brief memorial service for Dr. George S. Mitchell, Mr. Marion Wright spoke of the valued and effective work done by Dr. Mitchell. Mr. Wright called attention to the tribute paid Dr. Mitchell in the April New South, prepared by Mr. Paul Williams, former President and a close associate of Dr. Mitchell.

A prayer was offered by Dr. Clement.

The following resolution was made, seconded, and unanimously adopted: That, the staff prepare an appropriate resolution expressing the regrets of the Executive Committee at the passing of Dr. Mitchell, to be forwarded to the members of Dr. Mitchell's family. Unanimous approval was given by a standing vote of the Committee.

Report on Investments and Finances. -- Mr. Anthony reported that in addition to the Council's reserve fund, there now is $60,000 in the savings account with the Citizens' Trust Company, and the Council had just purchased $40,000 in Federal Intermediate Credit Banks 3.10% Debentures, due 3/4/63, purchased at 100.

Mr. Dunbar reported that since the Committee last met, the Council has received the following grants: a two-year renewal of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund support of the Southern Leadership Project, in the amount of $40,000 per year; a renewal for two years of the grant from the New World Foundation at $25,000 per year; a renewal for three years of the support of the Field Foundation at $25,000 per year.

The Field Foundation action was unexpected at this time. In light of this, the following resolution was made, seconded, and unanimously adopted: That, the staff prepare and send to the Field Foundation a letter of appreciation.

Mr. Dunbar also reported on funds received for the Voter

Education Project. They are: $250,000 from the Taconic Foundation for a period of two years; $75,000 from the Field Foundation for one year; and $124,000 from the Stern Family Fund for two years.

The Committee commended the staff for its fund-raising efforts.

Report on the Voter Education Project. -- Mr. Branton reported that, since the Council received the favorable advance ruling from the Internal Revenue Service, the Project had begun operation on a normal basis. The first grants, totaling approximately %60,000 have been made. Each of the cooperating agencies, as outlined in the original plans, have received a portion of these funds, as have several local groups.

Initial programs are being concentrated in Louisiana, Tennessee, Mississippi, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, and are concerned primarily with "crash" programs where registration deadlines for the current year can still be met. Several types of plans for voter registration and a wide range of rural and urban conditions are involved in order that the project staff can begin to study the relative merits of each.

Dr. Moss reported on a recent conference called by SRC, in which twelve professors from southern colleges and universities, who have been or are involved in voter registration research, were invited. This group shared with the Research and Project staffs their ideas on the ways in which the Project might have the greatest research value.

Several Committee members offered research suggestions to the staff and the Committee noted its agreement with the staff that major emphasis continue to be placed on the research aspects of the effort.

Date of Annual Meeting. -- It was unanimously decided

by the Committee that the Annual Meeting should be held in Atlanta on November 19 and 20, 1962. The staff was instructed to draw up plans and to investigate the possibility of holding the meeting in a downtown hotel.

Fellowship of the Concerned. -- Mrs. Tilly reported on activities since the last meeting of the Committee and informed the Committee that the fall meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned would be held in Atlanta at the Interdenominational Theological Seminary on October 30 and 31.

Report on State Councils. -- Mr. Rilling reported that the director of the Alabama Council, the Reverend Norman Jimerson, was under injunction from participating in or encouraging boycotts, demonstrations, and the like. Counsel has been secured and the group is prepared to do whatever is necessary to oppose and have this injunction lifted. It was the feeling of the Committee that the Council has an obligation to support the Alabama Council. The following motion was made, seconded, and unanimously passed: That, the staff be authorized to increase the 1962 grant-in-aid to the Alabama Council on Human Relations by an amount up to $2,000 in the event that group should need assistance.

Mr. Rilling also reported on efforts to reorganize local Councils in New Orleans and in Mississippi. However, members of the Mississippi group are under serious harassment from the Citizens' Councils and the success of the effort there is by no means certain at this time.

Discussion of Program. -- Mr. Dunbar reported on several new programs. These include an experiment with the use of radio in the Deep South. Mr. Edwin Randall of the Friendly World Broadcasting Company has prepared a series, "A Yankee in the Heart of Dixie," and is having success in placing the program with small stations in Alabama. The Southern Leadership Project is investing a modest amount of money in this experiment.

The Southern Leadership Project is also developing a program of work with rural ministers. Under the proposed program a minister will work with the Rev. Will D. Campbell and the National Council of Churches. The Southern Regional Council will assist financially, the National Council will serve as sponsor and provide administrative supervision, and the two agencies will jointly plan and direct the program.

Msgr. Sigur suggested that since the National Council of Churches has no dealings with the Catholic Church, the Council should make direct approaches to the Catholic churches in the rural South.

Mr. Marion Wright suggested than an approach be made to Billy Graham's radio station in Black Mountain, North Carolina. In view of Mr. Graham's large following, and the fact that the station, newly established, would have a large audience, much might be accomplished in connection with SRC's rural church program. Several social action groups in Western North Carolina, with particular interest in rural work, might also be approached.

Dr. Dent directed the staff's attention to the new book by Wilma Kykeman and James Stokely on the life of Dr. Will Alexander: The Seeds of Southern Change.

Mr. Christopher suggested that the staff investigate program possibilities with Area Redevelopment Act personnel.

The Committee was given a report on the reception of the Council study, Executive Support of Civil Rights. It was suggested that the staff give consideration to issuing similar reports at appropriate times.

With no further business, the meeting adjourned at 2:30 p.m.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

September 20, 1962

The meeting of the Executive Committee convened in the Conference room at 10:00 a.m., Thursday, September 20, 1962, James M. Dabbs presiding in the absence of John H. Wheeler.

Those present: the Rev. W. C. Brooke, Paul R. Christopher, Rufus E. Clement, James M. Dabbs, John A. Griffin, Joseph F. Haas, Rabbi Jacob Rothschild, Miss Josephine Wilkins, and H. Franklin Williams. Mrs. Grace Hamilton was present during the afternoon session.

All members of the professional staff, with the exception of Staige Blackford who was ill, were present during the general session, with Mrs. Montez G. Albright (morning) and Mrs. Nobbie Morgan (afternoon) serving as recording secretaries.

EXECUTIVE SESSION
(Staff on Call)

Following the invocation, the agenda was approved and adopted (copy attached).

The minutes of the last meeting were approved and adopted. The "Resolution on SRC's Charter and Tax Exemption" was read as required.

GENERAL SESSION

Mr. Dunbar reported on Mr. Marion Wright's trip around the world, and on the communications he had received from several other members. He then introduced new staff members Staige Blackford (in absentia), Director of Research, and Jack Minnis, of the Voter Education Project.

Plans for Annual Meeting. Mr. Anthony reported on possible accommodations for the Annual Meeting. After considerable discussion of alternatives, Mr. Dabbs noted a consensus that housing and meetings be at the Peachtree Manor Hotel unless Miss Wilkins could reach agreement with the Biltmore.

Proposed Grants-in-Aid Schedule, 1962. Mr. Rilling submitted the proposed grants to state councils on human relations (attached), totaling $55,800 or $3,800 more than 1962.

Dr. Clement inquired about possibilities for a state council in Texas. Mr. Rilling said that it might grow from a strong council in Houston. A problem is the remains of the old state council and the necessity of having to work around or with it. He had not sensed any great demand or need for a state council in Texas.

Dr. Clement inquired if Kentucky had been dropped completely? Mr. Rilling replied that Kentucky was still considered an associated group with the understanding that if it needs money it can apply.

Miss Wilkins inquired if the executive committee was being asked to approve the grants without any relation to the remainder of the budget? Mr. Dunbar replied that if the committee approved the grants they would become part of the budget submitted in November to the Executive Committee for endorsement to the Annual Meeting.

The following motion was made (Brooke), seconded (Clement), and passed unanimously: That, the Executive Committee approves the Grants-in-Aid schedule as submitted and recommends it for inclusion in the SRC budget for 1963.

Mr. Dunbar reported that the Field Foundation had aided three of the state councils this past year, in addition to the SRC aid. Georgia and Tennessee Councils were enabled by these grants to empliy additional staff. The South Carolina Council was aided also. The Wm. C. Whitney Foundation made a similar

grant to the Virginia Council and is prepared to cooperate with the Virginia Council further in a very interesting program development there. SRC had not, he noted, helped in stimulating the South Carolina grant.

Report on the Voter Education Project. Mr. Branton passed around numbered copies of the first status report of the VEP, and led a review and discussion of it.

Mr. Branton was asked how the registration results were determined. He and Mr. Minnis said that only those registered through the sponsored programs were claimed. Mr. Minnis added that VEP believes there has been considerable indirect result from the registration drive which it has no way of counting.

The categorizing of Atlanta as an area of "moderate resistance" was questioned, and the explanation was that areas were grouped by an evaluation of the percentage of unregistered Negroes eligible to vote. Dr. Clement noted his disagreement with Atlanta's classification, and the staff agreed that the label was perhaps not deserved.

Mr. Haas inquired as to evaluation of different methods of approach used by the different groups. He hoped that future reports would contain more information on such factors as they have an effect on registration and are our research concern.

Mr. Dunbar said that no effort had been made to condense the many field reports (which are in great detail) because of the mass of detail and the lack of time to evaluate them. The reports will be evaluated later. Some of them came in during the week previous to getting out the report and it was impossible to digest them. Examples were given of the detail contained in the reports.

Dr. Clement said that the VEP should be very careful that when reports are made the research angle is emphasized so that tax exemption is not jeopardized. Mr. Branton then gave instances of the kinds of resistance met with in Mississippi: harassment,

intimidation, arrest, fines. He told of the Lake Providence, La., shooting of the Rev. Scott. He told of the Mount Beulah clinic and the part played by the Jackson Daily News and Mr. Braden's report. He said the Williams Chapel Church (used as meeting place by voter registration groups) in Ruleville, Miss., had had its tax exemption cancelled, free water cut off, fire insurance cancelled. He continued with the account of the shooting of two girls in Sunflower County. He said the Justice Department was expected to file suit asking that prosecutions be enjoined and asking for return of bail.

Dr. Clement wondered if it would be helpful to get a complete statement of the kinds of harassment and intimidation mentioned by Mr. Branton so that the statement could be presented on the floor of Congress and become a part of the Congressional Record. Mr. Branton said that when the suit was filed by the Justice Department it would have affidavits of such incidents attached and it will be a matter of record.

Mr. Dunbar said that these problems in Mississippi and Southwest Georgia are very tough problems and have given us a lot of concern organizationally. There have been similar occurrences in north Louisiana. We had not been until recently connected with the registration work in southwest Georgia. We are now. The Justice Department has been in very close touch with us, and a suit may be filed in Sunflower County. Day before yesterday we called in Washington a meeting which included a representative from the Justice Department. We became convinced of a need at this time for good discussion among people involved as to just what we were running into. Harold Fleming put Potomac Institute at our disposal, paid the travel of several people (who could not otherwise have come) and provided lunch. All agencies were represented.

It was a good meeting with a lot of plain talk addressed to the Justice Department. There was also plain talk among representatives of the agencies and this cleared the air.

Dr. Clement said that he thought we were very fortunate to have Mr. Branton with us as director of the VEP. Mr. Dabbs said he was sure that we all agree with Dr. Clement.

The meeting recessed for lunch, and reconvened at 2:00 p.m.

Mr. Dunbar introduced Mr. Reed Sarrat, Director of the Southern Education Reporting Service. He also called attention to honors received recently by certain staff members. Mr. Branton had been selected by *Life* Magazine as one of the "take over generation." Mrs. Tilly received a citation from Wesleyan College, her Alma Mater, at commencement exercises there in June. Mr. Muse will receive the Hoey Award from the Catholic Interracial Council for his work in the field of brotherhood and race relations. Mrs. Morgan has had a cross-buring in her yard.

Mr. Dunbar then raised and discussed the question of whether SRC could do something to alert the bar of the South to its responsibilities toward defendants in unpopular cases. He proposed inviting lawyers on the SRC board to come together to consider the matter at the time of the Annual Meeting. The Committee agreed with this suggestion.

Mrs. Tilly reported on plans for the annual meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned, to be held in Atlanta on October 30-31.

Mr. Rilling reported on the success of the initial work with Mr. Edward Randall and the Friendly World Broadcasting Station, an effort to reach the rural South. Mr. Randall's radio series, "A Yankee in the Heart of Dixie," is now being carried by 49 stations in Alabama, four or more in Georgia, with the hope of reaching still others.

Mr. Dunbar reported that SRC had signed a contract with Viking Press to have an SRC sponsored book written by Mr. Benjamin Muse on the ten year period since the Supreme Court's 1954 decision on public schools. Royalties will be waived on the first 6,000 copies of the book in the interest of placing

a lower retail price on the book to gain greater circulation. Other projects being planned are (a) a study on tokenism to be sponsored jointly by SRC and the Anti-Defamation League, and (b) a study on race relations and law enforcement for the International City Managers Association, to be undertaken jointly with the Potomac Institute.

In discussing the changing nature of the region, Mr. Dunbar proposed a study in some depth of SRC's program. He suggested that the staff give some time to this matter and prepare a preliminary report of recommendations by next Spring, these recommendations to be submitted to a sub-committee of the Executive Committee. Thereafter a final report and recommendations could be brought before the full Executive Committee. It was moved, seconded, and unanimously adopted: That, a study of SRC's programs be instituted as outlined by the Director.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 3:00 p.m.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

November 19, 1962

The meeting of the Executive Committee convened at the Peachtree Manor Hotel at 10:00 a.m., Monday, November 19, 1962, with the Chairman, John H. Wheeler, presiding.

Those present were: the Rev. Carroll Brooke, Paul Christopher, James M. Dabbs, A. W. Dent, Joseph Haas, Rabbi Jacob Rothschild, John H. Wheeler, Miss Josephine Wilkins, Franklin Williams, M. A. Wright, S. J. Wright, and, for part of the meeting, Mrs. Grace Hamilton.

Staff members present were: Mrs. Ruth H. Alexander, Paul Anthony, Leslie W. Dunbar, and Mrs. Montez Albright, who served as recording secretary.

Following the invocation, the agenda was approved and adopted (copy attached).

The minutes of the last meeting were approved and adopted. The "Resolution on SRC's Charter and Tax Exemption" was read as required.

Proposed Budgets, 1963

The proposed budget and the financial report for the first 10 months of 1962 were combined and presented by Mr. Anthony and Mrs. Alexander (copy attached).

There were questions and discussion regarding the expense to SRC for the Voter Education Project and a general expression of opinion that 15% of the project administrative cost was not sufficient overhead for general operations.

Regarding the overhead charged for projects a resolution was proposed and approved by general consensus: That the staff

maintain observation of actual expenses incurred with projects, especially in the case of VEP, so a realistic appraisal of the actual expenses and, if needed, a revision of overhead charged could be made.

Regarding the Fellowship of the Concerned, there were questions and discussion of budget and program. Suggestions were made as to obtaining grants for this program from church organizations.

Sources for additional grants were suggested for the Research in Student Adjustment project undertaken by Dr. Robert Coles, as follows: (1) some tie-in with a current program at Emory University; 2) the program in the National Institute of Mental Health which makes grants enabling universities to sponsor this kind of research; 3) the Kennedy Foundation.

It was moved, seconded and unanimously adopted: That the proposed budget be approved for submission to the Annual Meeting on the following conditions: 1) that the Executive Committee review the budget periodically and take such steps as may appear to be necessary to keep program operations within the funds available, and 2) that the Grant-in-Aid schedule not be reduced below the budgeted amount, as explained in the approved schedule of grants for 1963.

Committee to Recommend President

Mr. Dabbs made a statement to the group regarding his tenure as President and his wish that consideration be given to electing a new President next year.

It was moved, seconded and unanimously adopted: That the Chairman of the Executive Committee appoint a committee of three from the Executive Committee to submit to the Nominating Committee its recommendations for the office of President.

Mr. Wheeler thereupon appointed the following committee, to act only in an advisory capacity to the Nominating Committee:

Marion A. Wright, Chairman, with MissJosephine Wilkins and Dr. Stephen J. Wright.

Fellows

Mr. Dunbar proposed the activating of an unused provision in the By-Laws which provides for the naming of "Fellows" to the Southern Regional Council (Article III). He suggested that a special category of "Life Fellows" be created for honoring Southerners (in many cases former members of SRC). General discussion followed.

It was moved, seconded, and unanimously adopted: That the Executive Committee recommend to the Council the establishment of a designation of Life Fellows, as allowed by Article III of the By-Laws, said Fellows to be invited to Annual Meetings of the Council and to participate without vote in program discusssions of the Council; that the Committee recommend as those to be named in 1962 Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, Mr. Leonard Haas, Dr. Gordon Hancock, Bishop LaFayette M. Harris, and Dr. A. E. McDowell.

It was moved, seconded and unanimously adopted: That the staff report on any change in the By-Laws that may be necessary for classification of Fellows.

It was moved, seconded, and unanimously adopted: That the Committee recommend to the full Council the confirmation of the Executive Director and the Secretary-Treasurer, with deep appreciation of services and leadership rendered.

After discussion initiated by Mr. Dunbar, it was agreed that the Personnel Committee draft and submit to the Executive Committee at its next meeting a policy statement on participation of SRC staff members on an individual basis in demonstrations which involve their personal convictions. No final action was taken and no policy was set at this time.

The Executive Committee adjourned at 12:30 p.m.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

November 19-20, 1962

The Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council began on November 19, 1962 with an informal luncheon at 12:30 p.m., at the Peachtree Manor Hotel, Vice-President Josephine Wilkins presiding.

A list of the members attending is attached. All members of the professional staff were present, with Mrs. Montez Albright serving as recording secretary; other staff members attended various sessions as time and office duties allowed.

The business session convened at 2:00 p.m., with President James M. Dabbs presiding.

The report of the Executive Committee was given by the chairman, Mr. John H. Wheeler. Following discussion, it was moved, seconded, and unanimously adopted: That the report of the Executive Committee be accepted as given (Attachment A).

It was moved, seconded, and adopted unanimously: That the Council as a whole act in recognition of the past service and dedication of George S. Mitchell.

The Financial Report was given jointly by Mr. Anthony and Mrs. Alexander (Attachment B). Following questions and discussion, it was moved, seconded, and adopted unanimously: That the budget be approved on the following conditions: (1) that the Executive Committee review the budget periodically and take such steps as may appear to be necessary to keep program operations within the funds avialable; and (2) that the grants-in-aid schedule not be reduced below the $52,000 which now seems to be available for this purpose.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

At 3:25 p.m., the Council began executive session, with the staff on call.

On recommendation of the Executive Committee it was moved, seconded, and approved unanimously: That Leslie W. Dunbar be confirmed as Executive Director.

It was moved, seconded, and approved unanimously: That Mrs. Ruth H. Alexander be continued as Secretary-Treasurer.

It was moved, seconded, and approved unanimously: That Mr. Joseph F. Haas be retained as Counsel.

NOMINATING COMMITTEE REPORT

The report of the Nominating Committee was given by Dr. Luther H. Foster for the absent chairman, Mr. Irving E. Carlyle. Mr. Dabbs asked that Dr. Hancock take the chair, since his office would be included in the nominations.

It was moved, seconded, and approved unanimously: That the report of the Nominating Committee be accepted (Attachment C).

Mr. Dabbs then resumed the chair and reported that during the Executive Committee session that morning the Committee had authorized the appointment of a special committee to canvas possibilities for a new president of the Council and to report its findings to the Nominating Committee for its consideration. The members appointed are: M. A. Wright, chairman, with Miss Josephine Wilkins and S. J. Wright.

Mr. Dabbs then explained the action of the Executive Committee in recommending the activation of Article III of the BY-Laws for the purpose of awarding honorary Fellowships to the Council; the intitial small group to be named for life membership. He said the persons named are a distinguished group of people who have in the past been very helpful to the Council

and whose assistance is needed now in furthering Council work.

The following were approved unanimously for Life Fellows of the Council: Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, Mr. Leonard Haas, Dr. Gordon Hancock, Bishop M. LaFayette Harris, and Dr. Edward A. McDowell.

It was moved, seconded, and approved unanimously: That in presenting future nominations for Life Fellows, members should present names along with biographical sketches some time in advance of the Annual Meeting to the Executive Committee for consideration and recommendation.

It was moved, seconded, and approved: That a scroll be presented to each of these Life Fellows; a citation accompanying the scroll to give reasons for nomination. Persons so nominated shall not have the right to vote.

Some concern was expressed that state council groups were not represented on the Nominating Committee and it was stated that they feel they deserve some consultation on persons to be nominated from their areas before action is taken.

Mr. Dabbs said that each member of the Council is written and asked to suggest names for the guidance of the Nominating Committee. He added that the concern seemed to be that state council people have prior notice of names to be submitted from their areas. He asked that it be recorded and passed along to the new Nominating Committee for their consideration as to the way future nominations be handled. He noted further that state councils are not affiliates of the Council but are autonomous organizations.

A request was made that the report of the Nominating Committee be mimeographed and included in the kit given out at the beginning of each meeting.

It was moved, seconded, and approved: That the Nominating

Committee be requested to make the nominations before one session of the Council and that voting on the nominations be done at a subsequent session.

General Session

The members of the Executive Committee were introduced by Mr. Dunbar; Paul Christopher, Rufus Clement, James M. Dabbs, A. W. Dent, John A. Griffin, Joseph F. Haas, Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, John A. Nelson, Jr., John H. Wheeler, Raymond Wheeler, Miss Josephine Wilkins, H. Franklin Williams, M. A. Wright, S. J. Wright, and Thomas W. Young.

First Program Session

Mr. John H. Wheeler, chairman of the Executive Committee, presided. Mr. Wiley A. Branton, director of the Voter Education Project, gave a lively and detailed report of his project.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, director of Women's Work for the Council, gave a report of the meeting of the recent annual meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned and passed around copies of the Workbook for Council members to examine. Present were 140 women, from 80 localities in 14 Southern states.

The Council adjourned at 6:00 p.m., after an announcement of the dinner meeting at Stouffer's Restaurant at 7:00 pm. Following the dinner, a panel of speakers addressed the members on the theme of prospects within the Deep South. The panel consisted of Rev. Will D. Campbell, associate executive director, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches; Dr. Lewis Wade Jones, Race Relations Department, Fisk University; Dr. James Wesley Silver, Professor of History, University of Mississippi; Vice President Rufus E. Clement presided.

Second Program Session
(November 20, 1962)

The meeting was called to order at 9:15 a.m., with Vice President A. W. Dent presiding.

Mr. Dunbar presented his report as Executive Director. He noted that organizationally, SRC has been kept this past year as it has been for several years. There are 20 full-time persons on the staff and one part-time mailroom worker; we also have Mr. Brewbaker working half-time. There are four more people who have some connection from time-to-time. The budget has been kept to the same level for the last several years (not including VEP). He remarked that we get from our resources a considerable amount of program.

Mr. Dunbar commented that, on the one hand, the Council is a committed organization (and through VEP we are engaged publicly in programs of activity that are bound to draw attention), and, on the other hand, we have boldly claimed for our publications objectivity. We have got away with this and it has taken some doing. Hen then reviewed programs now in progress.

Mr. Dunbar announced that the Staff had informed the Executive Committee of its desire to undertake a thorough review and evaluation of program, to which the Executive Committee had given its hearty approval. The staff has asked Chairman Wheeler to appoint a sub-committee of the Executive Committee, and Mr. Dabbs to appoint a sub-committee of the Council, for the staff to consult with. The plan is to submit to the Executive Committee some time next Spring a study, with recommendations. If approved, to be submitted to the next annual meeting for its approval. The staff will also be writing to each for advice.

Suggestion on Program from the Floor

(1) that the staff give more leadership to state councils in suggesting ways they may do outstanding jobs, particularly on ways to draw people in and make them feel an involvement. New South could do more in this line.

(2) that a study be made on what makes Mississippi Mississippi, and the study published, with implications drawn for the entire southern region.

(3) that SRC take more direct responsibility in the hiring of executive directors of the state organizations.

(4) that some means be devised by the staff to get through its message in ways which can be popularized: literature, poetry, theatre, sketches over radio and TV.

(5) that some means be devised to encourage isolated individuals so they can keep up their stamina and faith.

(6) that SRC consider getting together groups of professional social workers in the South for consultation.

(7) that the Executive Committee give consideration to holding two meetings each year or to extending the Fall meeting another day so that consideration can be given on how to implement the suggestions made and how to find answers to the questions asked.

(8) that consideration be given to working with the press on a man-to-man basis before we reach the stage of having institutes, plays, and dramas. It is only through an enlightened press that an atmosphere can be created in which politicians can feel free to take steps.

(9) that SRC publish, either specially or in New South, a periodic "box score" of progress in human relations in the South.

Dr. Dent announced that this ended the program discussion. He continued by saying that we do not know the answers to many of the questions posed. SRC can try to find ways of approaching the problems which confront us and do what we can about them. He said that it is important to look for new techniques and to think about these problems. He thought it was most important for us to do what we know how to do.

Two special reports from staff members were heard. One from Mr. Benjamin Muse on his visit to American installations in Germany on behalf of the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in the Armed Forces. Mr. Muse, who is one of seven members of the Committee, was requested by the Committee to visit American installations in Germany and report his findings.

The second was from Mr. Paul Rilling, on the general health of the State Councils. Total membership, he reported, now stands at about 6,500, which is about 1,000 more than last year and 2,000 more than two years ago. The perennial problem, he said, is how to maintain a program holding and attracting young Negro professional and business men, while at the same time holding the concerned white people who are cautious about militant tactics. The Councils are, he noted, primarily an urban type movement; we need to consider how they can be effective in rural areas.

Resolutions

It was moved, seconded, and voted unanimously to adopt the Resolution (prepared by Dr. Hancock) on Dr. P. Bernard Young, Sr. (attachment D).

It was moved, seconded, and voted unanimously to adopt the Resolution on Dr. George S. Mitchell (Attachment E).

It was moved, seconded, and voted unanimously to adopt the Resolution on Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt (Attachment F).

After each Resolution, the Chairman requested a short period of silent commenoration for these firends of civil rights. The

secretary was instructed to send a copy of each resolution to the family with a personal letter.

The group expressed sincered appreciation and thanks to Paul Anthony for making the arrangements for the meeting.

The staff was directed to prepare letters of appreciation to the Peachtree Manor Hotel and to Stouffer's Restaurant.

It was moved, seconded, and approved: that President Dabbs appoint a committee to recommend an appropriate George Mitchell Award.

The Council adjourned at 12:30 p.m., to reconvene for luncheon and the President's address (reprinted in New South, November-December 1962). Vice President Marion A. Wright presided.

ATTACHMENT A

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO THE ANNUAL MEETING 1962

John H. Wheeler, Chairman
Presented: November 19th

Since the full Council was last assembled, your Executive Committee has met four times to carry out the mandates of the 1961 Annual Meeting and to give policy direction to the staff.

We are pleased to report that, in our opinion, the year has been a productive one. The Council has had to face not only the new realities of constant change in a region greatly dissimilar in its progress and problems, but has faced the challenge of several new programs, untried and pioneering. These matters we look on as encouraging as we approach the end of the Council's 19th year of operation.

Ten outstanding Southerners elected by this body last year have accepted membership in the Council. They are:

For the Class of 1962 -

The Rev. Theodore Gibson, Miami, Fla.

For the Class of 1965 -

Dr. A. D. Beittel, Tougaloo, Miss.
The Rev. M. D. McCollom, Orangeburg, S. C.
Mr. John P. Nelson, New Orleans, La.
Mr. Lucius Pitts, Birmingham, Ala.
Mr. David Scull, Annandale, Va.
Mr. Andrew Secrest, Cheraw, S. C.
The Rev. Kelly M. Smith, Nashville, Tenn.
Mr. McNeill Smith, Greensboro, N. C.

In addition, the Executive Committee, as authorized under the By-Laws, chose Dr. Crawford Brock of Rome, Ga., for the vacancy in the Class of 1963 created by the resignation of Mr. Wiley Branton to accept appointment as Director of the Voter Education Project.

Most of these new members are with us today. We welcome them and the contributions they have to make to the deliberations of

this body.

Regretfully, Dr. Arthur Gray of Talladega, Alabama has resigned because of leaving the region.

During the year the Executive Committee, acting on recommendations from the Personnel Committee, has reviewed salaries, granted merit increases, and otherwise carried out its responsibilities with regard to personnel.

There have been several professional personnel changes. Dr. James A. Moss completed his one year appointment as Director of Research, following which he toured Europe and Africa on a brief State Department assignment before returning to his academic duties. To fill this position the Council has employed Mr. Staige D. Blackford, a native of Virginia and most recently editor of the Louisiana State University Press. We welcome Mr. Blackford to the staff.

Mr. Jack Minnis joined the Voter Education Project staff. Mr. Minnis is a native of Oklahoma and a long-time resident of Louisiana, where he has recently completed course studies at Tulane University for his Ph.D. degree in political science.

Mr. George Barrett, attorney of Nashville, has worked part-time with both the central and the VEP staffs as a special program consultant.

Most regretfully, on November 2, we accepted the resignation of Mr. Paul Rilling, who has been Director of Field Activities since July 1959. In early December Mr. Rilling will become the Executive Director of the Commissioners' Council on Human Relations of the District of Columbia. We are pleased to see that Mr. Rilling has been selected for such an important post and note the growing list of former SRC staff members who now occupy important positions in the human relations field throughout the country. We have mixed emotions--both pride and concern--that the Council should be the training ground for so much of the human relations field leadership of Detroit, New Yor, and Washington!

Nevertheless, we deeply regret Mr. Rilling's leaving and wish him well.

In the Spring we were saddened to learn of the death of Dr. George Mitchell, the Council's Executive Director from 1947 to 1957. Mr. Paul Williams, the Council's president during much of this period, wrote a tribute to Dr. Mitchell which was published in New South. This and an Executive Committee resolution were forwarded to Mrs. Mitchell in Scotland and sent to Council members. All of us owe a great deal to Dr. Mitchell for his long service in enriching and extending the democratic society. This body may wish to take some further action in recognition of our gratitude and loss.

A major portion of the Committee's guidance on program during the year has been devoted to the Voter Education Project. In practically every sense, this project represents a major new responsibility for the Council. The funds involved during each of two years represent sums almost as large as those of all regular Council expenditures. This is an unprecedentedly organized and financed effort to extend access to the ballot and its use in a region notoriously low in citizen participation. It is, too, a promising opportunity to achieve cooperation among the principal civil rights organizations active in the South. We believe we need not remind this body of the importance of this undertaking nor of the long range significance to the region if any measure of the desired success is realized.

We were fortunate in achieving the services of Mr. Wiley A. Branton, a former member of this body, as director of the project. Later today you will hear a detailed report from Mr. Branton on the project, its programs and plans.

There are, however, several steps the project has taken under the direction of the Executive Committee which should now be reported to you:

1. Prior to accepting any contributions for this project,

a ruling was secured from the Internal Revenue Service, indicating that the Project, if properly conducted, would not jeopardize the Council's tax exemption.

2. The Project was planned and is being conducted in a strictly non-partisan manner. Our interest is in the full participation of all citizens in the democratic process, not in promoting the special interest of any particular group.

3. The Project is heavily research oriented. It has been designed to produce a maximum of significant information of long-term value. We are hopeful the Project will make an important contribution to the knowledge of this field which will have value long after the Project itself is terminated.

Other of the Council's programs have continued. Field activities have been expanded in some directions, as Mr. Dunbar will discuss for you tomorrow. Research and publication has been sustained. The Executive Committee would particularly remind you of the report titled Executive Support for Civil Rights, a description and analysis of the first 14 months of the Kennedy Administration. This received widespread attention, both in the press and in Washington offices: an illustration of the latter is that the White House ordered over 1,000 copies.

Last year during the Annual Meeting there was a discussion of the Council's policy statement issued during 1951. At that time this body requested that each member be sent a copy of the statement, after which the Executive Committee was to be guided by the response of the members. The great majority of those members who responded indicated they felt no change was necessary or desirable. Therefore, no action has been taken on this matter.

On several occasions the problem of finding attorneys to represent persons identified with unpopular causes in the civil rights field has been discussed. This year the Executive Committee has requested that Mr. Dunbar invite those members who are attorneys to a meeting to consider this matter. That meeting

will be held tomorrow afternoon immediately after the Annual Meeting. We are hopeful this distinguished group of persons can suggest some effective action in this area. We are hopeful this distinguished group of persons can suggest some effective action in this area. We are hopeful also that this is but the first effort to bring together small groups of Council members with particular professional or other interests who can give the Committee and the staff the benefit of the considerable knowledge and experience represented in this body.

Next year we are hopeful of calling on you for more than the usual guidance in program planning. The trend of the region toward becoming an area of great internal dissimilarities, with many different kinds and degrees of problems, is accelerating. In this new era it may well be that many of the Council's traditional programs need to be questioned and entirely new programs and approaches need to be considered. With this in mind, the Committee welcomed the staff's plan to review programs and to submit a comprehensive report to the Executive Committee next Spring. You will be asked by letter during the next months to share with the staff and the Executive Committee your thoughts on the present soundness and future direction of SRC programs. In addition, President Dabbs will soon appoint a sub-committee from the general membership to consult more closely with the Executive Committee and thestaff in preparation of the final report. At next year's meeting we hope to have a formal report submitted by the Executive Committee to the full Council.

Today marks another milestone in the history of Council Meetings. As you see, for the first time we are able to hold our meeting in a downtown Atlanta hotel. And, the only function held outside the hotel, our dinner this evening, will be at Stouffer's Restaurant where there are no restrictions. We commend the Peachtree Manor Hotel for voluntarily setting this excellent example of good business practice, an example as yet unfollowed by Atlanta's other hotels. We also commend Stouffer's Restaurant which last year opened two restaurants in the Merchandise Mart in downtown Atlanta and, from the day of opening, has placed no restrictions on its patronage. We feel there is a significance

that transcends convenience in the physical arrangements of the Council's meeting this year.

The Executive Committee has exercised its responsibility in supervising the grants-in-aid program for the state councils on human relations. We are pleased to report that most of the state councils are showing increased vigor in both program and fund-raising. Later in the meeting, you will have before you, for approval, the grants-in-aid schedule for 1963 which has been reviewed and approved by the Executive Committee. For 1963, we are recommending an increase of approximately 10% over the rate of the funds granted for the past several years. This is the only area of the Council's operation in which an appreciable increase in spending is recommended.

It would, of course, be desirable to have an ever increasing amount of funds available for all of the Council's programs. But, unfortunately, this desire is not necessarily consistent with fund-raising realities. During 1962 we have been operating on a general operations budget of $175,395. You will be presented today the Committee's recommendation for a general operations budget of approximately $178,381 for 1963. In light of the fact that the Voter Education Project has imposed on general operations a number of expenditures not related to normal program this recommended figure is actually a decrease from our present operating schedule.

Fund-raising remains a perennial problem, and requires considerable staff time. It was, therefore, the feeling of the staff and the Committee that it would be unwise to propose to you today an increased budget which would greatly increas the problem and automatically obligate the staff to even time spent in fund-raising.

In conclusion, it is the opinion of your Executive Committee that the year 1962 has been a rewarding one. The Executive Committee and the staff are aware that the responsibilities and challenges of the Council are such that we cannot entertain

the least measure of complacency about our skills, our achievements, or our progress. It is in this spirit that we approach 1963 and the Council's 20th year of operation.

ATTACHMENT C

REPORT OF THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE TO THE ANNUAL MEETING
1962

The Nominating Committee of the Southern Regional Council for 1962 consists of Mr. Irving Carlyle, Dr. Luther H. Foster, Rabbi Charles Mantinband, Dr. Raymond Wheeler, and Mr. Thomas Young.

On September 6, 1962 this Committee met to select nominees for officers and members of the Council. Last year this body, by resolution, requested that the Nominating Committee take into account the participation of potential members in state councils on human relations. We are pleased to report that the great majority of those persons who will be recommended to you today have been active in this area.

By unanimous vote, the Committee adopted the following slate of nominees to be presented at the Annual Meeting of the Council:

Officers

President	James McBride Dabbs
Vice Presidents	Rufus E. Clement Albert W. Dent Miss Josephine Wilkins Marion A. Wright

Nominating Committee
for 1963

(two additional members appointed by Executive Committee)

Irving Carlyle
Luther Foster
Charles Mantinband

Executive Committee
(in addition to the President, Vice Presidents and Counsel)

Paul R. Christopher

John A. Griffin
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
John P. Nelson, Jr.
John H. Wheeler
Raymond Wheeler
H. Franklin Williams
Stephen J. Wright
Thomas W. Young

MEMBERS

Members of Class of 1962, re-elected to Class of 1966

Benjamin E. Mays
Francis Pickens Miller
L. D. Milton
Riley B. Montgomery
Samuel Proctor
Mrs. J. N. Rayzor
J. M. Richards
Harry V. Richardson
Rabbi Jacob Rothschild
Miss Dorcas Ruthenburg
Walter Sharp
Charles A. Shaw
Courtney Siceloff
The Rt. Rev. Msgr. Alexander O. Sigur
J. Ray Shute
The Rev. Theodore R. Gibson

For vacancy in Class of 1965 (to replace Dr. Arthur Gray)

Mrs. Moise Cahn - New Orleans

New Members to Class of 1966

Roosevelt D. Crockett - Little Rock, Ark.
Edward Haddock, M. D. - Richmond, Va.
Mrs. Martin Harvey - Jackson, Miss.
Robert J. Harris - Nashville, Tenn.
John G. Lewis - Baton Rouge, La.
J. Rupert Picott - Richmond, Va.
William H. Townsend - Little Rock, Ark.
Nat Welch - Auburn, Alabama
Moreland G. Smith - Montgomery, Ala.

ATTACHMENT D

RESOLUTION

The ship sailing out of the harbor bound for distant shores is soon lost to view beyond the horizon, but it sails on. The sun which so recently shone in its meridian splendour is so soon hidden behind the hills of the solemn west, but it shines on. So those we love and lose a while live on in that Great Beyond and in the labours and in the memories of their comrades in the great struggle to make this a better world. So lives Dr. P. Bernard Young, whose recent passing fills us with profound sorrow and with reverential concern. Dr. Young was one of the moving and effective figures who helped to shape events which surrounded the genesis of our great Southern Regional Council.

He was chairman of the historic Durham Conference which eventuated into the Atlanta and Richmond Conferences which eventuated into the Southern Regional Council. Without the great influence of Dr. Young and his ably edited Journal & Guide, theDurham Conference would not have come to pass. This Council will remember Dr. Young with a reverential gratitude born of the knowledge that in him we have lost one of our illustrious founders and stalwart supporters.

Be it resolved that this Council, in annual session assembled on November 20, 1962, subscribe the sentiments as our humble but grateful tribute to him who was in spirit and in deed our great benefactor; and that a copy of this resolution be tendered the family.

ATTACHMENT E

RESOLUTION

The Southern Regional Council, at annual meeting assembled on November 20, 1962, pauses in its deliberations to pay special tribute to the memory of George Sinclair Mitchell and to his years of devoted and inspiring leadership of this body.

The South and the nation are richer because of his many contributions to a fuller recognition of the dignity of all men.

He was prophet and poet, and more; he was a creative, imaginative man who saw a vision of a more democratic South wherein the false barriers of the past would no longer hinder any man from attaining a good education, a rewarding job, and a decent home.

We are all poorer at his loss. But this Council and the work it does is a living testimony to him. So long as men strive for freedom, so long as they revere liberty, the name of George Mitchell and the memory of the man will never die.

ATTACHMENT F

RESOLUTION

The Members of the Southern Regional Council, meeting in annual session in Atlanta on November 19, 1962, note with sorrow and regret the recent loss to the world of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

No American in this century has made so great a contribution to the cause of equality and human dignity. Mrs. Roosevelt abhorred any form of racial or religious prejudice. For over thirty years she labored unceasingly against intolerance and injustice: in the South, in the nation, throughout the world. The Universal Declaration on Human Rights of the United Nations is a lasting memorial to her concern for man.

Mrs. Roosevelt was a strong ally of those Southerners who are striving for the elimination of discrimination and segregation in the South. She will be sorely missed.

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia
February 19, 1963

The meeting of the Executive Committee convened in the Conference Room of the Southern Regional Council at 10:00 a.m., February 19, 1963, with Mr. John Wheeler presiding.

Those present: Mr. Christopher, Dr. Clement, Mr. Dabbs, Dr. Griffin, Mrs. Hamilton, Dr. Raymond Wheeler, Miss Wilkins, Dr. Williams, Mr. M. A. Wright, Dr. S. J. Wright, and Mr. Young.

All members of the professional staff were present, with Mrs. Johnson serving as recording secretary.

EXECUTIVE SESSION
(Staff on Call)

Following invocation the proposed agenda was adopted, the minutes of the last meeting ratified, and the Committee heard and adopted a report from the Personnel Committee.

The Executive Committee, took the following action: By unanimous vote, the Executive Committee expressed its appreciation to the Executive Director and his entire staff for the excellence with which the program of the Council was carried out during 1962.

The Committee adopted a statement of policy in regard to participation by SRC employees in public demonstrations.

GENERAL SESSION

The General Session convened at 1:35 p.m. For the benefit of new members of the Committee, copies of the "Resolution on SRC's Charter and Tax Exemption" were passed around for reading.

Report of the Fellowship of the Concerned:

Mrs. Tilly reported on a meeting which the Fellowship of the Concerned convened in Atlanta on February 8 at which time 295 persons were in attendance. The meeting was held at the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer, Atlanta. The theme: "Our Children: What Shall We Teach Them About Human Relations?" Programs of this meeting were presented to the committee for their review.

Mrs. Tilly also reported a successful attempt to enroll two Negro nurses in the graduate school of Emory University, in which she played a major role.

The Chairman brought to the attention of the Committee an honor which had recently been given Mrs. Tilly by the National Conference of Christians and Jews -- "The Good Neighbor Award." It was further pointed out that Mrs. Tilly has been the recipient of some 18 awards during her very active life time.

Financial Report:

Mrs. Alexander being absent because of illness, Mr. Dunbar presented the financial report. He also reported on grants received since the Committee last met, and pledges of grants expected during 1963. Mr. Dunbar stated that the Council is in a fairly healthy financial condition, but emphasized the Council's need for at least one other substantial grant for the following reasons: (1) to absorb normally increasing costs; (2) to allow program expansion; (3) to ease the burden of fund-raisers; and, (4) to give more security for program planning.

Dr. Stephen J. Wright moved that the report, as given by the Executive Director, be adopted with appreciation to the staff. It was so moved and unanimously adopted.

New Staff:

Mr. Randolph Blackwell who joined the Voter Education Project staff February 1, as Field Director, was introduced to the Committee

by Mr. Branton after which the VEP staff left the meeting.

Selection of Date for Annual Meeting:

Monday and Tuesday, November 25 and 26 were the dates selected for the Annual Meeting.

The staff was instructed to begin early to secure a speaker or speakers for the Annual Meeting.

Report from Dr. M. Robert Coles:

Dr. Coles, who has been engaged inspecial study for the Council on psychological aspects of school desegregation, read to the Committee a summary of a paper which he has prepared for presentation to the American Psychiatric Association, May 6. The paper is titled "Southern Children Under School Desegregation." The paper seeks to untangle the meaning of the word "segregation," and attempts to identify types of segregation; it conveys the idea that students involved in desegregated situations are not mentally ill people; and, it seeks to find out why these students do not collapse under the stress and strain of segregation. He reported that he had spent a good bit of time talking with and getting to know segregationists, and had also interviewed and observed students involved in the sit-in movement.

The following cities have been visited by Dr. Coles: Little Rock, Clinton, Oak Rige, Charlotte, and Asheville, in addition to his special work in Atlanta and New Orleans.

Mr. Dunbar pointed out that Dr. Coles would have a piece in the next issue of the Atlantic Monthly and a chapter in a book titled Youth: Change and Challenge, edited by Erik Erikson, soon to be published. An enthusiastic discussion followed Dr. Cole's report.

Report on SRC Committee of Attorneys:

Mr. Dunbar reported that after the Annual Meeting in November a meeting of SRC attorneys was held to discuss what can be done toward getting the bar in the South to stand up to its responsibilities as regards legal defense for unpopular defendants in civil rights cases. Mr. Lloyd Garrison of New York has met with deans of southern law schools in a similar effort. SRC is working jointly with the American Civil Liberties Union in preparation of a short (12-15 page) statement pointing up the dimensions of the problem and the professional responsibilities of the bar. The draft is being done by Professor Daniel Pollitt of the University of North Carolina. The ACLU will attempt to persuade the American Bar Association, or the Bill of Rights Committee, to release the statement. If unsuccessful, SRC will attempt to form a sponsoring committee of southern attorneys and law professors.

Other Matters for Discussion:

Mr. Dunbar reported that after the Annual Meeting he received a letter from Dr. Luther Foster in which he suggested that SRC supply every member of the Council with a subscription to Southern School News . As a result Mr. Reed Sarratt of Southern Education Reporting Service was queried about rates for approximately 90 subscriptions. Mr. Sarratt's offer was so inexpensive as to be hard to refuse. Mr. Dunbar asked the Committee members if they would want to receive copies of SSN. Many already do, but it was felt that extra copies could be passed along to persons interested in it who are not subscribers to it.

Mr. Dunbar urged the Committee members to be in frequent touch with the staff, and to convey any ideas or suggestions for programming.

With no other business, the meeting adjourned at 3:00 p.m.

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
May 21, 1963

The meeting of the Executive Committee convened in the Conference Room of the Southern Regional Council, Tuesday, May 21, 1963 at 10:00 a.m.

Those present: Mr. Dabbs, Dr. Griffin, Mr. Haas, Mrs. Hamilton, Dr. Raymond Wheeler, Dr. Williams, Mr. Marion A. Wright, Dr. Stephen J. Wright, Mr. Young, with Mr. John Wheeler presiding.

All members of the professional staff were present with the exception of Messrs. Muse and Blackwell. Mrs. Mildred M. Johnson served as recording secretary.

EXECUTIVE SESSION
(Staff on Call)

Following invocation the proposed agenda and minutes of the last meeting were adopted, and the resolution on tax-exemption was circulated and signed. The Committee next heard and adopted a report from the Personnel Committee.

The Committee took the following action:

RESOLVED, that the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., being the competent body under the By-Laws of the Council, by this instrument empowers Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Assistant to the Director, to countersign checks drawn on the Council's accounts beginning June 3, 1963. In this capacity he is authorized, as is the Executive Director, Mr. Dunbar, to countersign checks on the Council's accounts signed by the Secretary-Treasurer, Mrs. Alexander.

This resolution adopted by the action of the Executive Commitee at its meeting on May 21, 1963.

/S/ John H. Wheeler
Chairman
Executive Committee

Mr. Dunbar, at the request of the Personnel Committee, outlined various staff and salary changes. The changes had been previously approved by the Personnel Committee and were following Mr. Dunbar's presentation, adopted by the Executive Committee.

There followed a lengthy discussion of the Voter Education Project. The Committee felt general satisfaction with the Project, as described in the Annual Report distributed by mail prior to the meeting, but explored with the Executive Director the specifics of several program actions. The research aims of the Project were again reviewed, and the general sentiment expressed that an evaluation be prepared for presentation at the next meeting of the Committee, and possibly to the Annual Meeting.

Election of Two Members to Nominating Committee.

Dr. James A. Colston of Knoxville, Tennessee, and Dean B. R. Brazeal of Atlanta were elected to serve on the 1963 Nominating Committee.

GENERAL SESSION - 1:10 P. M.

Recent Developments with State Councils and Other Matters.

Mr. Anthony reported regarding State Councils on Human Relations. Among developments he cited were the following:

Virginia -- The Virginia Council on Human Relations is now concerning itself with a merit employment program which is under the direction of Mr. Gregory Shinert, former executive director of the Missouri Commission on Human Relations. The addition of Mr. Shinert to the Virginia Council brings the professional staff to three.

North Carolina -- The North Carolina Council on Human Relations recently sponsored a dinner honoring Mr. McNeill Smith, North Carolina Council on Human Relations board member and Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. The

speaker for the occasion was Mr. Burke Marshall of the U. S. Department of Justice.

Florida -- Mr. Lewis Mitchell, newly appointed Executive Director of the Florida Council will assume his udties on July 1, 1963.

Houston, Texas -- The Houston Council has been successful in raising $20,000 from local sources during the last year. This is an indication of its effectiveness in the community.

Arkansas -- The Arkansas Council has, in the past, had difficulty with finances and membership. In view of this the Council is planning a local fund-raising campaign in which it hopes to raise $5,000 through local business men.

Apart from work with state councils, Mr. Anthony reported on efforts to form groups in several communities which would function as SOS-type groups in an effort to prepare communities for school desegregation. This aspect of activity appropriately fits into the framework of the Southern Leadership Project.

During the discussion which followed Mr. Anthony's report, the Committee discussed areas in which little, if any, advance has been made. The staff was instructed to re-examine such areas as employment, housing, health and welfare services, economic status of Negroes, etc., to see what role SRC might effectively play in helping to fill the vacuum of interest and progress in these and other related areas.

The Executive Director reported the preparation of a report on the economic status of Negroes which the Council hopes to publish in the near future. It was the feeling of the Committee that this report could well be the basis for next setps for what SRC can do in these areas of concentration.

Report on the Voter Education Project.

Mr. Branton reviewed briefly the Annual Report of the Voter Education Project which had been prepared in advance and presented to each Committee member. He Pointed out that better than 115,000 persons have been added to the voting rolls in the states in which the project has been operating during its first fiscal year.

Following Mr. Branton's report the Committee discussed briefly several aspects of the Project and pointed out that during the Executive Session theCommittee voted, as a precautionary measure, that the staff submit a copy of the VEP Annual Report to Mr. Adrian DeWind for his review before transmittal to the Internal Revenue Service. Any changes which Mr. DeWind might suggest should be incorporated and the Executive Committee informed.

Miscellaneous Matters.

New Staff -- Mr. Dunbar introduced to the Committee Mr. Vernon Jordan, Jr., newly appointed Assistant to the Director, who will assume his duties with the Council June 3, 1963.

Death of SRC Board Member -- The Committee was informed of the recent passing of one of the Council's long standing members, Dr. H. Councill Trenholm, Sr. In this connection the following motion was unanimously approved and adopted: That the secretary send a note of condolence to the family of Dr. Trenholm appropriately expressing the sympathy of the Executive Committee.

Follow-up of Annual Meeting -- At the Annual Meeting of November a provision was made for the establishment of two committees: The George S. Mitchell memorial award committee. and a program review and evaluation committee. Members appointed to the former are: Mr. Stewart, chairman, Miss Wilkins, Mr. Paul Williams, Dr. Johnson, Dean Brazeal, Miss Ruthenburg, and Mr. Kehrer. It was reported that an exchange

of correspondence between members and the chairman had already begun in an effort to establish the criteria for presenting such an award.

Members of the second committee are: Dr. Dent, Mrs. Hamilton, Dr. Raymond Wheeler, Mr. Davidson, Dr. Gomillion, Mr. Secrest, Rev. Smith, Rev. Beckwith, and Mrs. White. This committee is charged with the responsibility of advising the staff in evaluating its present program activities and determining what new guidelines are needed for future activities of the Council.

Southern Interagency Conference Membership -- It was reported that a formal application for membership had been submitted to the SIC meeting of April 18 and 19 by the Southern Conference Educational Fund. After review and discussion the agencies voted 19 to 2, with five abstentions, refusing admission of SCEF.

Birmingham Crisis -- Mr. Dunbar discussed the importance of the Birmingham crisis and indicated that it is exercising a contagious effect comparable to that of the sit-ins of 1960. In this connection, Mr. Dunbar shared with the Committee a letter written to President Kennedy by Dr. Lucius Pitts, SRC board member and President of Miles College.

In responding to a request of the Executive Director for the guidance and thinking of the Committee in what SRC could do relative to Birmingham, it was moved and unanimously adopted that the staff draft a public statement to be released to the press as a statement coming from the Executive Committee. Said statement to embody the following: (1) an affirmation that segregation and discrimination are morally wrong; (2) an expression of indignation over the arrests in Birmingham; (3) a recognition that the recent SUPREME COURT decisions have provided the South a second opportunity to show that it has respect for, and will obey the highest law of the land; (4) an appeal to the South to pursue a different course of action than that followed after the 1954 decision.

With no other business, the meeting adjourned at 3:00 p.m.

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Southern Regional Council
September 24, 1963

The meeting of the Executive Committee convened in the Conference Room of the Southern Regional Council, Tuesday, September 24, 1963 at 10:00 a.m.

Those present: Mr. Christopher, Dr. Clement, Mr. Dabbs, Dr. Dent, Mr. Griffin, Mr. Haas, Mrs. Hamilton, Mr. Nelson, Dr. Raymond Wheeler, Miss Wilkins, Dr. Williams, Mr. Marion Wright, Dr. Stephen Wright, Mr. Young, with Mr. John Wheeler presiding.

All members of the professional staff were present with Mrs. Mildred M. Johnson serving as recording secretary.

EXECUTIVE SESSION
(Staff on Call)

Following invocation the agenda and the minutes of the last meeting were approved. The resolution on SRC's tax exemption was circulated and signed by all members present.

GENERAL SESSION

Report of the Mid-Year Audit:

Mrs. Alexander gave a brief review of the mid-year audit. A discussion followed, and the Committee requested that these minutes reflect a summary of the mid-year audit (see attached).

Mr. Haas reported that the Employment Security Agency of the State of Georgia is now requiring SRC to file reports on unemployment taxes for the last seven years. The Council has never in the past filed and paid unemployment taxes. Mr. Haas expressed concern, since as far as he knew non-profit organizations are not exempt. He indicated, however, that he is looking into the matter to see what is involved.

At this point the Committee agreed to amend the Agenda in order to complete all financial matters before turning its attention to other items on the agenda.

Proposed Grants-in-Aid for 1964:

Mr. Anthony submitted for approval the "Proposed Grants-in-Aid for 1964" (see attached). After his presentation, Dr. Dent raised the question as to why the report made no provision by which state councils would be required to raise matching funds. Messrs. Anthony and Dunbar pointed to the condition in the 1964 proposal requiring each recipient to maintain its 1963 level of local fund-raising. Dr. Dent continued to emphasize the need for SRC imposing a firm requirement, and after much discussion the following motion was made, seconded, and unanimously adopted. That Condition #3 of the Proposed Grants-in-Aid Schedule be amended to read: "It is expected that local fund-raising will be maintained at least at the level of that of 1963. Grants are subject to revision if this is not the case"; and that Condition #5 be deleted. The Grants-in-Aid Schedule, as amended, was then approved.

Plans for the Fellowship of the Concerned:

Mrs. Tilly reported that the Fellowship of the Concerned will hold its annual meeting on October 29 and 30 at the Peachtree Manor Hotel. The theme of the meeting -- "Let Freedom Ring." The three sub-themes: (1) Freedom to Worship; (2) Freedom of Residency - Open Occupancy; and (3) Freedom of Citizenship - the Right to Vote.

Plans for Annual Meeting:

Mr. Jordan reported that plans are underway for our November 25 and 26 Annual Meeting. At the moment it cannot be determined where the meeting will be held since November 25 conflicts with another meeting at the Peachtree Manor where the staff had hoped to slate the SRC meeting.

Mr. Jordan further reported that negotiations had been underway to engage Secretary of State Dean Rusk as our Annual Meeting speaker. However, our efforts failed, although the Secretary has replied that he may be able to accept an invitation to speak in the South at a later date. In view of this, Mr. Wiley

Branton has been asked to speak to the Annual Meeting at which time he has been asked to discuss the Voter Education Project -- what it is, and what it has been able to accomplish during its first year of operation. It was pointed out by Mr. Jordan that the press would be invited to cover Mr. Branton's presentation.

The Committee, and especially Messrs. Haas, Clement, and Marion Wright, expressed misgivings over having the VEP discussed openly with the press present. The Committee emphasized the need to avoid this kind of situation in that a bad press, as regards VEP, could jeopardize SRC's tax exemption.

After much discussion of this point, the Committee expressed confidence in the staff and instructed it to move forward with plans for the Annual Meeting, in light of the Committee's discussion.

During the course of the General Session photographs were being shot to be used in connection with a story Life Magazine hopes to do on race relations in the South sometime in the future.

Discussion of Program Review and Evaluation:

Background

Mr. Dunbar pointed out that on the premise that every organization needs, from time to time, to take a look at itself, SRC has undertaken a thorough reassessment of its program activities. This task was done by the staff with the understanding that a completed report should be ready for presentation at the Annual Meeting. Mr. Dunbar pointed out that it was not the staff's intention to project SRC program far into the future, but rather to take a look at what we are now doing in an attempt to determine the effectiveness of our activities, and to look ahead for no more than a two-year period.

Dr. Henry Clark of Union Theological Seminary, had been engaged for the summer to analyze program activities and evaluate

them. Dr. Clark's report, a 50-page document, had been reviewed by the staff, rewritten, and reviewed again by the Committee of Advisers on Program Review and Evaluation. The report now before the Committee represents the staff's conclusions, based on the Clark report and its study.

Discussion of Recommendations

After Mr. Dunbar reviewed each recommendation, there followed a discussion.

Mr. Dabbs referred to the statement by Dean Gomillion on page 2 of the report, and stated that it is an excellent summation of the role of SRC. He also referred to point #3 ("--A dedication to the South's promise as a region"), and indicated that we have to give some indication as to what the South's"promise"is.

Mr. Dunbar pointed out that Recommendations #1 and #3 specifically look toward larger program. He further pointed out that this means that SRC's budget for next year may well have to anticipate an additional $10 - $20 thousand dollars to provide for these two recommendations.

Recommendation #4 was discussed briefly and Mr. Marion Wright suggested that if SRC attempts to act as advisers to state governments it ought to do so through the state Councils on Human Relations, letting the local Council act as an agent for SRC in an effort to get SRC's image across to state governments.

Dr. Clement, having to leave the meeting prior to adjournment raised a question regarding Recommendation #5 as to why SRC plans to discontinue its relationship with the National Council of Churches. Mr. Dunbar pointed out that the reason is largely a matter of SRC's limited resources. He reviewed briefly the work done by the Rev. Elbert Jean and stated that Rev. Jean had performed a very valuable service. However, it is the feeling of the staff that with so much denominational activity going on in the South the role of SRC should be that of giving help where help is asked for rather than attempting to initiate action in this field.

Recommendations #15, #16, #17: Mr. Dunbar pointed out that it is the firm conviction of the staff that state Councils on Human Relations urgently need to enlarge their memberships.

Mrs. Hamilton suggested the development of "action research" with the use of consultants in areas where there are state councils. These consultants should be people who are concerned about existing problems and who would take the initiative in finding out what the problems are in those areas. Mrs. Hamilton suggested that this approach could easily serve indirectly to increase memberships. She further pointed out that these consultants could work with whatever problems exist in a given area rather than to limit their services to an analysis of the problems.

Dr. Raymond Wheeler suggested that the role of the state councils should be that of exploring the "breakthroughs" in race relations that have been made possible.

In addition to the discussion of specific recommendations, all of which were agreed to in principle, there was discussion of the format of the report and considerable discussion relating to the conclusion that several of the recommendations needed better substantiation. Dr. Dent, Miss Wilkins, and Dr. R. Wheeler, who had served on the Committee of Advisers, were asked by the Executive Committee to consult further with the staff in revision of the report. The Executive Committee delegated to these three Members authority to approve the revision of the report in its behalf. The staff was further instructed to send to each Member of the Executive Committee, in advance of the next meeting, a copy of the revised report and a copy of the Clark report for background.

Consideration of Public Statement

The Executive Director reported that the staff had thought that in view of the recent atrocities in Birmingham a public statement deploring them was in order, and had asked Mr. Marion Wright to draw up such a statement. However, the Committee was asked to postpone discussion until the next meeting in order for other matters to be reported on. It was so agreed.

Other Business:

Recently Created Board Vacancies

Mr. Dunbar reported that since the last meeting of the Committee there had occurred the death of a SRC Board Member -- Mr. Charles Shaw of Houston, Texas on June 11, 1963.

Mr. Dunbar further reported that Rev. Kelly Miller Smith, a SRC Board Member, has resigned from the Council because he has left the region to accept a pulpit in Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. Dunbar also reported the death of the Executive Director of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations -- Mr. Harry Jones on August 26, 1963.

Following Mr. Dunbar's report, the following motion was made: That the staff extend regrets to the families of both Mr. Shaw and Mr. Jones.

LIFE FOLLOWS

Mr. Dunbar pointed out that last year's Annual Meeting made provision for the election of Life Fellows. Five persons were elected last year. Mr. Dunbar reported that the only name proposed this year, Mrs. David Terry, came from Mrs. Vivion Brewer of Arkansas, and asked the Committee's consideration of Mrs. Terry for election this year.

A lengthy discussion ensued around Mrs. Terry's eligibility, in view of the fact that she is not now nor has ever been a member of the Council. Following discussion, Dr. Stephen Wright suggested that this matter be tabled until the Committee had had an opportunity to give more thought to it, and Dr. John Griffin suggested that a copy of Mrs. Terry's biographical vita be sent to each member of the Committee for study.

Nominations for New Members

Mr. Dunbar noted that the minutes of the Annual Meeting last year show the following action: "That the Nominating Committee be requested to make the nominations before one session of the Council and that voting on the nominations be done at a subsequent session." In view of this action, Mr. Dunbar reported that he had been reluctant to approach persons whose names had been approved by the Nominating Committee for membership in the Council this year. He asked the guidance of the Executive Committee as to whether these persons should be approached now or after Annual Meeting to determine whether they are willing to serve. After some discussion, Mr. Marion Wright moved that this matter be left to the discretion of the Executive Director and Dr. Dent moved further that the full membership be asked to re-consider the action taken last year at Annual Meeting. Both motions were unanimously approved and adopted.

Invitations to Foundation Representatives to SRC Meetings

Mr. John Wheeler proposed to the Committee that invitations be periodically issued to key foundation representatives to sit in on SRC meetings, pointing out that there would be no better way for foundation people to get a fuller insight into the inner workings of the Council and the Council's financial needs. The Committee concurred with Mr. Wheeler's feelings, but expressed uncertainty as to whether the Executive Committee meetings or the Annual Meetings would be more beneficial. In view of this uncertainty, it was unanimously agreed that this matter be tabled for future discussion.

With no other business, the meeting adjourned at 4:00 p.m.

PROPOSED GRANTS-IN-AID SCHEDULE, 1964

Condition of grants:

1. Grants are payable quarterly on January 1, April 1, July 1, and October 1.

2. Grants will not be paid until such time as adequate quarterly program and financial reports have been received by SRC.

3. It is expected that local fund raising will be maintained at least at the level of that of 1963. Grants are subject to revision if this is not the case.

4. If a recipient state council ceases to employ professional staff, quarterly payments will be suspended pending alternative arrangements.

	Proposed 1964	Budgeted 1963
Alabama	$ 6,000	$ 6,600
Arkansas	5,400	5,400
Florida	5,400	7,400
Georgia	6,000	6,300
North Carolina*	5,900	5,900
South Carolina	6,000	6,300
Tennessee	6,000	6,300
Virginia	7,200	7,500
Mississippi	2,500	500
Houston	2,600	2,600
New Orleans	-	1,000
Contingency	2,000	
	$55,900	$55,800

In announcing the grants-in-aid program for 1964 the Southern Regional Council wishes to emphasize that this is the final year of the foundation grants which have made this program possible.

*Grants will not be made to the North Carolina Council until such time as that Council has $2,500 on hand and adequate arrangements have been made to employ professional staff.

The Council is hopeful these grants will be renewed after 1964 and that this program of financial assistance to state councils can continue. However, there is no assistance of this and the possible termination of this program must be considered.

With this in mind, the Executive Committee has directed the SRC staff to give all possible encouragement and assistance to state council programs and efforts aimed at strengthening program, increasing membership, and local financial support.

If the grants-in-aid program is continued after 1964, major attention will be directed toward assisting those state councils with the most productive programs, the highest degree of local support, and the greatest rate of increase in local support. Other factos such as program potential and the difficulty of operation will continue to be important considerations, but program quality will increasingly be of concern to the Southern Regional Council.

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Southern Regional Council
December 9, 1963

The meeting of the Executive Committee convened in the Conference Room of the Southern Regional Council on Monday, December 9, 1963 at 10:00 a.m.

Those present: Mr. Christopher, Dr. Clement, Mr. Dabbs, Dr. Dent, Mrs. Hamilton, Mr. John Wheeler (presiding), Dr. Raymond Wheeler, Dr. Williams, and Mr. Young.

All members of the professional staff were present, with the exception of Mrs. M. E. Tilly, who was absent because of illness, and Mr. Randolph Blackwell of the V.E.P.

EXECUTIVE SESSION
(Staff on Call)

Following invocation the agenda and the minutes of the last meeting were approved. The resolution on SRC's tax exemption was circulated and signed by all members present.

Appointment of Mr. Pat Watters as Director of Information, effective November 1, 1963, was approved.

Mr. John Wheeler raised the question of how well SRC was reaching the uncommitted. Mr. Dunbar (who was present during the Executive Session) responded that the staff felt little satisfaction over its efforts or success in this direction. There followed extensive discussion.

GENERAL SESSION

NEW STAFF:

Mr. Dunbar introduced to the Committee Mr. Watters.

Discussion of Annual Meeting and Executive Committee Meetings:

Because the Annual Meeting, scheduled for November 25 and 26, was postponed because of national mourning for President John. F. Kennedy new dates have been chosen -- January 29 and 30; the

meeting now to be held at the Peachtree Manor Hotel instead of the Howard Johnson South Motel as previously planned.

Mr. Dunbar reported that effort had gone into securing a desirable hotel in Atlanta in which our 1963 Annual Meeting could be held, and had encountered great difficulty, since most Atlanta hotels and restaurants continue to be segregated. Mr. Dunbar asked the guidance of the Committee.

After some discussion, Dr. Dent made the following motion, which was unanimously approved and adopted: Resolved, that the Executive Committee instruct the staff to schedule the 1964 and subsequent Annual Meetings, and the 1964 and subsequent general meetings of the Fellowship of the Concerned, in no city in which public accomodations and facilities are segregated.

Dr. Clement suggested, and the Committee concurred, that the above resolution be enlarged, by the staff, to include more rationale in order to point out the comparison between Atlanta desegregation and desegregation accomplished in other southern cities; the resolution then to be given wide circulation.

In connection with the postponement of the Annual Meeting the following motion was made by Dr. H. Franklin Williams: Inasmuch as the Annual Meeting was duly called for November 25 and 26, and could not meet because of the national mourning for President Kennedy, the Executive Committee approves the action of the officers and staff in adjourning the 1963 Annual Meeting to January 1964. The motion was unanimously approved and adopted by the Committee.

Mr. Dunbar pointed out that because circumstances make desirable that the Executive Committee meet again in January, prior to Annual Meeting, the spring meeting should be advanced to April instead of May, as has been customary.

Dr. Dent suggested that as a matter of economy and convenience to Members, the time of future Committee meetings might be set from 12:00 noon to about 4:00 p.m., as opposed to 10:00 a.m., to 3:00 p.m. This would give Members an opportunity to travel to and from Atlanta

on the day of the meetings, and thus eliminate the cost of overnight lodgings for those who heretofore had to be in the city the night before, and at the same time would allow for more convenient travel arrangements for some Members. Mr. John Wheeler suggested that this matter be left to the discretion of the staff; however, theconsensus of the Committee indicated that the suggestion should be tried.

Dr. H. Franklin Williams suggested that the Executive Committee send some form of greeting to Mrs. Tilly in the hospital. This was done.

Approval of the 1964 Budget:

Mr. Dunbar submitted for approval the proposed 1964 budget. He pointed out that the increasing or decreasing of some items was based on actual expenditures for the first 10 months of 1963.

The rent increase proposed for 1964 assumes that SRC offices will be moved to occupy the entire fifth floor of 5 Forsyth Street in order to get needed additional space. The move would include both the SRC central and VEP offices; the space to be occupied by the VEP to be so located and partitioned as to allow it to be sub-leased, if that becomes necessary or desirable. Sub-lease rights will be granted by the building management, which has offered to rent the fifth floor to SRC for $883.33 per month; an actual increase of about $143.00 considering the present combined monthly rents of central SRC and VEP of $740.00. After discussion, the following motion was made by Dr. Dent, and unanimously approved by the Committee: That the Committee approves in principle the staff move to the fifth floor, with details to be worked out and approved by a committee composed of Dr. Clement, Mr. Haas, and Mr. Dunbar.

Mr. Dunbar pointed out that the expenditures involved in making the move to the fifth floor would be taken from the SRC Reserve Fund. The Committee expressed approval.

Discussion of SRC Unemployment Tax Situation:

Mr. Dunbar, in the absence of Mr. Haas, reported on SRC's

encounter with the Georgia State Unemployment Security Division. The Division has filed a claim against SRC for taxes dating back seven years, and totaling, with penalties, $19,022.09, because the Council is not now or ever has paid into the Unemployment Security Plan.

Upon consultation with legal counsel, Mr. Haas, the staff was advised not to file the forms provided by the Division on September 30, the deadline date set by the Division. Subsequently, Mr. Haas was in frequent touch with the Division, after which he was notified that his position (that SRC is tax exempt) had been overruled, and SRC was then sent a ten-day notice for fi fa. A postponement of fi fa was requested by Mr. Haas until such time a conference could be held with the Division regarding this matter. Such a conference was granted on November 8. Mr. Dunbar reported that the "conference" turned out to be an "official hearing." To date no notification has been received by the Council. (Subsequently, it was learned that the decision had been reached and was adverse.)

Discussion of this matter ensued. It was indicated that SRC would want to proceed with legal action if that becomes necessary. Mr. Branton suggested that if the state issues fi fa it might attempt to seize SRC's bank accounts, and the Committee should take some official action to empower legal counsel and the staff to resist this action.

Dr. Dent, therefore, made the following motion which was unanimously approved and adopted: <u>That the minutes show that it is the consensus of the Committee that the procedures followed by the staff and legal counsel are satisfactory; that the Executive Committee is of the opinion that SRC is exempt from the Unemployment Tax, and that there has been no violation; that the Executive Committee authorizes and instructs the staff and legal counsel to take action as necessary to protect the interests of the Council</u>.

At this point in the meeting the agenda was amended to discuss the Eligibility of Life Fellowships before the Committee adjourned for lunch.

Eligibility of Life Fellowships:

Mr. Dunbar reminded the Committee that the matter of Mrs. David Terry's eligibility for a Life Fellowship had been left unresolved since the Committee last met. At the request of the Committee copies of Mrs. Terry's vita had been mailed to each member. It was reported that Mr. Marion A. Wright had suggested in a letter to the Executive Director of October 21 that some official action by the Committee is needed to determine qualifications for Life Fellows. Mr. Wright's suggestions are (1) that life memberships be limited to former members of the Council; and (2) that there should not be more than an agreed upon number of Life Fellows elected each year.

After examination of the By-Laws and references to the minutes of last year's Executive Committee and Annual Meetings, a lengthy discussion ensued after which the following motion was made and unanimously adopted: That it is the consensus of the Committee that under present Council legislation only those persons who have at some time been members of the Southern Regional Council are clearly eligible for election to Life Fellowships; that the By-Laws of the Council should be studied by the staff, and recommendations as to the desirability of change be submitted by the staff to the Committee at an early meeting.

An additional motion was made by Dr. Dent and unanimously approved and adopted by the Committee: That Mrs. M. E. Tilly be recommended for a Life Fellowship, and the staff be instructed to prepare a special citation to be presented to her, upon her election during the January Annual Meeting.

Discussion of Proposed Public Statement:

Mr. Dunbar pointed out ~~that~~ the intent of the statement which had been sent to each Member prior to the meeting. It is felt, he reported, that a statement should reflect the thinking, the character, and the point of view of SRC at a time when public indecision and uncertainty is growing. Secondly, the influence of such a statement would be enhanced if it dealt with current questions. On the basis of these criteria, Mr. Marion A. Wright and Mr. Dunbar, with help from Mr. Dabbs, had

drafted the statement, for consideration by the Executive Committee and for approval by the full Council inJanuary.

During the ensuing discussion, several changes were suggested and met with general approval.

It was moved and unanimously approved and adopted that the Executive Committee approve the statement in principle, and that the staff make changes in it in line with the suggestions offered in the Committee discussion.

It was further moved by Dr. Raymond Wheeler and unanimously approved and adopted that the statement be issued in the name of the Executive Committee, not the Annual Meeting, and released to the press at the discretion of the staff before December 31.

With no further business, the meeting adjourned at 3:10 p.m.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING
Southern Regional Council
January 29-30, 1964
Atlanta, Ga.

The opening session of the Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council began with lunch at the Peachtree Manor Hotel, January 29, with Vice President Josephine Wilkins presiding.

A list of the Members who attended some or all sessions is attached (Attachment A). All members of the professional staff were present with Mrs. Mildred Johnson serving as recording secretary; other staff members attended various sessions as time and office duties allowed.

The first Business Session convened at 2:00 p.m., with President Dabbs presiding.

Report of the Executive Committee

The report of the Executive Committee was given by the chairman, Mr. John H. Wheeler, It was moved, seconded, and unanimously adopted: that the report of the Executive Committee be accepted as read (Attachment B).

EXECUTIVE SESSION
(Staff on Call)

On recommendation of the Executive Committee, the Executive Director, Secretary-Treasurer, and Counsel were confirmed for the coming year.

Report of the Nominating Committee

The report of the Nominating Committee was read by a member of the Committee in the absence of its chairman, Mr. Carlyle. It was discussed, and referred for action at the next day's sessions.

GENERAL SESSION

Report of the George S. Mitchell Award Committee

A report of the George S. Mitchell Award Committee was presented by the chairman, Mr. James Stewart.

During the discussion of the report several Members expressed some concern about the type of award to be given each year to the winning state Council on Human Relations, and questioned whether the $1,000 appropriation mentioned in the report would have any bearing on the annual grant-in-aid awarded by SRC to that Council. After much discussion of these points, and a vote taken by a show of hands, it was unanimously agreed that the report be taken back to Committee. A revised report was presented during the Second Program Session on the following morning, which was unanimously approved and adopted (Attachment C).

The First Program Session convened at 3:00 p.m., with Executive Committee Chairman, John Wheeler presiding.

Report of the Fellowship of the Concerned

The Council heard a report from Mrs. M. E. Tilly on the Southwide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, which was held October 29 and 30 at the Peachtree Manor Hotel and at which 150 persons were in attendance. The theme of the 1963 Workshop was "Let Freedom Ring," Mrs. Tilly distributed, for Members to examine, copies of the workbook from the meeting.

Report of the Executive Director

Mr. Dunbar expressed congratulations to each Member for his presence in Atlanta, since good attendance had not been anticipated after it became necessary to postpone the November meeting. He reported the difficulties encountered by the staff in arranging, postponing, and re=arranging the 1963 meeting. In view of the difficulties encountered during the planning stages of the November meeting, the staff, Mr. Dunbar reported, has given some consideration to moving the 1964 meeting out of Atlanta. Any suggestions from

Members regarding this matter were asked to be communicated to the staff sometime in April.

Mr. Dunbar reported that the Executive Committee issued in its name a public statement in December, and expressed, on behalf of the Committee, regrets that the statement could not have been given more authority by coming from the full Council.

Mr. Dunbar further reported that, as a means of taking note of the 20th anniversary of SRC, a historical NEW SOUTH will be issued in January, 1964.

Mr. Dunbar assessed the events of 1963, and pointed out that the year had been one without equal in the annals of recent American history.

It was pointed out that a year ago there had been no serious thought in Washington of changing federal activities, or to instituting strong civil rights legislation until the Birmingham demonstrations, and until the Birmingham police retaliated against the demonstrators in the way they did.

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In speaking of the Voter Education Project, Mr. Dunbar pointed out that the Project has served as a most solid base for making social adjustments in the South; the results have been very impressive. He indicated that because of these results there is all the more reason to feel optimism and greatly encouraged in the year 1964.

The VEP is coming to the end of its second year of operation March 31, 1964, and Mr. Dunbar expressed hope and belief that the project will be continued a third year. At the completion of the Project, a book setting forth the Project's findings is to be published.

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Mr. Dunbar praised the success of the state Councils on Human Relations during the year 1963, and pointed out that we can take great pleasure and some sense of pride in their development.

Mr. Dunbar reported that two years ago SRC staff took a hard look at the Councils on Human Relations and decided that SRC should assume three major responsibilities to them:

1) to see that the grants-in-aid are modestly increased, for thepurpose of permitting some financial aid to be given to the Mississippi and Louisiana Councils. (We have achieved this aim; there is, however, no Louisiana Council, and the Mississippi Council does not yet need our support.)
2) aid and encourage some of the state Councils to obtain additional financial help from other sources. SRC staff has worked a great deal on this, and with hopeful results, because within the last two years, more than one-half of the state Councils have received funds from new donors;
3) additional staff services from SRC. It is our hope that during 1964 we may increase field services to the Councils, hopefully to achieve greater and more effective results in the field.

Mr. Dunbar stressed the need for state Councils to be looking ahead and working toward increased membership -- a factor which tends to stimulate strong and effective program activities.

The matter of tax exemption was discussed. Mr. Dunbar pointed out that unlike several years ago, we are faced today with many growing pressures for legislation on both the state and local levels. These pressures have to be dealt with intelligently, and it is incumbent upon SRC to communicate to the state groups ways of dealing with these pressures in light of today's conditions.

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Mr. Dunbar expressed thanks to Mr. Benjamin Muse for having conducted a research study of the South's reaction to the Supreme Court decision of 1954, and reported to the Members that the writing has been completed and the book is now at the publisher

to be released May 17, 1964 titled, Ten Years of Prelude.

Discussion of the "Program Review and Evaluation"

Mr. Dunbar presented to the Members the "Program Review and Evaluation," a study and recommendations of SRC programs as authorized by the Executive Committee and Annual Meeting of last year. He pointed out there were five recommendations which indicate new or enlarged emphases by the Council: Recommendations 3, 16, 14, 15, and 17.

Because several members felt the "Program Review and Evaluation" to be of such importance, and a great deal more time was needed for discussion of it, it was unanimously agreed that the Members re-assemble at 8:30 a.m., the following morning to allow for fuller discussion of the report.

The meeting adjourned at 5:30 p.m., after an announcement of the dinner meeting at 7:00 p.m. at Stouffers Restaurant; where Vice President Wright presided. During the dinner meeting Mrs. Tilly was presented a citation and a Life Fellowship in the Council. Mr. Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the NAACP delivered a timely and well-received address.

The Second Business Session convened at 8:30 a.m., January 30, 1964, during which President Dabbs presided.

Report of the Voter Education Project

For those persons who were not in attendance at last year's Annual Meeting, Mr. Branton explained what the Voter Education Project is and how it functions.

Mr. Branton distributed for examination two reports: "Results of VEP Programs: April 1, 1962 to December 31, 1963" and "1964 VEP Election Information" (Attachments D and E) From these Mr. Branton gave a detailed report on the results which have been' achieved by the Project, and reported that much is needed to be done. He discussed also the progress of VEP research, and raised the question of VEP's continuance beyond this year.

After discussion of the report by Members, Mr. Branton introduced those members of his staff who were present.

EXECUTIVE SESSION
(Staff on Call)

During Executive Session the Members voted on, and approved the slate of officers and new members proposed by the Nominating Committee (Attachment F).

To fill the vacancy in the Class of 1964, created by the resignation of the Reverend Colbert S. Cartwright, the Council chose to nominate from the floor, and elect to theClass of 1964, the Reverend Powers McLeod of Auburn(Ala.). In connection with the election of the Reverend McLeod, the full Council passed the following motion: that all subsequent nominations from the floor be referred to the Nominating Committee for the purpose of gathering information, after which a report is to be brought back to the Corporation.

The Second Program Session convened at 10:00 a.m., with Vice-President Albert W. Dent presiding.

Further Discussion of "Program and Evaluation"

Mr. David Scull spoke to Recommendations 7 and 8 and suggested that the staff give further consideration to the area of economics as it applies to the changing racial patterns in the South. Mr. Marion Wright concurred in Mr. Scull's thinking, and suggested that SRC might prepare a well though-out article in the area of economics. It was pointed out, however, that SRC undertook such a study last year titled, The Economic Status of Negroes, done by Dr. Vivian Henderson.

Mrs. McAlpin, in referring to Recommendation 14, asked how the local councils could establish better rapport with the state Council. It was pointed out to Mrs. McAlpin that each state Council plans its own best ways of organizing itself in its relationship to the local councils. Mrs. McAlpin elaborated on the programs underway in the local councils of the state Council in Kentucky.

Reverend Caxton Doggett suggested that SRC could play an important role in interpreting, for the state Councils, those activities which would tend to jeopardize tax exemption. Mr. Doggett was assured that the staff had been thinking, and would continue to think about this matter, and would furnish the state Councils with guidance.

At this point in the meeting Mr. Welch presented the following resolution to be transmitted to the President of the United States, the U. S. Attorney-General, and the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department:

> Whereas the security of the Constitutional rights and liberties of citizens of the United States is the first and highest obligation of our national government;
>
> Now therefore be it resolved that the Southern Regional Council address to the President of the United States, to the Attorney-General of the United States, and to the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice its appreciation for their vigorous and unrelenting defense of the integrity of federal court orders, and their constant efforts to protect the right of all citizens to vote freely.
>
> And be it further resolved that we call on the President, the Attorney-General, and the Civil Rights Division to take special measures to secure, insofar as possible, the voting rights of all citizens to the end that all may vote in the elections of 1964.

The resolution, having been heard, was unanimously approved and adopted.

Financial Reports

Mr. Jordan presented the Proposed Budget for 1964 which was unanimously approved and adopted (Attachment G).

Mr. Anthony presented the Schedule of Proposed Grants-in-Aid to State Councils which was unanimously approved and adopted. (Attachment H).

SUGGESTIONS FROM MEMBERS ON SRC PROGRAM

1) that New South carry a special feature selection on unusual programs in the State Councils on Human Relations;

2) that the staff and Executive Committee give some thought to holding a one-day workshop, preceding Annual Meeting, on State Councils on Human Relations -- the Workshop to make a formal report to Annual Meeting;

3) that the next Annual Meeting be scheduled to begin on a Thursday or Friday and end on Saturday;

4) that the staff consider inviting to Annual Meeting, as observers, key foundation officials as a means of strengthening foundation interest and support in the work of the Council;

5) that the Council form small groups (state commissions) of Board people to help with long range thinking and needed research in various areas of interest to support and supplement the work of the staff.

Introduction of New President

Dr. Dent paid tribute to the Council's four preceding Presidents: Dr. Howard Odum, Mr. Paul Williams, Mr. Marion A. Wright, and Mr. James McBride Dabbs. He commended Mr. Dabbs for the fine leadership which he has given to the Council, and pointed out to him that even though he will not be, after this meeting, SRC president, the Council will continue to depend on his warm devotion and wise counsel. He then introduced the in-coming President, Mr. John H. Wheeler.

Acceptance Speech of New President

"As much as I appreciate the honor of being elected as your President, I will be frank with you -- I have some personal misgivings, and I think they are well founded.

"I have a much greater concern that we give full recognition

to the symbol that Mr. Dabbs has been for this Council. He has been more than a president and a leader. He has been a symbol in the most dignified manner. I think that some of the things we enjoy as we go through life, and that are the most valuable to us, appear much more valuable after we have lost them.

"I am sure that everyone shares my hope that he will be able to do as Mr. Wright has done, and that is to stay with us and help to iron out the kinks in the work with which we are concerned.

"I have been quite interested in the discussions of program. We have come a long way in our concept of what the South ought to be like, and we have done it not by chance, but by hard work, and I think you share our view, that because of this fortunate circumstance, and because of the kind of staff we have been able to attract, we have been able to bring the South with us. To me this presents an even greater challenge; we have been able to sift out the ills and establish the morals in the South, and in many ways point the way to the techniques that have been helpful. We plan to continue to point the way in some fields which we have not yet touched. Mr. Wilkins's speech pointed out some of the things we will have to face. We are at a phase in our effort which requires a great deal more sophistication than we have been using in these areas, and we are getting past the front line of barriers that are more detailed, intricate, well grounded, and with more roots than ever before.

"It is possible that next year we may be able to define the dimensions of poverty which Lyndon B. Johnson has been talking about. I am not so sure that we know where the areas of poverty lie, but these are the challenges that we now face. And we have gotten to the place where we can face them with expert and balanced determination. We cannot do the job without expert functioning of the organization. We have been lucky because we have worked hard and we have, in depth, the best organization of this type in America. We cannot pay too much tribute to the staff. They all work hard, and are dedicated. If you heard Mrs. Tilly yesterday, you will agree that there are elements on our staff that are irreplaceable -- this goes from the Director right down through the corps of staff people.

"We will be here working to see what we can do, and I hope that I can fall, in some small measure, in the footsteps of the people who have been in this seat before.

"Thank you."

The Annual Meeting adjourned at 1:30 p.m., to reconvene for lunch, during which time the retiring president gave his address (reprinted in New South, November-December, 1963). Dr. C. G. Gomillion presided during the luncheon session.

Attachment A

Beckwith, Rev. Hubert
Beittel, Dr. A. D.
Brewer, Mr. & Mrs. Joe R.
Brooke, Rev. W. Carroll
Brown, Mr. Aubrey N.
Cahn, Mrs. Mose S.
Christopher, M. & Mrs. Paul R.
Clement, Dr. Rufus E.
Colston, Dr. James A.
Crockett, Dr. Roosevelt D.
Dabbs, Mr. & Mrs. James M.
Davidson, Mr. Herbert M.
Dent, Dr. Albert W.
Doggett, Rev. Caxton
Dreger, Dr. Ralph
Fleming, Mr. Harold C.
Foster, Dr. Luther H.
Gibson, Rev. Theodore
Gomillion, Dean C. G.
Griffin, Dr. John A.
Hamilton, Mrs. Grace T.
Harvey, Mrs. Clarie Collins
Hunter, Rev. Duncan
Kehrer, Mr. E. T.
Lewis, Mr. John G., Jr.
McAlpin, Mrs. Alicia B.
Mantinband, Rabbi & Mrs. Charles
Montgomery, Dr. Riley B.
Pitts, Dr. Lucius
Rayzor, Mrs. J. N.
Scull, Mr. David
Secrest, Mr. Andrew M.
Siceloff, Mr. & Mrs. Courtney
Sigur, The Rt. Rev. Alexander
Smith, Mr. & Mrs. Moreland G.
Sparling, Mrs. E. M.
Steele, Mr. Charles T.
Stewart, Mr. James
Stokely, Mr. & Mrs. James
Sytz, Mrs. Florence
Townsend, Dr. & Mrs. William
Welch, Mr. Nathaniel
Wheeler, Mr. John H.
Wheeler, Dr. & Mrs. Raymond
White, Mrs. Charles
Wiley, Dr. Bell I.
Wilkins, Miss Josephine
Wilkins, Mr. Roy
Wright, Mr. Marion A.
Wright, Dr. Stephen J.
Young, Mr. Thomas W.

REPORT OF
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO THE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL IN ANNUAL MEETING
JANUARY 29-30, 1964

Since the full Council was last assembled your Executive Committee has met five times to carry out the mandates of the 1962 Annual Meeting and to give policy direction to the staff.

The Annual Meeting for 1963 was scheduled for November 25-26, but was postponed due to the untimely and tragic death of President Kennedy. In our meeting of December 9, the following motion was passed by the Executive Committee.

> Inasmuch as the Annual Meeting was duly called for November 25 and 26, and could not meet because of the national mourning for President Kennedy, the Executive Committee approves the action of the officers and staff in adjourning the 1963 Annual Meeting to January 1964.

President Dabbs conveyed, on behalf of the Council, condolences to Mrs. Kennedy, and Mr. Dunbar wrote to President Johnson and Attorney General Kennedy.

We are pleased to report that, in our opinion, this year has been one of the most productive in the Council's history. The unprecedented events of this centennial year placed unanticipated and unusually heavy demands upon us. The Council met these new challenges forthrightly and positively. This is encouraging as we approach the end of the Council's 20th year of operation and eagerly anticipate another year of change and growth in our region.

Nine outstanding Southerners nominated by this body last year have accepted membership in the Council. They are:

CLASS OF 1965

Mrs. Mose Cahn, New Orleans

NEW MEMBERS TO CLASS OF 1966

Roosevelt D. Crockett - Little Rock, Ark.
Edward Haddock - Richmond, Va.
Mrs. Martin Harvey - Jackson, Miss.
Robert J. Harris - Charlottesville, Va.

John G. Lewis - Baton Rouge, La.
J. Rupert Picott - Richmond, Va.
William H. Townsend - Little Rock, Ark.
Nat Welch - Auburn, Ala.
Moreland G. Smith - Montgomery, Ala.

Most of these new members are with us today. We welcome them and the contributions they have to make to the deliberations of this body.

We note with sadness the death of two of our colleagues this year, Dr. H. Council Trenholm, Sr., and Mr. Charles Sahw. Also the death of Mr. Harry Jones, Executive Director of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations. Condolences expressing the sympathy of the Executive Committee on behalf of the Council were conveyed to the families of each.

During the year the Executive Committee, acting on the recommendations from the Personnel Committee, has reviewed salaries, granted merit increases, and otherwise carried out its responsibilities with regard to personnel.

Mr. Paul Anthony, formerly the Executive Assistant, was appointed Director of Field Activities following the resignation of Mr. Paul Rilling. Mr. Anthony in his years at SRC has acquired the skills and knowledge that should make him an excellent field director, as indeed he has already demonstrated.

Three additions have been made to the professional staff. Mr. Randolph T. Blackwell was named Field Director of the Voter Education Project. Mr. Blackwell formerly taught government and economics at Winston-Salem State Teachers College and Alabama A & M College and was active in voter registration in Huntsville, Alabama.

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., a Howard Law School graduate and for two years the Georgia Field Secretary of NAACP was appointed Assistant to the Executive Director. Mr. Pat Watters, writer, one-time city editor of the Atlanta Journal, and more recently

a daily columnist on the Journal, accepted the position of Director of Information. Miss Margaret Long, formerly the Director of Information, continues in her capacity as the editor of New South.

A staff priority this year has been an evaluation of the Council's present program activities and determining what new guidelines are needed for future activities of the Council. A Board Advisory Committee has consulted and met with the staff in preparation of the program review. You have the final document with you which Mr. Dunbar will discuss with us as a part of his report.

The George S. Mitchell Memorial Award Committee has exchanged correspondence in an effort to establish the criteria for presenting such an award. The Committee met here last night and will make its final report to us today.

The Committee continued to give guidance to the Voter Education Project. The Committee thinks that the Voter Education Project is one of the most important programs in race relations in the South today, and will have real value long after the termination of the project.

Field activities and services took on new directions and programs as the field department acted to meet the needs required by this somewhat unusual year. Special attention was given to assisting Save-the-School groups in preparation for September 1963 school desegregation.

Special emphasis was placed on state councils on human relations, most of whom had a year of increased program activity and a higher degree of local support. During the year the Mississippi Council was re-established under the able direction of Dr. A. D. Beittel. With considerable assistance from SRC members in the state, the Florida Council was reorganized and professional staff has been secured.

Research and publication have had a good year. We note particularly the widespread notice and attention given the

following publications: Morland's, Token Desegregation and Beyond; Cole's, The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study; Henderson's, The Economic Status of Negroes: In the Nation and in the South; and, Plans for Progress. The New South issue on the "March on Washington" was well received. Reprints of these publications are very likely due to the numerous requests for their use.

Following its meeting of May 21, 1963, your Executive Committee released to the press on May 26 a statement. The statement embodied the following:

1) An affirmation that segregation and discrimination are morally wrong.
2) An expression of indignation over the arrests in Birmingham.
3) A recognition that the recent Supreme Court's decisions have provided the South a second opportunity to show that it has respect for, and will obey the highest law of the land.
4) An appeal to the South to pursue a different course of action than that followed after the 1954 decision.

The Executive Committee has exercised its reponsibility in supervising the grants-in-aid program for the State Councils on Human Relations. We are pleased to report that most of the State Councils are showing increased vigor in both program and fund-raising. Later in the meeting, you will have before you, for approval, the grants-in-aid-schedule for 1964, which has been reviewed and approved by the Executive Committee. For 1963, we recommend an increase of approximately 10% over the rate of the funds granted for the past several years. The recommendations for 1964 are generally consistent with 1963.

Fund-raising remains a perennial problem. During 1963 we have been operating on a general operations budget of $178,481. You will be presented the Committee's recommendation for a general operations budget of approximately $212,481, for 1964, an increase of $34,000. The increased budget takes into account normal program

expansion, additional staff, and the recommendations of the "Program Review and Evaluation," which we shall discuss later in the meeting.

The proposed budget which will be submitted to you tomorrow, if approved, will call for approximately $99,000 in funds beyond those now committed. Of that amount we are hopeful that some $50,000 - $60,000 will come from sources which have contributed in the past. Approximately $39,000 - $49,000 will have to be raised from new sources. In short, the matter of maintaining support from contributors and that of cultivating new sources continues to be a major concern and activity of the Committee and the Executive Director.

In conclusion, it is the opinion of your Executive Committee that the year has been a good andproductive one. We feel that the ever-increasing activities of the Council and the frowning demands being made upon it are an encouraging indication of the organization's effectiveness and a measure of the confidence which others have in us.

There is nothing in our accomplishments which gives cause for complacency, too much reamins undone, and the challenge before us is too great. However, as we approach 1964 -- the Council's 21st year of operation -- we can do so with the assurance that the Southern Regional Council is a constructive and responsible force in these changing times.

REPORT OF THE

GEORGE S. MITCHELL AWARD COMMITTEE

The George S. Mitchell Award is hereby instituted by vote of the Southern Regional Council at its 1963 Annual Meeting.

PURPOSE

The purpose of the Award shall be twofold; one, to perpetuate the memory of George S. Mitchell, second executive director of the Council, and his life-long interest and service to the South; and two, to help build the State Councils on Human Relations that were so dear to Dr. Mitchell's heart and help emphasize the grass-root ideal so central to his thinking.

CRITERIA FOR SELECTING RECIPIENTS

The Award shall be presented annually to the State Council on Human Relations that has the largest, percentage-wise, increase in its membership during the preceding year, from September 1 to August 31, as determined by the records on file in the office of the Southern Regional Council. The State Council winning the Award shall be notified not later than October 1 of the year the Award is to be made.

THE AWARD

The Award shall be in the form of a suitable citation and an appropriation of $1,000.00 to be presented annually to a State Council on Human Relations, as provided herein. This shall have no bearing on any other grant-in-aid.

PRESENTATION

The presentation of the George S. Mitchell Award shall be at the annual dinner held during the Annual meeting of the Council. A representative, chosen by the Council winning the award, shall be invited to attend the Annual Meeting to receive the award, and the total expense of his trip shall be borne by the Council.

REPORT OF THE 1963
NOMINATING COMMITTEE -

The Committee met on August 28, 1963 in Atlanta. All members were present. These were: Brailsford R. Brazeal (Atlanta); Irving E. Carlyle (Winston-Salem); James A. Colston (Knoxville); Luther H. Foster (Tuskegee); and Charles Mantinband (Longview, Texas).

Mr. Carlyle was elected chairman.

After due deliberation, the Nominating Committee selected the following slate, and herewith places these names in nomination before the 1963 Annual Meeting:

President

John H. Wheeler, Durham, North Carolina

Vice-Presidents

Albert W. Dent, New Orleans, Louisiana
Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, North Carolina
Miss Josephine Wilkins, Athens, Georgia
Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta, Georgia

The Executive Committee

Paul R. Christopher, Knoxville, Tennessee
James McBride Dabbs, Mayesville, South Carolina
C. G. Gomillion, Tuskegee, Alabama
John P. Nelson, Jr., New Orleans, Louisiana
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Atlanta, Georgia
H. Franklin Williams, Coral Gables, Florida
Stephen J. Wright, Nashville, Tennessee
Raymond Wheeler, Charlotte, North Carolina
Thomas W. Young, Norfolk, Virginia

The Nominating Committee, 1964

Brailsford R. Brazeal, Atlanta, Georgia
James A. Colston, Knoxville, Tennessee
Charles Mantinband, Longview, Texas

(In accord with the By-Laws, two additional members will be elected by the Executive Committee).

Members

Class of 1966:

(for vacancy created by death of Charles A. Shaw)
Samuel Nabrit, Houston, Texas. President, Texas Southern University.

Class of 1967:

The following members of the Class of 1963 are nominated for re-election to the Class of 1967:

W. E. Solomon, Columbia, South Carolina
James E. Stewart, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
James Stokely, Newport Tennessee
Lee B. Thomas, Jr., Louisville, Kentucky
Thomas Thrasher, Chapel Hill, North Carolina
Mrs. J. F. Tillman, Lewisburg, Tennessee
John H. Wheeler, Durham, North Carolina
Raymond Wheeler, Charlotte, North Carolina
Bell I. Wiley, Atlanta, Georgia
Miss Josephine Wilkins, Athens, Georgia
H. Franklin Williams, Coral Gables, Florida
Paul D. Williams, Richmond, Virginia
Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, North Carolina
Stephen J. Wright, Nashville, Tennessee
Thomas W. Young, Norfolk, Virginia

The following new members are nominated for the Class of 1967:

Mrs. Lawrence Coe, Memphis, Tennessee
Member, Memphis School Board. Member, Tennessee Council on Human Relations.

Ralph Dreger, Jacksonville, Florida.
Professor of Psychology, University of Jacksonville. President, Florida Council on Human Relations.

Paul Johnston, Birmingham, Alabama
Attorney.

S. E. Duncan, Salisbury, North Carolina.
President, Livingstone College. Member, North Carolina Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Board, North Carolina Council on Human Relations. Former member, Southern Regional Council.

Sylvan Meyer, Gainesville, Georgia.
Editor, Gainesville Times. Chairman, Georgia Advisory

Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights.
Member, Georgia Council on Human Relations.

C. H. Parrish, Louisville, Kentucky.
Professor of Sociology, University of Louisville.
Former member and staff, Southern Regional Council.
Board, Kentucky Council on Human Relations.

Mrs. Mary Sands, New Orleans, Louisiana.
President, Save-Our-Schools (during its service in the school desegregation crisis).

Mrs. Jane Schutt, Jackson, Mississippi.
Former chairman, Mississippi AdvisoryCommittee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Board, Mississippi Council on Human Relations.

Jack Young, Jackson, Mississippi.

James Youngdahl, Little Rock, Arkansas.
Attorney. Chairman, Arkansas Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Member, Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

Since your Committee met, word has been received of the resignation of the Reverend Colbert S. Cartwright of Little Rock. He has moved to Youngstown, Ohio. We have no nomination of a replacement for Mr. Cartwright, who was a member of the class of 1964; unless members desire to make a nomination from the floor, we recommend that this vacancy be acted on at the next Annual Meeting.

Your Committee wishes, finally, to record two conclusions it reached during its deliberations.

First, in nominating James McBride Dabbs for the Executive Committee it was not only showing its high confidence in this man, but was following what seemed to the Committee to be the wise course of retaining an outgoing President on the Executive Committee for at least one term. We commend this practice to Nominating Committees in the future.

Second, your Committee unanimously agreed that the Executive Committee, when electing its Chairman, should be asked to give consideration to what we regard as a value; vis., a racial balance in the top leadership of ;the Southern Regional Council. We are aware of the sacred principle of selection on merit alone. We

think, however, this organization, whose great principle is racial collaboration, should unite the races in its leadership.

Respectfully submitted,

Brailsford R. Brazeal
James A. Colston
Luther H. Foster
Charles Mantinband
Irving E. Carlyle, Chairman

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Southern Regional Council
January 29, 1964

The meeting of the Executive Committee met at the Peachtree Manor Hotel at 10:00 a.m., January 29, 1964.

Those present: Mr. Christopher, Dr. Clement, Mr. Dabbs, Dr. Griffin, Mrs. Hamilton, Dr. Raymond Wheeler, Miss Wilkins, Mr. M. A. Wright, Dr. S. J. Wright, Mr. Young, with Mr. John H. Wheeler presiding.

Members of the professional staff present: Mr. Dunbar, Mr. Branton, Mr. Jordan, with Mrs. Mildred Johnson serving as recording secretary.

EXECUTIVE SESSION
(Staff on call)

After invocation, the agenda was adopted and the Resolution on SRC's Tax Exemption was circulated and signed by each member.

The Committee voted to recommend to the Annual Meeting that the Executive Director, Secretary-Treasurer, and Council be confirmed for the coming year, after which a report of the Personnel Committee was heard and approved.

GENERAL SESSION

Report of the Voter Education Project

Mr. Branton reported on the work and accomplishments of the Voter Education Project since its inception in 1962. He distributed to each member and discussed in detail the "1964 VEP Election Information" and "Results of the VEP Program from April, 1962 to December 31, 1963."

Mr. Branton reported that the staff does not know at this time whether any foundations will make commitments for the continuance of the VEP for the next fiscal year, on the assumption that they will, he stated that VEP will continue to support

programs in each of the eleven southern states until cut-offs for general elections in those states.

Following Mr. Branton's report, the Committee engaged in discussion of the Project, after which the following action was taken: It was moved, seconded, and unanimously adopted that the minutes show the high regard of the Committee for the way in which Mr. Branton has conducted the Voter Education Project.

Mr. Branton pointed out that there has been considerable inquiry from individuals and agencies as to whether VEP will continue beyond this year, and indicated that the Committee ought to be giving some consideration to this matter. He pointed out that this is necessary now, since SRC only agreed to take on the sponsorship of the Project, and he had agreed to come to the Project as its director, for a specific and agreed upon length of time.

The two points which Mr. Branton felt should now be resolved if VEP is going to be continued are: (1) will the Project continue under the sponsorship of the SRC, or some new agency? (2) if the Project is to be continued, this ought to be known at an early date so that a new project director can be brought in who would direct the Project beyond the time when the present director would be willing to remain on the job.

It was pointed out that Mr. Branton's time with the Project will terminate by March 31, 1965.

After some discussion of this matter Mr. M. A. Wright made the following motion which was unanimously approved and adopted: That the staff begin discussions on the matter of continuing the VEP, and have some preliminary suggestions to present to the Executive Committee at its next meeting.

Selection of Date and Place of 1964 Annual Meeting

It was unanimously agreed that the selection of the date and place of the next Annual Meeting be deferred until the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

OTHER BUSINESS

Mr. Dunbar reported that SRC "Board of Directors" had been invited, via telegram, by the Mayor of the City of Atlanta to attend a meeting in the City Hall at which Negro and white leaders would be involved in efforts to ameliorate Atlanta's racial problems. It was agreed, as Mr. Dunbar informed the Mayor's office, that it was impossible for the full Council to attend such a meeting. Discussion of this ensued at which time it was further agreed that since the matters under discussion involved local matters, only the Atlanta members should attend.

With no further business, the meeting adjourned at 12:30 p.m.

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Southern Regional Council
May 11, 1964

The Executive Committee convened at 10:00 a.m., May 11, 1964, in the Conference Room of the Southern Regional Council.

Those present: Mr. Christopher, Mr. Dabbs, Dr. Gomillion, President Joyn H. Wheeler (presiding until such time as a new chairman of the Committee could be elected), Dr. Raymond Wheeler, Miss Wilkins, Dr. Williams, Mr. Marion A. Wright, and Mr. Young. All members of the professional staff were present except for Messrs. Pat Watters and Staige Blackford. Mrs. Tilly was present for the afternoon session only. Mrs. Mildred Johnson served as recording secretary.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

After invocation, the proposed agenda and the minutes of the last meeting were approved and adopted and the Resolution on Tax Exemption was circulated and signed by each Members.

As required by the By-Laws, two new members were elected to the 1964 Nominating Committee - - Mr. Paul Williams of Richmond, Va., and Mr. James Youngdahl of Little Rock, Ark. Alternates elected were Dr. Lucius Pitts of Birmingham and Mr. E. T. Kehrer of Atlanta.

GENERAL SESSION

Remarks by the Executive Director

Mr. Dunbar announced the recent death of Mrs. Mose Cahn of New Orleans on April 15, 1964. Mrs. Cahn's death came at the time of renewed efforts to establish a Louisiana Council on Human Relations, in which Mrs. Cahn was a leading figure. The staff had sent an appropriate message of condolence to the family of Mrs. Cahn. The Committee instructed the staff to send, on behalf of the Executive Committee, a similar letter of condolence to the family of the late Mrs. Cahn.

Mr. Dunbar announced the recent resignation of Dr. Samuel Proctor from the Council. Dr. Proctor has moved from the region to become Associate Director of the Peace Corps in Washington, D. C.

New Staff

Three new persons were introduced: Mrs. Barbara Whitaker, Research Assistant to the Voter Education Project; Mr. John Due, Intern, Voter Education Project, and made available under the sponsorship of the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation; Mr. Louis Mitchell, Executive Director of the Florida Council on Human Relations, on leave of absence from that post to direct a special project of the Southern Regional Council.

Mr. Dunbar reported briefly on the work of the Voter Education Project and pointed out that the Project has been able to reach the 2,000,000 mark in the number of registered Negro voters, a real milestone. He commended not only the agencies working in the field, but the VEP staff as well.

Mr. Anthony reported that he and Mr. Mitchell would be attending a meeting in Cocoa, Florida at the request of the directors of personnel and public relations of all the government contractors of the Cape Kennedy area to discuss the resources of the state Councils on Human Relations and the Southern Regional Council, and ways in which both could be helpful to them in implementing their merit employment programs.

Status of Unemployment Compensation Tax Issue

Mr. Dunbar expressed regrets that Mr. Haas, who had to be out of town, could not be present to report on the unemployment compensation tax matter. However, Mr. Dunbar reported that in March Mr. Haas, after consultation with him, had notified the Employment Security Agency that the Council was willing to pay into the plan on a voluntary basis, as permitted by the statute. Our offer was refused by the state in a letter of March 18. The Agency then arranged a formal hearing on April 8, at which both

the Executive Director and legal counsel attended and presented testimony. Subsequent to this hearing the Commissioner notified the Council that the Employment Security Agency had ruled unfavorably against us. Mr. Dunbar reported that this means, as authorized by the Committee meeting in January, that the Council will prepare to take this matter into the courts.

Mr. Dunbar stated that the Council's position, as being willing to pay the tax if we can pay it without conceding that we are not, under Georgia law, a tax exempt agency, and if we do not have to pay the back taxes which we are being charged. He pointed out, after being questioned, that Mr. Haas feels optimistic about winning the case.

A brief discussion ensued, with the consensus of the Committee being that we have no choice but to go to court.

Report on "Operation Opportunity"

Mr. Mitchell reported on "Operation Opportunity" and gave background leading up to the development of this special project, which has been created to stimulate and coordinate community action toward compliance with Title II of the civil rights bill.

Plans for Annual Meeting

Mr. Jordan outlined the plans for the 1964 Annual Meeting. these were based on questionnaire returns received from the Members. The following plan was proposed and adopted:

Thursday, November 19:

10:00 AM	Workshop for State Councils on Human Relations (All-day meeting; board attendance optional, with formal report to be made to Annual Meeting.)
7:00 PM	Executive Committee Meeting

Friday, November 20:

10:00 AM	Annual Meeting begins
7:30 PM	Annual Dinner

Saturday, November 21:

12:30 PM Annual Meeting ends with luncheon session.

Mr. Jordan presented a staff recommendation that a committee of two be appointed from the Executive Committee to secure a speaker for the Annual Meeting. This was accepted. Mr. Dabbs and Mr. Young were so appointed.

After some discussion of a possible city to which the Annual Meeting could be taken, it was unanimously agreed that the matter be left to the discretion of the staff.

Immediately following lunch it was announced that Dr. Raymond Wheeler had, by unanimous vote, been elected chairman of the Executive Committee. Dr. Wheeler took the chair and presided during the afternoon session.

Creation of Commitee to Assist with Fund-Raising

Mr. Dunbar pointed out that in his approaches to northern foundations the question of how much support from southern sources the Council is able to attract is being asked more and more frequently. In this connection, Mr. Dunbar appealed to the Committee to appoint a sub-committee from the Board to assist the staff in southern fund-raising.

A discussion ensued after which the following motion was unanimously adopted: that a sub-committee, separate and distinct from the present Finance Committee, be created to assist the staff with fund-raising activities; the size of such sub-committee to be left to the discretion of the chairman of the Executive Committee.

Continuation of the VEP - Staff Recommendation

Mr. Dunbar pointed out that we are in the last year of the Voter Education Project. The field work will conclude during the Fall as the registration cut-off dates expire. When the field work is completed, it is encumbent on the staff to prepare a report - -

the report is to be a book. Mr. Dunbar pointed out further that it could not be predicted when the book will be finished, but hopefully by the Summer or Fall of 1965. The staff has not seriously looked for a publisher; however, we have been approached by Viking Press and the Louisiana State University Press.

Mr. Dunbar recommended the following regarding VEP: that following completion of the field work this year the staff devote itself to the preparation of the book, and at this time no effort be made to continue the Voter Education Project; however, that we maintain a disposition and willingness to talk with any interested parties who, in the future, might desire to resume this effort. Mr. Dunbar stated that this is predicated on the fact that after this year voter registration is going to subside until the elections of 1966. The Committee unanimously approved and adopted this staff recommendation.

Following a brief presentation by Mr. Branton, during which time he informed the Committee of VEP's effectiveness in registering 2,000,000 Negroes ahead of its November deadline, and a brief discussion of the Project by the Committee, Mr. Marion A. Wright, on behalf of the Committee, Expressed appreciation to and high regard for Mr. Branton and his staff for the work they have done in directing and carrying out a very effective program.

Mr. Wright further commended Mr. Muse for his recent book, Ten Years of Prelude, and stated that the Council will benefit from this piece of work for a long time to come.

Mention was made of the invitation which had been extended to the Executive Director to give the William S. Cook lectures for 1965 at the University of Michigan.

Staff Recommendation Regarding Life Fellowships

Following instructions of the Committee, Mr. Jordan, on behalf of the staff, presented the following recommendation

regarding the question of awarding Life Fellowships:

> "That the awarding of the honorary life fellowship in the Southern Regional Council pursuant to Article II of the By-Laws is a high honor. Because of this honor and distinction, selectivity is of primary importance. That an award or awards need not be made annually, depending upon the wishes of the body. That, as permitted by the By-Laws, the recipient may be either a former Southern Regional Council member or a person who has never been a Southern Regional Council member."

After lengthy discussion, the Committee voted its approval of the staff recommendation with the following addendum being added:

> "Nominations of Life Fellows will be made by the, Executive Committee at one of its regular meetings; each year the staff is to solicit recommendations from Council members, said recommendations to be placed before the Executive Committee.

Other Business

Mr. Christopher made two appeals: (1) that the staff send to Members reproductions of noteworthy news items that Members may otherwise never see; (2) that noteworthy speeches, made by members, be shared with other Members.

Mrs. Tilly gave a brief summary of her church work, after which the meeting adjourned at 3:00 P.M.

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Southern Regional Council
September 30, 1964

The Executive Committee convened at 10:00 a.m., in the Southern Regional Council's Conference Room, September 30, 1964.

Those present: Mr. Christopher, Mr. Dabbs, Mr. Haas, Mrs. Hamilton, Mr. Nelson, Mr. John Wheeler, Dr. Raymond Wheeler, presiding, Miss Wilkins, Dr. Williams, Mr. M. A. Wright, and Mr. Young.

All professional staff were present, with Mrs. Mildred M. Johnson serving as recording secretary.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

After invocation, the proposed agenda and the minutes of the last meeting were approved and adopted, and the Resolution on Tax Exemption was circulated and signed by each Member present.

GENERAL SESSION

Mr. Dunbar read telegrams from Dr. Stephen Wright and Dean C. G. Gomillion both expressing regrets at not being present for the Executive Committee - Dr. Wright on orders from his physician and Dean Gomillion because of a recent operation. The Executive Committee instructed the staff to send appropriate notes, on behalf of the Committee, to both Dr. Wright and Dean Gomillion.

New Staff

Mr. Dunbar introducted the following new staff members: Mrs. Jane Bond Moore, Research Assistant, VEP and formerly of the Research staff; Dr. Lloyd J. Elliott, Staff Economist; Joe Louis Tucker, Field Representative, VEP and formerly of the Research staff; and Albert Ulmer, Intern for field services.

Election of Vacancy in Class of 1965 and Life Fellowships

Mr. Dunbar recommended to the Executive Committee, which is authorized by the By-Laws to fill vacancies during the year, to re-elect Mr. Benjamin Muse to membership in the Council in order for him to be eligible to attend this year's annual meeting. He reported that the Nominating Committee, which had met on September 28, concurred in his recommendation. It was pointed out that Mr. Muse had resigned Board membership in order to serve as Director of the Southern Leadership Project from 1959 - 1964. The Committee unanimously approved Mr. Muse's re-election to Council Membership in the Class of 1965.to fill the vacancy created by the death of Mrs. Moise Cahn.

Life Fellowships

Mr. Dunbar put before the Committee the following nominees for 1964 life fellowships:

(1) Mr. W. D. Weatherford -- proposed by Rev. Caxton Doggett of Florida.
(2) Mr. Ralph McGill, Atlanta -- proposed by the 1964 Nominating Committee.
(3) Mr. Hodding Carter, Sr., Greenville, Mississippi -- proposed by the 1964 Nominating Committee.
(4) Mrs. David Terry, Little Rock, proposed by Mrs. Vivion Brewer last year.

Mr. Marion Wright then suggested that Judge J. Waties Waring be considered.

In regard to Mr. Hodding Carter, Mr. Dunbar pointed out that Mr. Carter was up for re-election to the Board this year, but the Nominating Committee had rotated him off because of poor health. It was on this basis that the Nominating Committee strongly recommended Mr. Carter for a life fellowship.

Regarding life fellowships, the Executive Committee took the following action: that Mr. Hodding Carter be elected a 1964 Life Fellow, and that the names of Mr. Weatherford, Mr. McGill, Judge

Waring, and Mrs. Terry be placed in nomination for life fellowships to be considered at its meeting prior to Annual Meeting in November.

Report on Plans for Annual Meeting

Mr. Jordan summarized the plans for the Annual Meeting, scheduled for November 20-21, at the Biltmore Hotel in Atlanta, Georgia.

Report on Tax Suit

Mr. Haas brought the Committee up to date on the matter of the Unemployment Compensation Tax suit, pointing out that the matter is on the docket and is now in the process of working its way to the top of the court calendar. It was suggested by Mr. Christopher that Southern Regional Council employees should be covered by unemployment compensation, and Dr. H. Franklin Williams, who concurred in Mr. Christopher's thinking, made the following motion which was unanimously approved and adopted: that it is the consensus of the Executive Committee that Southern Regional Council desires to afford its employees the protection provided by voluntary participation in the Georgia Unemployment Compensation Act, and that the Officers and staff of Southern Regional Council are authorized to arrange for this protection provided that, as of the day such arrangements are made and forward, it is in no sense retroactive.

All-Citizens' Registration Committee - VEP Matter

Mr. Haas brought to the attention of the Committee a matter which had been referred to him by Mrs. Hamilton. The matter had to do with the fact that the All-Citizen's Registration Committee of Atlanta, an organization to which VEP funds had been allocated for voter registration and education work, had allowed a candidate for office to preside at one or more of its meetings. This, Mrs. Hamilton felt, possibly constituted partisan politics on the part of SRC, and could be an infringement of Southern Regional Council's Tax Exemption. Correspondence of Mr. Dunbar and Mrs. Hamilton to legal counsel was read, in order to put before the Committee a full statement of the questions.

Mr. Dunbar and Mr. Branton both spoke to the matter.

A lengthy discussion ensued, during which typical daily correspondence files of the Voter Education Project were circulated to show the basis on which grants are made, and the mode of staff operation in enforcing Voter Education Project restrictions. The following motion was made by Dr. Williams and unanimously approved and adopted: That it is the feeling of the Executive Committee that due diligence and precaution have been used by the SRC-VEP staffs to maintain a non-partisan position in administering and carrying out the Voter Education Project.

Report on Meeting of the Development Committee

Miss Wilkins reported that the Development Committee met on September 29 in an all-day meeting, with good attendance. She pointed out that it is too early to make a detailed report or to predict the effectiveness of the Committee, but indicated that the discussion was enthusiastic and that good results are anticipated.

The next meeting of the Development Committee is set for Thursday, November 19 following the buffet supper in the offices of the Southern Regional Council.

Plans for the Fellowship of the Concerned

Mrs. Tilly briefly outlined the plans for this year's meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned as follows: to convene October 21 and 22 at the Peachtree Manor Hotel; the theme of the meeting to be "The Torch Has Been Passed." As usual, Mrs. Tilly pointed out, churchwomen of Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish faiths will come together to deliberate on current issues facing the nation.

Discussion and Review of the State Councils on Human Relations

In a preliminary statement regarding the state Councils, Mr. Dunbar stressed his belief that as membership organizations the state Councils should be able through their membership to sustain their office and normal travel expenses and shall require outside financial assistance only for the purpose of supporting specific programs.

Mr. Dunbar further commented that recommendations prepared by a committee of three state directors, and which had been circulated to the Executive Committee prior to its meeting, illustrate a growing feeling within the state Councils favoring closer relationships between themselves and Southern Regional Council.

Mr. Dunbar invited the Committee's thorough discussion of the state groups in relation to the state director's recommendations as well as in relation to the Grants-in-Aid Schedule for 1965 as proposed by the staff.

Mr. Anthony presented the "Proposed Grants-In-Aid Schedule, 1965" on which no action was taken until after the Committee engaged in full discussion of the state Council movement. The Committee consensus was that following Annual Meeting, the staff ought to prepare its own position on the recommendations of the three directors and present the matter again to the Executive Committee.

At this point the "Proposed Grants-in-Aid Schedule, 1965" was unanimously approved and adopted.

Specific Recommendation Regarding Florida Council on Human Relations

Mr. Dunbar asked authorization of the Executive Committee to underwrite the salary of the new Executive Director of the Florida Council, Mr. Ed Lewis, for the remainder of the year. He pointed out that this was made necessary when Southern Regional Council took, on loan, the former director, Mr. Louis Mitchell, to head up the special project, "Operation Opportunity," for four months. Mr. Mitchell then did not return to Florida, but accepted a staff appointment with the United States Commission on Civil Rights. The Florida Council, with the loss of its director and consequent loss of fund raising leadership, got into serious financial trouble. As a result, the Florida Council could not at the same time meet its current obligations and pay the new director's salary. Mr. Dunbar informed the Committee that Southern Regional Council feels some responsibility in this

matter. He explained that there remains a balance of $1,382.00 of the $15,000 granted for "Operation Opportunity" which would ordinarily be converted to Southern Regional Council's general operations, and Mr. Dunbar asked authorization to use this amount toward Florida Council on Human Relations director's salary. He further pointed out that the salary could run over this amount, up to $2,200.00, and asked further authorization to draw on funds from Southern Regional Council's general operations to supplement the $1,382.00 figure up to $2,200.00 if necessary.

In regard to this matter the Executive Committee, with one abstention by Dr. Williams, unanimously approved and adopted that the staff be authorized to fulfill its commitment to guarantee the salary of Ed Lewis, Executive Director of the Florida Council on Human Relations, for the remainder of the year; $1,382.00 of which to be paid from the balance of the "Operation Opportunity" special summer project, and any amount above that, up to $2,200.00, to be drawn from Southern Regional Council's general operating funds.

Other Business

Mr. Nelson pointed out the urgency of more white lawyers taking civil rights cases.

With no further business the meeting adjourned at 3:30 p.m.

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Southern Regional Council
November 20, 1964

The meeting convened at 8:00 A.M. at the Biltmore Hotel in Atlanta; Raymond M. Wheeler, chairman, presided. Other members present were: Mr. Christopher, Mr. Dabbs, Mr. Dent, Mr. Gomillion, Mrs. Hamilton, John H. Wheeler, Miss Wilkins, H. Franklin Williams, Marion A. Wright, Stephen J. Wright, Mr. Young. Mr. Dunbar was the only staff representative present.

The invocation was given by Dr. Gomillion. The minutes of the previous meeting were approved, after correcting them on motion of Miss Wilkins, to make clear that the Executive Committee did not "elect" Life Fellows, but "nominates" them for election by the Annual Meeting.

The resolution on tax exemption was circulated and signed by all members present.

Mr. Dunbar presented the proposed budget for 1965, and led a lengthy discussion of its items, especially the grounds for the substantial increase in salaries. On motion of Dr. Dent, the proposed budget was approved by the Committee for submission to the Annual Meeting subject to the following minute:

The Executive Committee recognizes the need for additional funds, beyond present reasonable expectations of income, in order effectively to approach the problems of the South, toward the solution of which the Council is firmly committed. The 1965 budget is approved with the consideration

(a) that the Executive Committee give continuing thought to the necessity for maintenance of a program of high quality which can only be done through a high quality staff;

(b) that every possible effort be made to secure additional funds, particularly in order to secure and maintain high quality staff; and

(c) that the Executive Committee review and if necessary revise periodically during the year this 1965 Budget as additional funds may become available.

The Committee, on motion of the Dr. Stephen Wright, nominated the entire slate of proposed Life Fellows on whom biographical data had been circulated in advance. These were Ralph E. McGill of Atlanta, Mrs. David D. Terry of Little Rock, J. Waites Waring of New York, W. D. Weatherford of North Carolina, and J. Carter Wesley of Houston.

The meeting adjourned at 10:00 A.M.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING
The Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

November 20-21, 1964

The Annual Meeting convened in its first business session at 10:00 a.m. on November 20, President Wheeler presiding. Invocation was offered by Rabbi Rothschild. Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler, Chairman of the Executive Committee, then presented the report of the Executive Committee (attached).

Following acceptance of the report, the Council went into executive session. Upon recommendation of the Executive Committee, the present Executive Director, Secretary-Treasurer, and Legal Counsel were confirmed in their appointments for the coming year.

Mr. James E. Youngdahl presented the report of the Nominating Committee. (The full report is on file in the Council's Office.) All present officers were re-nominated, except Vice-President Albert W. Dent, in accord with a policy of rotation; Stephen J. Wright was nominated for this vice-presidency. All present members of the Executive Committee were re-nominated except Dr. Wright and, following the same rotation policy, Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton and John P. Nelson, Jr.; for the vacancies, Dr. Dent, Mrs. J. N. Rayzor, and McNeill Smith were nominated. For the 1965 Nominating Committee, James A. Colston, Charles Mantinband, and James E. Youngdahl were re-nominated. For the Class of 1968, all present members of the Class of 1964, were re-nominated except Bishop Joseph B. Brunini, Hodding Carter, Jr., Mrs. James S. Crate, and Jerome Crossman. New members proposed for the Class of 1968 were H. S. Hank Brown, Duncan M. Gray, Jr., George Lewis, II, Herman H. Long, Mrs. Leo M. Mervis, Patrick J. Owens, Matthew J. Perry, Frank E. Smith, and C. H. Thomas, Jr.

The Executive Committee then placed in nomination as Life Fellows the following persons: Hodding Carter, Jr.; Ralph E. McGill; Mrs. David Terry; J. Waties Waring; W. D. Weatherford; and Carter Wesley.

FIRST PROGRAM SESSION

The Council reconvened in general session, with Dr. Raymond Wheeler presiding. Mrs. M. E. Tilly reported on the Fellowship of the Concerned, which had met October 22-23 in Atlanta. Mrs. Martin Harvey asked whether it is possible for other than church women to be invited to the Fellowship of the Concerned. Mrs. Tilly replied that the concern was for church women, and that the aim was to work on the people through the church. After accepting Mrs. Tilly's report, the Council adjourned for lunch at 12:30.

At the lunch, Vice-President Wilkins, who presided, had the pleasant duty of introducing guests and friends from the Ford Foundation and the Taconic Foundation. She also introduced, with suitable recognition of his long service to the Council, Guy B. Johnson who, as the Council's first Executive Director, had been asked to present the George S. Mitchell Award. The award, in the amount of $1,000 and given for the greates percentage increase in membership, went to the Florida Council on Human Relations, and was received by its president, H. Franklin Williams.

SECOND PROGRAM SESSION

Reconvened, with Dr. Raymond Wheeler presiding

Report on Voter Education Project. Mr. Branton gave a detailed report on the Voter Education Project which has been operating during the past 2½ years as a special project of the Council in cooperation with NAACP, SCLC, COPE, SNCC, the National Urban League, and many local organizations in the 11 southern states. Negro registration has risen from 1½ million in the South in 1962, to more than 2,164,000.

VEP has received approximately $885,000 in grants from foundations and others in support of the project, better than $630,000 of which was disbursed to participating agencies as grants-in-aid for their registration activities. The program has been strictly non-partisan in its operation, and has resulted in better than 600,000 new registrants, and the prevention of more than 50,000 voters from being purged from the rolls. 43.3% of the

Negroes of voting-age in the South are now registered as compared with 73.2% of the eligible whites. Negroes make up 13.0% of the total registration in the South, and constitute 22.4% of the voting age population. The percentages of the eligible Negroes who are registered range from highs of 69.4% in Tennessee and 63.7% in Florida, to lows of 6.7% in Mississippi and 23.0% in Alabama. Registered Negro voters constitute a high percentage of the total registration in South Carolina (17.0%) and Georgia (16.8%).

The grants-in-aid program was terminated as of the deadline for registration for voting in the 1964 general election in the respective states, but Mr. Branton expressed optimism that many registration programs would be continued by the several cooperating agencies and local organizations.

The Voter Education Project staff is now collecting and analyzing reports and other data, and will shortly begin the writing of a comprehensive final report under the supervision of the executive director of the Southern Regional Council for release at a later date. Any recommendations concerning the future operation of a similar voter project will be determined after all studies have been completed.

Before Mr. Branton's report, Dr. Raymond Wheeler had said in introducing him:

> In the Sping of 1962 SRC undertook what would prove to be not only its most ambitious program in terms of size, money, and difficulty of accomplishment, but also its most inspiring in terms of the contribution it would make to the South and nation.
>
> The vision and boldness of SRC leadership and of its executive director, Mr. Dunbar, in particular, were to be rewarded in a way few dreamed possible at the time.
>
> In the six southern states carried by the Democratic Party in the '65 Presidential election,

at least 4, possibly 5, would have gone Republican if it had not been for the Negro vote. Similarly, in the U. S. Senate and House, and in countless local elections, the Negro vote was decisive.

Two conclusions seem clear from these facts:

1) Issue of race never again will be the controlling factor in a majority of the southern states, and undoubtedly will be far less effective in the others.

2) As registration of Negro voters increases in next years, so will Negro influence in selection of candidates and party programs.

This means that for the first time in the South our political life can assume a maturity and effectiveness which can revolutionize our entire society, and we can soon "turn from cultivation of human relations to cultivation of human resources."

Registration of Negro southern voters has been the chief activity of the VEP of the SRC during the past two years. More than any other organization, it deserves the credit for this amazing political revolution.

It may be years before we can fully appreciate our enormous debt to Wiley Branton and his organization of brave and devoted workers.

Mr. Branton's skill and devotion to his task are apparent from his results. What may be less apparent to all but a few is thedegree of personal courage that he possesses, for this work was not accomplished by telephone from behind a desk. Wiley Branton walked the dark streets and rode the desolate highways of Mississippi and Alabama, and challenged in person the cruel and brutal misuse of the law by the authorities of the rural South.

This combination of personal courage and skill in his job is all too rarely found in a single individual and we can be thankful that VEP was headed by such a man.

The work of the project is coming to a close, and so it gives me special pleasure to say these things in recognizing Mr. Branton for what may be his final report to the full membership.

Following Mr. Branton's report, Dr. Stephen Wright motioned that this introduction become a part of the permanent record of SRC, having expressed the convictions of the membership for the work he had done as Director of VEP. This motion was properly seconded, and unanimously carried.

There was a brief question and answer period, in which many questions were asked concerning the possibility of the project continuing and why was it being brought to an end. Mr. Branton explained that finances were the main reason for not continuing. The general feeling was that the work of VEP shoud continue without doubt, and in support of this general feeling, Dr. Dent motioned that the staff prepare recommendations as to how we might proceed in the future in a continued effort in the support of the VEP work. This motion was properly seconded and unanimously carried.

Report from Special Session of Councils on Human Relations.

Mr. Anthony gave a brief analysis of what had happened in the Special Session of the state Councils on Human Relations, held November 19, and then introduced H. Franklin Williams who was serving as reporter from the Special Session.

Dr. Williams stated that the day's discussion began with consideration of a special report from a committee of three state directors (Florida, Georgia, South Carolina) who had been asked to comment on the relationship between SRC and the state councils. The discussion reflected agreement with the

special committee report on the importance of state councils, the need for a close relationship between SRC and the state Councils, and the need for a close relationship among the state councils.

Considerable discussion was given to whether SRC should move to a more distant relationship with the State Councils, or a closer one, or take them over, or stay approximately in the present status. While noting that present SRC services include aid in finding and training staff, providing results of research, aiding program by field visits and the channeling of funds, it was agreed that state Councils -- staff and boards -- request more services, not less. For example, there is need for evaluation of staff and program, more training of staff, assistance in bringing state Councils closer together, and in fund raising.

There was some disagreement as to the role of SRC in assisting with fund raising for state Councils. Some would have SRC take the full responsibility, though this was not a view of the majority. Other suggestions for consideration by SRC were the possibility of having a staff person to assist all state Councils in fund raising, a workshop for finance chairman; and an expansion of the idea now incorporated in the Rural Advancement Project of having SRC plan areas of activity, seek funds, and offer a package to state Councils.

Dr. Williams reported that the Special Session ended with a request by the participants that a similar session be held again next year.

The second program session adjourned at 4:30 p.m., after a brief discussion.

Joseph F. Haas, Legal Counsel, presided that night at the dinner, and introduced the numerous honored guests of the Council. Vice-Mayor Sam Massell, Jr., of Atlanta spoke the city's greetings and welcome. President Wheeler introduced the speaker, LeRoy Collins, former Governor of Florida and now Director of the U. S. Community Relations Service.

On November 21, the Council re-convened in executive session at 9:00 a.m. for the purpose of voting on the report of the Nominating Committee and on the Life Fellowships recommendations. The nominations made the day before were approved. The following motion made by David Scull was seconded and adopted:

> That the Executive Committee when choosing its two members of the 1965 Nominating Committee should give due regard to representation on the Committee of the strongest state Councils.

Meeting in general session, with President Wheeler presiding, Frank Graham introduced the following resolution:

> In this time of the need in our beloved country for mututal understanding, good will, non-violence and cooperation in effective fulfillment of the laws of the land, we, the members of the Southern Regional Council, composed of representatives of both races from all the Southern States, adopt the following three resolutions:
>
> 1. That, on the basis of our first hand knowledge of the character and work of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., now under attack from many sources, we express our unreserved faith in his integrity, high sense of honor and unswerving commitment as a person and as a leader in the non-violent struggle for obedience to the law of the land as interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States toward the ful= fillment of our Judaic-Christian heritage and the American dream.
>
> 2. That we renew our stand with him and all the non-violent leaders of the second American Revolution as a part of the world revolution of the colonial, colored and other disadvantaged people for a better day

for themselves and all their children.

3. That we redeclare this stand with the colored and disadvantaged people of the United States and all the disadvantaged peoples of the earth, regardless of race, region or creed, not only as a matter of right for their own self determination, but also because of their meaning for more effective American participation in the partnership of nations in the unceasing struggle of the human spirit toward equal freedom, justice, compassion, brotherhood, peace and survival in this atomic age of hazard and hope for all people on the earth as the God-given home of the family of man.

It was seconded and passed. (The resolution was released to the press later that dat.)

Mr. Jordan presented the budget for 1965, and Mr. Anthony the schedule of proposed grants-in-aid to state Councils on Human Relations; both had earlier been approved by the Executive Committee. (As these documents have been distributed to the members in other form, they are not reproduced here.)

Dr. Raymond Wheeler read a resolution of the Executive Committee:

The Executive Committee recognizes the need for additonal funds beyond present reasonable expectations of income, in order to approach effectively the problems of the South, toward the solution of which the Council is firmly committed. The 1965 budget is approved with the considerations:

1. that the Executive Committee give continuing thought to the necessity for maintenance of a program of high quality, which can only be done through a high quality staff;
2. That every possible effort be made to secure additional funds, particularly in order to secure and maintain high quality staff; and

3. that the Executive Committee review and if necessary revise periodically during the year this 1965 budget as additional funds may become available.

Both the budget and the grant-in-aid schedule were unanimously adopted, following extensive discussion.

THIRD PROGRAM SESSION

Vice-President Marion Wright presided. Mr. Dunbar gave his report as Executive Director.

Following his report and the discussion of it, Vice-President Dent and a number of others asked that he write out his report and circulate it. (As that has been done, no summary is given here.)

The discussion was featured by several contributions: James McBride Dabbs spoke eloquently on the South's opportunity to preserve a sense od the quality of personal relationships in American life. Mrs. Harvey moved that the Council record its agreement with Mr. Dunbar, that Council members should more frequently represent Council concerns and points of view in Washington; this was seconded and adopted.

James E. Stewart initiated a discussion of the place of Negro teachers in a desegregating school situation. Negro teachers, he said, are needed in a community as an example to Negro children and an incentive to them for further study. Mr. Dunbar responded that all kinds of experiments and ambitious plans are in being which will make some contributions to this problem, and referred specifically to the example of the pilot program in Nashville led by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, where resources of the Negro campus and school system are pooled to reach educational problems. Sputnik, he continued, led to a revolution in our educational system. We seem to have adopted the idea that smart kids should go to school only with smart kids all the way from kindergarten through college. Harvard and Yale should educate more than just smart kids, is it a good thing that we must have intellectual

segregation? When you get into the teacher problems, he said, you get into the area of qualifications. How is a teacher measured and qualified? Only by test scores and professional qualifications? Teacher integration is a question we ought to approach also from the standpoint of (1) the material interest of all concerned, including the teachers; and (2) an understanding that what the teacher has to offer is not always merely academic qualifications.

David Scull carried the point on with the suggestion that an economic study is indicated. This would be an area in which the Council and the state councils could cooperate.

Mr. Scull then put the case strongly for more cooperative projects, and proposed toward this end that we set up committees draw up from SRC and the state councils to work with staff in various areas.

Dr. Frank Graham then requested those interested in the problems of teachers to meet with him after the session. Dr. Dent remarked that we need good teachers and no only good Negro teachers. We have been so brain-washed and conditioned that we are still thinking that the Negro teacher has got to follow the Negro child.

When this discussion ended, Nat Welch introduced a resolution regarding appointment of federal judges in the South. There was extensive discussion of adivsability, of content, and of the method of presentation of the resolution to the White House. Morland Smith moved that a committee be appointed to redraft the resolution be approved in principle; seconded and accepted. The motion as amended and passed.

President Wheeler, Dr. Wheeler, VicePresident Wright, and Nat Welch were designated to re-draft the resolution, and to present it to the appropriate federal authorities.

During the luncheon meeting which followed, and at which Vice-President Dent presided, Carroll Brooke moved that the management of the Biltmore Hotel be thanked for courteous and efficient handling of the meeting; seconded and passed. The

21st Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council adjourned after the members heard the stirring closing address of President Wheeler (printed in New South, November 1964).

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

February 17, 1965

The Executive Committee convened at 10:00 a.m. in the Conference Room of the Council.

Those present were: Mr. Christopher, Dr. Clement, Mr. Dabbs, Dr. Dent, Dr. Gomillion, Mr. McNeill Smith, Mr. John Wheeler, Dr. Raymond Wheeler, Miss Wilkins, Dr. H. Franklin Williams, Mr. Marion Wright, and Dr. Stephen Wright; Dr. Raymond Wheeler, presiding.

All professional staff was present, except Miss Long. Mrs. Nobbie Morgan served as recording secretary.

Invocation was offered by Dr. Gomillion. On motion of Dr. Wright, the proposed agenda was adopted. The Resolution on Tax Exemption was circulated and signed by each member.

Dr. Wheeler then presented the new committee member, McNeill Smith, and welcomed him. He also introduced a special guest, Maxwell Hahn, Executive Vice-President of the Field Foundation.

Mr. Jordan reported a cost for the 1964 Annual Meeting of $7,550.99. He also gave a staff recommendation of dates for the 1965 Annual Meeting: November 15 and 16. A brief discussion followed to the desirability of the Annual Meeting convening elsewhere than Atlanta, of the dates suggested, as of the desirability of holding as in 1964, a preliminary special meeting of state council representatives. On motion of Dr. Wright, the dates November 15, 16, and 17 were approved, with the third day included in order to make possible a state council meeting. The motion also referred the question of place to the staff, with instructions to seek advice from the Speakers Committee.

The chairman then appointed Mr. Dabbs and Dr. Gomillion as the Speakers Committee, to choose and obtain a speaker for the dinner.

On motion of Dr. Dent, the Committee elected Dr. S. E. Duncan of Salisbury (North Carolina) and Mr. J. Rupert Picott of Richmond to the 1965 Nominating Committee; John Lewis of Baton Rouge was elected alternate.

Dr. Wheeler made a change in the Agenda in view of the fact that Mr. John Wheeler had to catch an early plane, and wished to be present for the discussion of Mr. Dunbar's memo concerning federal programs in the South; the memo had been circulated in advance of the meeting.

A lengthy discussion then ensued on the subject of the memorandum. Dr. Williams moved:

- that the staff be directed to perfect the memorandum and communicate it to appropriate federal officials and offices;

- that the paper should stress our concern with the need to rectify the historic exclusion of Negroes from positions of power and influence.

- that we are concerned lest new programs fall into old patterns;

- and that desire to avoid controversy may exclude from federal posts and the planning of poverty programs some of the finest leadership of the South, both white and Negro.

The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.

A discussion followed concerning the policy wisdom of either SRC or state councils applying for federal anti-poverty grants. No decision or consensus was at this time reached. The meeting recessed for lunch at 12:30 p.m.

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The Personnel Committee met during lunch in Mr. Dunbar's office.

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EXECUTIVE SESSION

On recommendation of the Personnel Committee, the staff salaries for 1965 were approved. Also on the recommendation of the Personnel Committee, a leave of absence with pay for two, or not more than three months during 1966 was approved for Mr. Dunbar, who has been invited by the United States- South Africa Leader Exchange to visit South Africa.

GENERAL SESSION

Dr. Dent made the following motion:

> "That the staff give study to the possibility of a program of continued research and evaluation of the expenditure of federal funds in the states, with special reference to the involvement of personnel and benefits derived by various segments of the population; and, that if such a program seems to be practicable, additional non-governmental funds be sought, if necessary, and the program implemented as soon as practicable."

This motion was seconded by Dr. Wright, and unanimously carried after discussion.

Mr. Ulmer then reported on student activities within the state councils. This was warmly received by the Committee.

Mr. Dunbar made the following announcements:

1. Mr. Branton was absent in order to testify before the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights in Jackson concerning the voting problems in Mississippi.

2. On or about March 9, NBC is to televise a program on Negro voting in the South. (Note: Subsequently, the staff learned this would be postponed for several months.)
3. John Due has completed his internship with VEP, and has been appointed as the Florida counsel for the CORE Scholarship, Education, and Defense Fund in Tallahassee.
4. Joseph Tucker has resigned from VEP, and been appointed NAACP field secretary for Georgia.
5. Heslip Lee has resigned as staff director of the Virginia Council on Human Relations, and is now directing the Salisbury-Rowan Community Service Council, Inc., in North Carolina. Robert Combs has replaced Heslip Lee.
6. The Mississippi Council on Human Relations now has office space in the First Federal Loan building in Jackson. Mr. Kenneth Dean is director of the Mississippi Council, staffed for the first time.
7. Mrs. Tilly has been chosen as the "Woman of the Quarter Century" by the Southeastern Jurisdiction of the Woman's Society for Christian Service of the Methodist Church, meeting in Pensacola.

The meeting adjourned at 2:50 p.m.

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Southern Regional Council

June 3, 1965

The meeting of the Executive Committee convened in the Conference Room of the Southern Regional Council at 10:00 a.m., June 3, 1965.

Those present: Dr. Clement, Mr. Dabbs, Dr. Gomillion, Mr. John Wheeler, Dr. Raymond Wheeler, (presiding), Miss Wilkins, Dr. Williams, Mr. Marion A. Wright, Dr. Stephen J. Wright, and Mr. Young.

All members of the professional staff were present, with Mildred M. Johnson serving as recording secretary.

GENERAL SESSION

Following invocation by Dr. H. Franklin Williams, the proposed agenda and the minutes of the last meeting were approved and adopted, and the Resolution on Tax Exemption was circulated and signed by each Member present.

Authorization to Countersign Checks:

Mr. Dunbar pointed out that the Personnel Committee had unanimously granted to Vernon E. Jordan, Assistant to the Director, a six-month leave of absence from the Council to take up duties with the U. S. Office of Economic Opportunity in Atlanta. During Mr. Jordan's absence, it becomes necessary to authorize another person to countersign checks, and Mr. Dunbar recommended that Mildred Johnson, Secretary to the Director, be so designated. The appropriate resolution was passed.

Report of State Council Directors' Committee:

Representing the state directors were Charles Kelly (Houston, Tex.), and Mrs. Frances Pauley (Georgia), and Edwin Stanfield (Alabama), who filed with the Executive Committee a report expressing

the views of the directors of all the state Councils on Human Relations (except Virginia, which was not represented). Mr. Kelly, speaking for the directors, pointed out the following:

(1) that no member of the SRC staff had any knowledge of the contents of the report prior to its presentation before the Executive Committee, and played no part in drawing up the report; the report represented the deliberation of the state directors alone;

(2) that the issues embodied in the report are not new; they have been of growing concern to the state directors for a long time;

(3) that the directors present the report with considerable urgency, and ask the Executive Committee to understand this urgency as it considers the report;

(4) that the report represents the unanimous feelings of all the state directors (except Virginia, which was not represented).

A copy of the report was circulated to each member of the Executive Committee, and read and summarized by Mr. Stanfield. (A copy of the report is attached to these minutes.)

Following a lengthy discussion, Dr. Stephen J. Wright made the following motion, which was unanimously adopted: that a carefully selected committee be chosen to examine the relationships between SRC and the state Councils with two ideas in mind: (1) what the nature of the cooperation should be; (2) what the nature of joint programs should be. And that this committee report back to the Executive Committee at an early, reasonable time with recommendations.

Mr. Dunbar made several remarks in regard to the report of the state Council directors, and the Council movement in general. He pointed out that he had not seen the report of the state directors prior to its presentation to the Executive Committee and had waited anxiously since last February, when the state directors had met, to

know what would be their expressions and recommendations. He expressed admiration for the report now presented.

He concurred with Dr. Williams and Mr. Anthony in pointing up the deep frustrations which the state directors too often have felt, most particularly during the last two years. He pointed out that during this period the state Councils have grown and their programs increased to the point where it is no longer enough for the state groups to look to SRC for small grants, and that there is a real need for significantly larger funds.

Mr. Dunbar, in summary, made three basic points in regard to the state Councils:

(1) that it is not possible for SRC to determine the importance of the state Councils, but what is necessary in making this determination is to find out what other people are thinking about SRC and the Council movement in general;
(2) that he has a deep belief in the CHR movement, and that this is the kind of movement these times require;
(3) that when the committee is set up to examine the relationships between SRC and the state Councils, such committee's responsibility should be to go beyond a brief examination of the By-Laws into the deeper questions of what should be a desirable and realistic role of the movement, at this time, in this region, and frame its recommendations in these terms.

Mr. Kelly expressed appreciation to the Executive Committee for the opportunity to come before it in an effort to work out more effective relationships with the SRC.

Report of the Development Committee:

Miss Wilkins reported that the Development Committee had met first on September 29 in an organizational meeting, again

in November prior to Annual Meeting, and a third time on May 21.

She pointed out that prior to the May 21 meeting a memorandum, embodying five recommendations, two of which were directed to the Executive Committee for approval (Numbers 1 and 5), was drawn up for consideration by the members of the Development Committee. (Memorandum circulated to members of the Executive Committee prior to its June 3 meeting.)

Following Miss Wilkin's report, Dr. Stephen J. Wright made the following motion which was unanimously approved and adopted: that the report be received, and action be taken separately with respect to Recommendations 1 and 5.

Full and lengthy discussion ensued of Recommendations 1 and 5, both of which were unanimously approved and adopted, with the understanding that implementation of Recommendation 1 would be contingent on adequate funds becoming available, and an appropriate person being found.

Recommendations 1 and 5 read as follows:

1. "That we recommend to the Executive Committee of SRC (1) that steps be taken as soon as deemed appropriate to engage a full-time staff person with sound experience in human relations and in fund-raising, to serve with the assistance of the Development Committee and under the general supervision of the Executive Director; and (2) that the launching of any broadly based fund-raising effort in the South await this staffing."
5. "That we recommend to the Executive Committee of SRC that the policy be adopted of appointing the members of this sub-committee annually, subject to reappointment, at its meeting just prior to the Annual Meeting; and of having the members of the sub-committee chose their chairman from among their number. We also recommend that the same practice of continuity and rotation as is usual in SRC committees be followed, and that there be one committee member from each state."

Report of Pending Publication on "Student" Movement:

Mr. Watters reported on a forthcoming SRC publication on the "student" movement. He reviewed how the idea of such a publication originated and highlighted what would be its contents.

Mr. Dunbar pointed out that the Council is interested in bringing out a publication which will be accurate, and at the same time a publication which will be respected by other people. He said that the publication is expected to be released within the next few weeks.

Report of Speaker Committee:

Mr. Dabbs reported that he and Dr. Gomillion had corresponded with, and invited Bishop Hines to be the Annual Dinner speaker for 1965. Bishop Hines declined the invitation because of another commitment on the date spoken for. The Committee is in the process of trying to get Mr. Morris Abram, President of the American Jewish Committee, to be the speaker.

REMARKS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Federal Programs in the South:

Mr. Dunbar reported that, as directed by the Committee at its February 17, 1965 meeting, the staff submitted to the offices of Mr. Shriver and Mr. Humphrey a memorandum discussing federal programs in the South. He pointed out that the memorandum had received attention, and has served to prod the federal government to put forth a more conscious effort to require local community action groups to broaden their policies.

Operation Headstart:

Mr. Dunbar reported that upon request from the federal government for applications from state Councils to enter the Headstart Program, the staff, with some reluctance on the part of SRC and the CHR's to be recipients of federal monies, invited the state Council directors to a meeting in Atlanta in May to confer with an OEO official. The applying Councils were Alabama, Florida, North

and South Carolina, Arkansas, and Houston. He reported that the Houston, Arkansas, and Alabama Councils had received $102,000, $30,000, $85,000 respectively in federal funds to begin Headstart programs. At this point, North and South Carolina and Florida had not yet received grants.

New Staff:

Mr. Samuel L. Adams begins work July 1, 1965 as Director of Research. Dr. Emory F. Via joins the SRC staff September 1 to put in motion a cooperative labor education effort with the National Institute of Labor Education and the AFL-CIO. Several foundations have been approached for funds to launch the project, but at this point the Council is not certain whether funds will be forthcoming. However, Dr. Via has been guaranteed his salary for at least a one-year period, which will be drawn from the remaining funds of the old Southern Leadership Project budget if other funds cannot be found.

Prospective Income:

Mr. Dunbar reported that during the spring the Ford Foundation indicated a deep interest in getting some program in the field of human relations begun in the South, and is looking seriously at the Southern Regional Council as the agency through which funds might be channelled. At the request and advice of the Public Affairs staff of Ford, Mr. John Wheeler and the Executive Director met and conferred On May 11 with Mr. Henry Heald, President of Ford.

Continuation of VEP:

Mr. Dunbar reported that there is some very lively interest on the part of the foundations who supported the Voter Education Project to see it resumed. Nothing concrete has been decided on.

Dr. Gomillion raised the question of when the VEP book would be released. Mr. Dunbar replied that SRC now is under contract with Harcourt, Brace to publish in September 1966.

Date of Next Executive Committee Meeting:

Miss Wilkins asked the Committee to set the date of the next Executive Committee meeting before going into Executive Session at 2:30. In this connection Dr. Stephen J. Wright made the following motion, which was unanimously approved and adopted: that the Executive Committee meet on the second Mondays of February, May and September until or unless changed.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

The Executive Committee convened in Executive Session at 2:30 p.m., at which time it was informed by the Executive Director of his plans to resign from the Council to assume duties with the Field Foundation in New York.

The Executive Committee empowered the Personnel Committee, consisting of Dr. Raymond Wheeler, Mr. John Wheeler, Miss Wilkins, Dr. Williams, and Dr. Stephen Wright, to select a successor for Mr. Dunbar.

With no other business, the meeting adjourned.

REPORT OF STATE COUNCIL DIRECTOR'S COMMITTEE

When the State Council movement was initiated, its founders planned a temporary commitment of funds and personnel. By 1957, it was hoped, individual Councils would have enough local support to sever formal connections with SRC. But the fast moving events of the past decade, the unimagined opportunities, the unforseen resistance, made an expanding Council movement necessary. And that movement could neither exist nor expand ;without continuing SRC support.

Now, ten years later, in the light of all the events compressed into this decade, is an appropriate time to re-examine the Human Relations Councils - the role we play on the local level and our relationship with SRC.

What follows is a synthesis of the feelings of State Council Directors in searching for new directions, new program emphasis to meet our expanding needs:

The Directors are agreed that the basic relationship between SRC and the Councils is healthy, as in that between our respective staffs. However, we feel very strongly that changed circumstances call for a total re-evaluation of the formal framework(or structure) within which that relationship functions.

More and more, the achievement of human relations gains must come from local understanding of, and local action on the issues. For while the courts may decree school desegregation, that decree will be ignored unless the local community is prodded to prepare for it. The Congress may enact civil rights legislation, but the law will be flounted unless local people pressure for its compliance, test it, and file complaints under it. The function of the Human Relations Council is to translate into local reality the dreams of the planners, the innovators, the legislators. Or to put it in the words of SRC's Executive Director: "Everywhere there is a growing awareness that numbers do count, that the once prevalent notion of a small band of good people quietly doing good is outmoded and that the Councils on Human Relations...

have unique opportunities and therefore responsibilities for program accomplishments."

It is good indeed to have this recognition. But as Councils struggle day-by-day with disheartening resistance, with potential members too fearful to join the Council, with unstretchable budgets, with trying to provide services and materials which we have neither the funds nor the staff to supply, we inevitably experience a sense of isolation from the community in general and SRC in particular. The State Directors are aware that while grants in aid to State Councils have remained at the same level for the past eight (8) years, the SRC budget has almost tripled. We are aware that the total number of SRC employees has increased substantially in the past ten years while the number of SRC staff serving Councils in eleven Southern states consists of the Field Director and one intern,

All the Directors have the highest regard for Paul Anthony. His dedication, resourcefulness and competence cannot be too highly praised. We question merely whether the field department is large enough to serve our needs. Similarly, the State Council Directors respect SRC's other staff members and programs.

By and large however, State Directors are ignorant of many SRC programs. As a case in point, many Directors were not aware of the scope and direction of the VEP; we wondered what role we could or should play in the program. Not having been briefed on its basic out-look, some queried what seemed to be an inconsistent attitude toward the Councils; sometimes soliciting cooperation and sometimes rejecting it.

Further specific examples to illustrate the State Directors' point of view could be dangerously misleading. For our aim in presenting this memorandum is broader than improving the techniques of communication between SRC and the State Councils, augmenting the Field Staff, or even securing more money. What we seek, in partnership with the Executive Committee and the Executive Director is a total re-evaluation of the role we are playing and can play in each of our States, and a review of our total relationship with the SRC. **********

When the SRC conceived the Human Relations Council idea none of the events which have reshaped the South had taken place: the Supreme Court decision, the bus boycott, the sit-ins or Federal Civil Rights legislation. It took extraordinary vision to forsee the need for local Councils before these things had occurred. With this kind of insight from the SRC planners on the one hand, and the day to day practical experience of State Councils Directors on the other, a new look at the role of the State Councils ten years after their beginnings is bound to be fruitful for all concerned.

We recommend that:

(1) That SRC and the State Councils have a joint fund raising effort for the Council on Human Relations movement with a goal of $5,000,000 to be raised in a period of three (3) years from business, industry, labor and foundations.

(2) That a committee be set up to study the basic organizational structure of the relationship of SRC with the State Councils to build a more dynamic human relations program.

(3) That a joint committee work with publications and research which will be specifically useful for the Council on Human Relations Movement.

(4) That a special effort be made to create a regional and national identity of a Council on Human Relations Movement.

Signed:

Charles Kelly, Houston
Baxton Bryant, Tennessee
Helen Furman, North Carolina
Edwyn Lewis, Florida
Edwin Stanfield, Alabama
Nathaniel Griswold, Arkansas
Frances Pauley, Georgia

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Southern Regional Council

October 11, 1965

GENERAL SESSION

The meeting of the Executive Committee convened October 11, 1965 at 10:00 a.m., in the Conference Room of the Southern Regional Council.

Those present: Mr. Christopher, Dr. Clement, Mr. Dabbs, Dr. Gomillion, Mrs. Rayzor, Mr. John Wheeler, Dr. Raymond Wheeler, presiding, Miss Wilkins, Dr. H. Franklin Williams, Mr. Marion A. Wright, Dr. Stephen J. Wright, and Mr. Young.

All members of the professional staff were present, except Mrs. Tilly who was away on a field trip, and Mrs. Margaret Long who was in Europe.

Invocation was given by Mr. Dabbs, after which the Resolution on SRC Tax Exemption was circulated and signed by each member present.

Introduction of New Staff:

New staff members introduced by Dr. Wheeler were Samuel Adams, Director of Research, formerly of the reporting staff of the St. Petersburg Times; Dr. Emory F. Via, who formerly headed SRC's Labor Education Program, and returning this year on leave of absence from his position as Professor of Labor Education at the University of Wisconsin to initiate and direct SRC's second labor program; Mrs. Glenda Bartley, Research Assistant, formerly with Southern Education Reporting Service in Nashville, Tennessee; and Mrs. Gretchen Taylor, Research Assistant, formerly on the staff of the Atlanta Public Library.

Report on SRC Finances:

As background for the report of the Development Committee Mr.

Anthony reviewed SRC's current financial situation. He reported that SRC is the recipient of a Ford Foundation grant totalling $972,000 or $324,000 per year for three years. Mr. Anthony very generally outlined the projects covered by the grant as follows:

GOVERNMENTAL PROGRAMS

1. City Planning
2. Fair Employment (federal, state, local)
3. Anti-Poverty (federal, state, local)
4. Housing
5. School Integration

SPECIAL STUDIES

1. Welfare Programs
2. Rehabilitation of Criminals
3. Penal Administration

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

1. Negro Community Organization
2. Credit Unions
3. Agricultural Co-Ops
4. Southern Labor Unions
5. Negro Voter Education

The Director further reported that SRC has only raised approximately $190,000 of the budgeted figure for 1965, which means that in real terms the Council is running a deficit of approximately $50,000 if it is to operate at the budgeted figure. He pointed out, however, that by several artificial means it is hoped that the deficit can be reduced by approximately $20,000.

Mr. Anthony reported that news had just been received that the Stern Family Fund has granted $10,000 to the Council with the provision that each dollar be matched in amounts of $1,000 or more from southern sources.

It was reported that a $10,000 request has been made to the New World Foundation for work with student groups. This request is yet to be acted on.

Much discussion of the Ford grant ensued, after which the

Committee instructed the staff to send, in its behalf, the following resolution to the Ford Foundation Trustees:

> "Now that the Program Proposal to be carried out under the terms of the Ford Foundation grant is in its final form, the Executive Committee so approves it, and has instructed the staff to proceed with implementation of the program in the form that it now stands."

Report of the Development Committee:

Miss Wilkins, the chairman, reported that attendance had been good when the Committee met on October 10. All members were present, except Mr. Lee B. Thomas, who at the last minute did not come; Mr. Herbert Davidson, who was hospitalized because of an appendectomy; Mr. David Scull, who was in Europe; and Mr. Nat Welch, who had an assignment for the Nuclear Board.

Miss Wilkins reported that the Development Committee had taken under advisement the Council's current financial problems and proposes to the Executive Committee that the membership be made aware, through a carefully worded letter, that there are areas of the Council's work that need funding; most particularly its general operations.

Miss Wilkins pointed out that the letter would not actually solicit funds from Members, but would make it known that contributions would be most welcome.

Miss Wilkins further pointed out that the letter would include the terms of the Stern Family Fund grant.

A lengthy discussion ensued during which the Committee recommended that the staff approach Stern for clarification as to whether blocks of contributions from SRC's membership could fall into the "matching basis" category. With this recommendation, the Committee unanimously approved and adopted the recommendation of the Development Committee.

At this point in the meeting, with unanimous consent, the Committee instructed the staff to send a letter of good wishes, in its behalf, to Mr. Herbert Davidson in Florida.

Plans for the Fellowship of the Concerned:

With Mrs. Tilly absent from the meeting, Mr. Anthony reported that the Fellowship of the Concerned will again this year be held at the Peachtree Manor, November 3 & 4. Mr. Ralph McGill and Dr. Herman Long will participate as main speakers. The theme of the 1965 Fellowship: "Finding Ways and Making Plans to Undermine the Walls that Surround the Ghettos of the South: in the White Man's Mind, in the Negro's World."

It was reported that there is a slight chance that Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson will come to Atlanta for Mrs. Tilly's meeting.

At this point in the meeting, the Committee directed the staff to send, in its behalf, a letter of good wishes to Mr. Lyndon B. Johnson who was hospitalized after surgery.

Plans for Annual Meeting:

Having received prior to the meeting a tentative, skeleton outline of the plans for the Annual Meeting, the Committee unanimously approved the dates of November 15 & 16, with the state Councils meeting on the 14 and also the format of the Proposed agenda.*

Dr. Wheeler informed the Committee that Mrs. Alice Mitchell would be asked to present the George S. Mitchell Memorial Award to the winning state Council, and proposed that the Committee go on record as formally inviting Mrs. Mitchell and indicating to her in our letter of invitation that expenses will be borne by the Council. This was unanimously approved and adopted.

The Committee further set and approved a Sunday night, November 14, meeting of the Executive Committee to convene at 8:00 p.m.

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*Since this meeting the dates have been changed to November 15 and 16, with the state Council meeting scheduled for the 14, because of a conflict with a White House Conference.

Election of Life Fellows:

Biographical sketches for both Lillian Smith and Paul Eliot Green had been circulated to the Committee as nominees for life fellowships. Upon motion made by Dr. Clement, and unanimously approved and adopted by the Committee, both names are to be submitted to the full Council for election as Life Fellows.

Membership Invitation from National Committee for Children and Youth:

The National Committee for Children and Youth, an outgrowth of the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth, has extended an invitation to SRC to join membership with its other 464 member organizations. There are no financial obligations, although participating members generally contribute small amounts up to $200 a year. The invitation is issued to agencies and organizations with special areas of concern such as that of SRC in an effort to get greater participation from the South. Upon motion made by Dr. Clement and seconded by Dr. H. Franklin Williams, the Committee authorized the staff to accept the NCCY invitation.

Discussion of SRC Historical Records:

With some preliminary background by Mr. Anthony indicating the desire and urgency of establishing a composite compilation of SRC's historical data, the Committee instructed the staff to begin work on accumulating and establishing SRC Archives at Atlanta

University. Suggested methods for achieving this to be done through tape recordings of personal interviews -- especially with Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames of North Carolina -- and other available founders of SRC, photographing and collecting scattered, pertinent documents which are to be added to the records of the old Interracial Commission already deposited at Atlanta University.

Discussion of Future Publications:

The Executive Director proposed to the Committee that New South be changed from a monthly magazine to a quarterly. With some discussion of the pros and cons of such a change, the Committee unanimously approved the recommendation with the idea that after a fuller report is presented on the Ford grant later in the meeting, a supplementary motion might be made, if deemed necessary.

At this point, the Chairman of the Executive Committee congratulated and welcomed to his new post as Executive Director of the Council, Mr. Paul Anthony.

In recognition of the past Executive Director's successful tenure with the Council, the Committee unanimously agreed that the staff should, in its behalf, extend a formal invitation to Leslie W. Dumbar to attend the Annual Meeting.

EXECUTIVE SESSION
(Staff on Call)

The Committee heard, reviewed, and approved several changes in staff personnel as recommended by the Personnel Committee.

The Chairman of theExecutive Committee appointed the following members to serve on a special advisory committee for expending the Ford grant: Dr. James A. Colston, (Tenn.); Mr. Courtney Siceloff, (S.C.); Mr. Moreland G. Smith, (Ala.); Dr. H. Franklin Williams, (Fla.); Mr. Thomas W. Young, (Va.); Dr. C. G. Gomillion, (Ala.), Chairman; the President and Chairman of the Executive Committee to be ex-officio members.

GENERAL SESSION

Discussion of Future Program:

There was a general discussion of future program with most of the discussion being geared toward ways and means of implementing effectively the new Ford grant.

With no further business, the meeting adjourned.

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Southern Regional Council

November 14, 1965

The Executive Committee met at 8:00 p.m., at the Atlanta Biltmore Hotel.

Following invocation, the Resolution on Tax Exemption was read.

The members discussed an invitation from the National Committee for Children and Youth and voted unanimously that SRC accept the Committee's invitation to join that group.

The members were informed that personnel of the Peace Corps had approached SRC about the possibility of conducting one or more training programs for Peace Corps volunteers. Mr. Anthony reported that he and Mr. Al Ulmer had been asked to discuss this with Peace Corps officials in Washington on November 19. The Committee approved these discussions being held, but asked for further information and an opportunity to consider the matter further before any commitments are made.

The staff submitted the Proposed Grants-in-Aid Schedule for state Councils for 1966, which was approved by the Committee for submission to the Annual Meeting. The committee then reviewed in detail the staff's recommendations for the General Operations and Special Projects Budgets for 1966. These proposed budgets were also approved for submission to the Annual Meeting.

The Committee discussed suggestions for SRC Life Fellows, and unanimously voted to recommend to the Annual Meeting the election of Miss Lillian Smith and Mr. Paul E. Green.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING
Southern Regional Council
November 15-16, 1965

The meeting of the Southern Regional Council convened on November 15 at 10:00 a.m., at the Atlanta Biltmore Hotel, with Mr. John Wheeler presiding and Mrs. Mildred M. Johnson serving as recording secretary.

FIRST BUSINESS SESSION

Invocation was offered by Mr. Lucius Pitts, after which greetings were extended the group by Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr. for the City of Atlanta.

Report of the Executive Committee:

Dr. Raymond Wheeler presented the report of the Executive Committee (see Attachment "A"), after which members of the Council were asked to stand and introduce themselves. (For complete list of persons attending, see Attachment "B".)

Report of the Development Committee

The Chairman of the Development Committee, Miss Josephine Wilkins, presented the report for the Committee (See Attachment "C"), after which members of the Development Committee were introduced. These members were commended and thanked for their services to this committee during the year.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Report of the Nominating Committee

Rabbi Mantinband presented the report of the Nominating Committee, to be acted on during the Second Business Session the following day (See Attachment "D").

As provided by the By-Laws, the following motion was made by Dr. H. Franklin Williams and unanimously approved by the full

Council; That the Executive Director, the Secretary-Treasurer, and the Legal Counsel, be authorized to serve in their respective positions during the coming year.

Recommendations for Life Fellows

Dr. Wheeler reported the Executive Committee had received and approved the names of MissLillian Smith of Georgia and Mr. Paul E. Green of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, as nominees for Life Fellows in the Council, and asked for action by the full Council in regard to these names.

Mr. Hank Brown moved the election of the two above named persons, the motion was seconded by Mr. Fred Alexander, and unanimously approved by the full Council.

FIRST PROGRAM SESSION

Report of the Executive Director

The Executive Director presented his first report to the body (see Attachment "E"), following which members of the staff were introduced.

All discussion of program was tabled until after program reports had been given during the Second Program Session immediately following lunch.

LUNCHEON SESSION

During the Luncheon Session at which Miss Josephine Wilkins presided, Mr. Paul Christopher introduced Mrs. George S. Mitchell who,in memorable fashion, presented the George S. Mitchell Award to the Alabama Council on Human Relations. Mr. Nat Welch, the President of the Council received the Award, and the accompanying check of $1,000.

SECOND PROGRAM SESSION

Reports were presented by Mrs. Tilly for the Fellowship of

the Concerned, Mr. Vernon Jordan for the Voter Education Project, and Mr. Pat Watters on future publications.

Mr. Watters reported specific information on New South as follows: during 1966 New South will be published as a quarterly, with the size of the publication being enlarged. The Council wishes to reach more people outside the region as well as a larger number of persons in the South, and it hopes to reach them by this new Journal.

Explanation of New Programs

Mr. Anthony, in a brief summary of new programs for the coming year reported on the Ford Foundation grant which SRC had recently received. He pointed out that this grant would enable the Council to embark on many new programs, in many new directions. He briefly outlined to the group the proposal which had been submitted to the Foundation and the programs which the proposal embodied as follows:

GOVERNMENTAL PROGRAMS

1. City Planning
2. Fair Employment (federal, state, local)
3. Anti-Poverty (federal, state, local)
4. Housing
5. School Integration

SPECIAL STUDIES

1. Welfare Programs
2. Rehabilitation of Criminals
3. Penal Administration

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

1. Negro Community Organization
2. Credit Unions
3. Agricultural Co-Ops
4. Southern Labor Unions
5. Negro Voter Education

Mr. Anthony further reported on grants received from the New

World Foundation -- one for general support, and two other contingency grants to be used with assisting work for educational purposes and work with student councils on human relations and similar groups.

Mr. Moreland Smith next outlined briefly to the Board Members what SRC hopes to accomplish through its new Urban Planning Project. He pointed out that the Council will make studies in various areas to see how urban planning would help abolish ghettoes and provide a sensible environment for the growing urban populations. He further pointed out that there is much talk and attention focusing on urban planning in our large cities; urban renewal, mass exodus of whites into the suburbs the population explosion, etc., and appealed to the Members to take a special interest in this project.

During the discussion that followed the program reports, the following suggestions and endorsements were made by Board Members:

1. Dr. H. Franklin Williams highly endorsed the New South changes outlined by Mr. Watters. He felt that New South would now reach a larger segment of people in influential positions.
2. Mr. Marion Wright suggested that some thought be given to experimenting with New South on newsstands and other commercial outlets.
3. Mr. Nat Welch suggested that SRC consider sending copies of New South to college libraries as well as to other appropriate groups on college campuses.
4. Mr. David Scull commended the Council on its Special Report, Southern Justice: An Indictment, but pointed out that the report indicated no "next steps to be taken." It was his suggestion that future SRC reports of this nature should present guidelines for next steps to be taken.
5. Mrs. Martha Ragland concurred in Mr. Scull's suggestion from the state councils point of view. She suggested that specific program guidelines from SRC would help the local groups to become more actively involved in certain

issues and programs, and make their work more effective.

6. Mr. Fred Alexander, in regard to the new Voter Education Project, suggested that state and local Councils on Human Relations be made aware of the project, and have an opportunity to be more involved in it.
7. Mr. Marion Wright suggested that SRC do again what it had done several years ago, select key cities on which self-surveys would be conducted. Questions included on the survey could cover such items as could be answered by any community. He suggested that the SRC-prepared questionnaire could cover as many items as would be desirable. He pointed out that this type of programming could be a vehicle for bringing in local community participation in the state groups.

With no further discussion the session adjourned.

The Annual Dinner was held at 7:30 p.m., in the Ball Room, during which time Dr. C. Vann Woodwar, Professor of History at Yale University was the guest speaker. Dr. Woodward was introduced by Mr. James M. Dabbs, with Mr. John H. Wheeler presiding.

SECOND BUSINESS SESSION
November 16, 1965

Election of Officers and Members

Having heard the report of the Nominating Committee during the First Business Session, the full Council took the following action: the Report of the Nominating Committee was unanimously approved and adopted, with two amendments -- that Mr. Henry Lehmann of Ormond Beach, Florida, nominated from the floor by Mr. Herbert Davidson, be asked to Board membership to fill the vacancy in the Class of 1966 created by Mr. James Silver who moved from the region, and that Dr. A. D. Beittel fill the vacancy in the Class of 1968 created by Mr. Patrick J. Owens who also moved from the region.

Financial Reports

The Proposed Budget for 1966 was presented by Mrs. Ruth

House Alexander (See Attachment "F"). After discussion and inquiry the report was unanimously approved and adopted.

The Proposed Grants-in-Aid to State Councils was also presented and unanimously approved and adopted (see Attachment "G").

THIRD PROGRAM SESSION

Suggestions on Travel - Mr. David Scull:

Mr. Scull reported that he had travelled aborad under the auspices of the American Travel Association. He indicated that the Virginia Council had joined this cooperative organization which provides group travel abroad at nominal cost. He extended an invitation to other state councils and interested groups and individuals to join.

Miss Dorcas Ruthenburg moved that the Virginia Council be thanked for presenting this opportunity and suggested that it be made available to all members of the Council. The motion was unanimously approved and adopted.

Discussion of Program

Rabbi Mantinband suggested that a collection of books, art works, music and other related materials expressive of the Negro's contribution to American history be on display during the 1966 Annual Meeting.

Mr. Anthony pointed out that the Annual Meeting is ahigh point in the life of the Southern Regional Council staff and expressed agreement with the Rabbi that something more should be gained from it by the Members in the way of more program guidance, and hearing reports from concerned and authoritative persons.

Mrs. Martin spoke to this point and suggested that some thought be given to planning workshop sessions during Annual meeting. It was her feeling that more could be gained if smaller groups were allowed to work together.

At this point in the meeting the following resolution was presented to be forwarded to the office of the President of the Office of Equal Opportunity and to the Directors of the Atlanta and Mid-Atlantic Regions of the Office of Equal Opportunity:

"The Southern Regional Council, assembled in its 22nd Annual Meeting, recognizes the Economic Opportunity Act as a most important effort. We commend the Office of Economic Opportunity for its swift establishment of programs in the South. We recognize that detailed evaluation of these programs is probably premature. However, we make the following broad recommendations for all programs, current and future, in the South:

"(1) That the Office of Economic Opportunity implement its policy that the poor be represented in policy-making capacities on the local community action agency boards, and that it require this representation to be in substantial numbers.

"(2) That the OEO require that representation of the poor be democratically elected by their peers in the target areas in some feasible fashion rather than appointed by local governing bodies.

"We urge that the community action programs in Memphis, Tennessee, and Atlanta, Georgia, be required to meet these standards of maximum feasible participation and local self-determination. OEO's decisions regarding these two vital southern communities could establish a precedent for good or ill for the rest of the South."

Mr. James Stewart put forth a motion that the above resolution be accepted, and it was unanimously approved and adopted by the full Council.

After discussion of school integration in the South, Mrs. Mary Sand presented the following resolution:

"Questions have been raised as to whether various official reports on the extent of school desegregation in the South reflect the true picture. Certainly such reports have not adequately covered the private extra-legal economic and social pressures exerted to limit the rate of integration. We therefore urge that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare make renewed efforts to determine the facts about schooldesegregation inthe South, and that it consider the use of independent agencies, groups, and individuals toward this end. A similar recommendation is made regarding the use of funds designed to improve schools for the poor and disadvantaged.

"Teachers and educators in state school systems and universities in the South are all too often both the products and prisoners of an historical system of segregation.

"Progress toward integration requires new insights and this requires people who are free to point out the flaws in the traditional patterns. We, therefore, urge the Department of Education to provide programs of technical aid to teachers and others to prepare themselves for positive roles in the change to an integrated educational structure. We further urge that workers in the field of human relations as well as professional educators of quality who understand the social change involved be called on to plan and supervise such programs."

A vote was taken and the full Council unanimously approved and adopted the above resolution and instructed the staff to transmit it to all civil rights groups and to the Office of Health, Education and Welfare.

At this point, Mr. Emory Via briefly outlined and explained the objectives of the new Labor Program which has recently been initiated by SRC.

Other Business

Mr. Anthony announced that immediately following the luncheon

session the members of the Special Advisory Committee for Projects would meet.

He further announced that beginning in the evening a pre-planning meeting for the White House Conference would be assembled in Washington to which several Southern Regional Council Members and staff had been invited. Because these persons would be leaving early in the evening to travel to Washington, the Special Advisory Committee meeting would be a brief one.

LUNCHEON SESSION

During the Luncheon Session Mr. John Wheeler presented his presidential address (printed in the December New South), after which the Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council unanimously approved and adopted the following resolution to be transmitted to Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar at the Field Foundation in New York, expressing the Council's appreciation for his work and leadership during his tenure with the Council from 1959-1965:

> "The Southern Regional Council at its 22nd Annual Meeting expresses its respect and appreciation for the work and character of Leslie W. Dunbar as its executive director from 1961 to 1965, and as a member of its staff from 1959.
>
> "By his qualities of intellect, of eloquence, of practical skills in the guidance of human affairs, and of humane appreciation for people, Mr. Dunbar has made a lasting impression for the good on the present reality of the South, and has strengthened our hope for the attainment of the goals of equality and excellence.
>
> "We remember (and will keep trying to justify) the strength of his belief in all the people of the South, and his confidence in the ability of all of us to achieve a people's highest potential.

"Leslie Dunbar is a man in a time of 'image making' who creates immediately the impression that here is an honest and honorable man, with a great depth of integrity, and integrity tempered by a gentleness of manner and spirit. Much of the success of his work with us is attributable to the mark of his personality, the impact of this "image' of his on the South and the nation.

"But more important is the fact known to us who know him that the impression he makes is not merely 'an image' but is the very substance of this most remarkable man with whom we worked and with whom we are still associated in mutual concerns an beliefs, and whom we hold in affection and respect.

"We have been honored by our associationwith him."

An appropriate expression of thanks and gratitude to the hotel management and staff was made by the Membership, after which the meeting adjourned.

Attachment A

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
November 15 - 16, 1965

Since the full Council was last assembled, your Executive Committee has met four times to implement the mandates of the 1964 Annual Meeting, and to give policy direction to the staff.

Each year is an unusual and demanding one for the Council. The year past has been no exception. Its events and demands have pressed the Council to achieve maximum benefits and supply maximum resources from its programs. We are still reminded that we must remain flexible.

Outstanding Southerners nominated to this body last year have accepted membership in the Council. They are: Mr. H. S. Hank Brown, (Tex.); Rev. Duncan Gray, (Miss.); Mr. George Lewis, II, (Fla.); Dr. Herman Long, (Ala.); Mrs. Leo M. Mervis, (La.); Mr. Patrick J. Owens, (Ark.); Mr. Matthew J. Perry, (S.C.); Mr. Frank Smith, (Tenn.); Mr. C. H. Thomas, Jr., (S.C.); Dr. James Silver, (Miss.), and Dr. T. Franklin Williams, (N.C.). Most of these new members are with us today. We welcome them and the contributions they have to make to the deliberations of this body.

Regrettably, the Rt. Rev. John E. Hines has resigned membership in the Council, having left the region. We were delighted at Bishop Hines's appointment as Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church, but saddened that this necessitated his moving to New York.

During the year the Executive Committee, acting on the recommendations from the Personnel Committee, has reviewed salaries granted merit increases, and otherwise carried out its responsibilities with regard to personnel.

There have been an unusual number of staff changes during the year. The most regrettable was the resignation of Leslie W. Dunbar, about which we will comment later.

At mid-year Wiley A. Branton resigned to accept the position of Executive Secretary of the President's Council on Equal Opportunity. The Voter Education Project which Mr. Branton had directed so brilliantly has been concluded except for final research preparation. Mr. Branton has since been appointed Special Assistant to Attorney General.

We were unhappy too that Vernon Jordan requested a leave of absence to serve as Consultant to the Southeastern Regional Office of Economic Opportunity. In that capacity he has made a unique and valuable contribution. We are, therefore, pleased to announce that Mr. Jordan will return to the staff in several weeks to direct the Council's new Voter Education Project, about which you will hear more during this meeting.

Joe Tucker, who has been with us a number of years, beginning as a college student and most recently in the Research Department, resigned to become Georgia Field Secretary for the NAACP. While we were unhappy to lose Mr. Tucker, we were pleased at his selection and this opportunity for him.

Last year, in cooperation with the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, and partially funded by the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation, we had two outstanding young men with us as interns -- John Due and Al Ulmer. At the end of the intern year, Mr. Due left VEP to become Counsel for the Florida CORE Educational and Defense Fund. Again, we were sorry to lose the services of this promising young attorney, but pleased at his new opportunity. We are very happy to announce that Mr. Ulmer will remain with us, transferring from the Field Department to a special project position.

Two additional interns are now with us -- Brad Poston working with the South Carolina Council, and Robert Valder with the Alabama Council. They are with us today and we welcome them.

Happily, we have some new staff to introduce to you later today.

The most unexpected staff development, and the most difficult one for the Executive Committee was that of the resignation of Leslie W. Dunbar as Director. As you know, Dr. Dunbar accepted the position of Executive Director of the Field Foundation, effective last October 1. It is a tribute to him and a credit to the foundation that this distinguished organization, with its outstanding record of understanding and support of the civil rights movement, asked Dr. Dunbar to accept this position.

This, however, was little consolation to the Committee when we were asked to accept his resignation. As you know, Leslie Dunbar came to the Council in 1958 as Director of Research. His contributions during the next two years were outstanding and when Harold Fleming resigned in 1960, the Executive Committee turned to Leslie as Harold's successor with a confidence in his ability which proved to be more than justified. In his characteristically soft-spoken manner, Dr. Dunbar provided the Council with strong creative leadership which made a lasting imprint on this region and did much to influence the pattern of these changing times.

We shall never forget his brilliance, his warm spirit, his capacity for original thought, and the courage tempered with realism with which he faced seemingly insoluble problems. We shall miss him greatly ----

Following this resignation on June 3, your Committee undertook the demanding responsibility of finding a new director.

The personnel Committee composed of John Wheeler, Josephine Wilkins, Stephen Wright, H. Franklin Williams, and myself began immediately to work so that a recommendation could be made to the full Executive Committee.

The committee invited both Leslie Dunbar and Harold Fleming to meet with us and both were kind enough to do so.

The first major question the Committee undertook was whether the Director should come from SRC staff or whether he should be selected without regard to previous affiliation or experience with SRC.

Harold Fleming and Les Dunbar reminded us of the unique character of our organization - which, through the years, has provided its staff with challenge, opportunity for creativity, and inspiration from a devoted board - so that the potential of its leaders has been developed to a remarkable degree. We recalled with warmth and pride the record of our tradition in SRC of finding top leadership within our organization - from the days of George Mitchell on to Harold and Les.

Finally, we discussed the tremendous complexities of the tasks before us in this rapidly changing land - and each of us was convinced of the necessity of finding a new director who was intimately familiar, not only with the goals and the philosophy of SRC but also with the nature and needs of our region. It followed logically that, if such a person could be found on the SRC staff, he should be our new Executive Director.

It was our opinion that Paul Anthony is such a person and he has an impressive record to support our contention. There is the record of ten years of loyal and devoted service to the Council - he knows the work of the Council intimately for during those ten years he has worked in a remarkable variety of assignments, all of which he has carried out with skill and imagination.

Paul has worked in the research department where he did an S.R.C. study on the White Citizens' Councils. He has served two directors as Administrative and later Executive Assistant. For the past two and one half years he has been outstanding as Field Director and has been unusually successful in winning the respect and affection of the lay and staff leadership of the State Councils to whom he has been invaluable.

As Secretary of the Southern Interagency Conference, he has won the respect of the professionals in other agencies and this country and abroad. In all these tasks he has moved to increasingly responsible positions.

Perhaps the most valuable of all in terms of his qualifications for Director of S.R.C. is his experience in the field of time in every state in the region and knows their people, "their stirrings and their doings" as he once described it to me, and he has an

unshakable faith in them as the bright future of our land.

The Committee felt a grave responsibility as it deliberated for we knew our decision would have profound influence on the Council, the region, and the nation. We made our recommendation confidently and enthusiastically and it was approved unanimously by the full Executive Committee. It is with great pleasure and pride that I welcome Paul Anthony to us today as our new Director and pledge to him, for both Executive Commitee and Council members, our enthusiastic and energetic support.

From 1954-57, the State Counsils were organic parts of the Southern Regional Council. Since 1957, they have been autonomous, although their relationships with S.R.C. have been close. During the past two years there has been a growing belief within State Councils and among members of this Council that there should be a closer relationship among state Councils and between state councils and S.R.C.

At the June 3rd meeting of the ExecutiveCommittee, we heard the report of a special committee selected by the State Council Directors, composed of:

Mrs. Frances Pauley, Director, Georgia Council
Mr. Charles Kelly, Director, Houston Council
Mr. Edwin Stanfield, Director, Alabama Council

Earnestly and eloquently, they spoke of the day to day struggles of the state counsils, inadequately staffed and financed, faced with disheartening resistance and at the same time with magnificent opportunities which in themselves produced further frustrations. They told of an increasing and inevitable sense of isolation from the community in general and S.R.C. in particular. They expressed a strong belief that, increasingly, gains in human relations must come from local understanding of, and local action on the issues. Their report stressed their belief in the need for a partnership with the Executive Committee and the Executive Director in a total re-evaluation of the role of the state councils in their respective states and a review of their relationship with S.R.C. They asked for a hard look at what is the desirable and realistic place of the Human Relations Council in these new and changing times.

The Executive Committee responded to this report and to the ensuing discussion with an expressed willingness to pursue the entire question further. The Chairman was asked to appoint a special S.R.C. State Council Committee to explore in detail and report.

Since that day, much has happened, as you will see, to enhance the importance of this question and to give promise of a fruitful solution.

In accordance with the directive of the Executive Committee, I should now like to ask the following persons to serve on such a committee.

Dr. H. Franklin Williams
Dr. Lucius Pitts
Joe Hendricks
Dr. T. Franklin Williams
Mrs. Martin Harvey
Rev. Beckwith, Jr.

If these persons are willing to serve, I hope all Council members who are interested in this matter will make it a point to share their thinking with this group during the course of our meeting.

Earlier this year, at its February 17th meeting, the Executive Committee authorized the preparation and communication of a memorandum concerning new federal programs in theSouth, which is important not only for its content, but hopefully for what it may achieve. The memo stressed our concern with the need to rectify the historic exclusion of Negroes from positions of power and influence and our fear lest new programs fall into old patterns. It further requested that the desire to avoid controversy not be permitted to exclude from federal posts and the planning of poverty programs some of the finest leadership of the South, both white and Negro. The memo was sent to a large number of federal offices and officials and a reply was promptly received from Sargent Shriver in a letter to President John Wheeler.

We reported to you last year that the director of the Employment

Security Agency of the Georgia Department of Labor had brought proceedings against the Council alleging that the Council is not eligible for tax exemption. At that time, we commented on the demand for back taxes and penalties in excess of $20,000, and the dangerous precedents involved should we be held liable. The matter was then before the courts, though trial had not been scheduled. One year later, the situation is unchanged in that trial has still not been scheduled. We await further action by the State of Georgia.

We must also report to you, and express our gratitude for, the considerable services of Mr. Joseph Haas and his firm for their substantial assistance. In this matter, Mr. Haas has far exceeded the expected role of S.R.C. Legal Counsel, and we are grateful to him.

The Executive Committee has worked with the Development Committee, the formation of which we reported to you last year, under the active chairmanship of Josephine Wilkins. You will hear a report from Miss Wilkins during the course of this meeting.

The Field Department has been active during the year though, understandably, the services of that department have been somewhat curtailed during the past months.

As mentioned earlier, we have been fortunate to have during the year Al Ulmer as an addition to this department, and we note his services have far exceeded those expected of an intern.

We are pleased to report that most of the State Councils on Human Relations are showing vigor in both program and membership growth. The Executive Committee has exercised its responsibility in supervising the grants - in - aid program for the State Councils. Later in the meeting you will have before you, for approval, the grants-in-aid schedule for 1966, which has been reviewed and approved by the Executive Committee.

Mrs. Tilly continues her work in her own special, grand style. The meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned convened earlier this month and was an excellent one. You will hear a report of that and

other matters from Mrs. Tilly shortly. (Incidentally, earlier in the year, Mrs. Tilly was elected by the Southern Jurisdiction of the Women's Society for Christian Service of the Methodist Church as "Woman of the Quarter Century"!

Research and Publications have had a good year. Undoubtedly, the outstanding event of this year was the release of Encounter With the Future by Pat Watters. Time does not permit a detailed accounting of the response to this remarkable study, but from scholars, journalists, editors, civil rights leaders, and others has come enthusiastic praise which is seldom equalled. The Council has also been pleased to publish and distribute the following:

SPECIAL REPORTS:

"Racial Discrimination in the Federal Courts"

"Southern Justice: An Indictment"

"School Desegregation: Old Problems Under a New Law"
September , 1965

PAMPHLETS

The Migrant Farmer: A Psychiatric Study.
(By Dr. M. Robert Coles)

Black Belt Schools Beyond Desegregation
(Prepared by Ross Green, James A. Jordon, W. J. Bridgeman, Clay V. Britain, all Emory University Professors)

Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs

And, of course, NEW SOUTH, which has been an important voice of the spirit and philosophy of the Council.

Before commenting on the general finances of the Council we have a special and very happy announcement to make. We have received a grant from the Ford Foundation in the amount of $324,000 a year for three years. This grant will enable us to extend and develop programs in a way we have not been able to do in the past. This is indeed good news and it marks a time of significant new opportunity for the Council. You will hear details of these programs later in the meeting.

This marvelous grant, however, must not be interpreted to mean that our financial situation is altogether good. Ironically, this grant brings with it complications.

While our project programs are well-financed in advance, this is not true of that part of our budget covering administrative programs and costs of our day-to-day general operations. And general operations are, of course, the heart of the Council.

Foundations are often reluctant to give for administrative costs of an organization, and are becoming increasingly so. As a result, the task of raising operational funds becomes more difficult for the Council each year.

There is still another problem in fund raising about which you should know. Increasingly, some of our foundation support has expressed the opinion that the time has come for the Council to begin to look to the South itself for more of its support and one foundation has already made a sizable grant with the stipulation that it be matched by an equal amount from Southern contributors.

This year our income for general operations use is considerably below the budgeted figure which you approved last November.

We propose to meet this problem in the immediate future in two ways:

(1) It is possible to fund some of our present general operations programs under the "Project" label; and many of these programs do clearly fit the description of projects in a general sense.

(2) We must reduce general operations expenditures. For this reason you will be presented today with the Committee's recommendation of a general operations expenditure of 1966 of $227,400 plus other costs under project label. This compares with the budgeted figure of $246,000 for 1965.

Hopefully, in the future we shall be able to elicit more support from the South. We must look to our Development Committee and to Council members for increasing assistance. We particularly

ask your cooperation in interesting others in supporting the Council.

The affairs of the Southern Regional Council are in good order.

This has been a year of unprecedented changes in staff. It has also been a year in which opportunity and demands upon the Council have far exceeded its resources. A bright future filled with almost unlimited opportunity lies before us if we have the wisdom and skill to lay hold of it.

Many great and good things have been accomplished in the United States in the past century, but progress has been marred by one enormous failure which in turn is intimately related to many lesser failures that all of us can name. We have failed to make free men - strong, educated, productive men - of a great mass of our nation's people - predominantly colored but also white -- and we shall not easily erase the consequences of that failure.

Last year at our annual meeting, Les Dunbar made a tremendously meaningful and prophetic statement when he said, "I grow more and more convinced that the real battleground is the mind of the American White man, and that we have gone nearly as far as we can get with the belief that by requiring people to alter their behaviour patterns we cancure the social ill of discrimination."

We have all of the truly significant laws we are going to get in your and my lifetime. The time has now come when we must step out from the philosophical and intellectual positions which we have espoused, often with great courage and sacrifice. We must become involved with and, in turn, involve the millions of homeowners, parents, churchgoers, and workers who will make the key decisions which will determine whether we shall have an open society. If we fail to do this we are in grave danger of having won the battle and lost the peace.

As Walter Lippman put it, "What we have achieved so far is something like an architect's plan for the foundations of a

structure, and a few holes in the ground. To realize that extraordinary demands will be made upon us is not yet wisdon -- But it is the beginning of wisdom."

Raymond Wheeler, M.D.
Chairman

REPORT OF THE DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE
TO THE 1965 ANNUAL MEETING

By Miss Josephine Wilkins, Chairman

As you may recall, this is a small committee set up by the Executive Committee prior to the last Annual Meeting, to which one SRC member from each of the southern states was appointed. I would like them to stand briefly as I give their names: Lee Thomas, Kentucky; David Scull, Virginia; Fred Alexander, North Carolina; James McBride Dabbs, South Carolina; Mrs. Joe Robinson Brewer, Arkansas (mid-year we regrettably lost Mrs. Brewer who found it necessary to resign because of health); Paul Christopher, Tennessee; Ralph Dreger, Louisiana; Mrs. Martin Harvey, Mississippi; Mrs. J. N. Rayzor, Texas; Herbert M. Davidson, Florida; and myself, Georgia. Mr. Davidson and I were asked to serve as vice-chairman and chairman respectively.

Speaking for SRC, as well as for myself, I take this opportunity to thank these Council members for the time and thought they have given to the Southern Regional Council during these past months.

The Committee held its first meeting shortly before the last Annual Meeting and has had four meetings since, the last held yesterday.

This Committee was created to think in depth on certain financial problems confronting SRC and to assist as it could with long-range plans for solving them. As Dr. Dunbar, then Executive Director; said in a memorandum to the Committee prior to its first meeting, the Committee, in his words, was "not called into being for an emergency" but rather its contribution would be "to broaden and deepen our support" in the years ahead.

To this end, the Committee has come to know and to understand SRC's financial base and that of the Council movement, and in looking ahead sees that two financial problems loom large. One is the difficulty of securing funds for general operation, the year-to-year ongoing of the Council -- which should not be confused with grants made to us by foundations for special projects. The other --

and the two are related -- is the expressed feeling of some of the foundations assisting us that the time has come when SRC should start getting this part of its support from the South itself. These problems were pointed out in some detail in the letter sent you recently by the member of the Development Committee from your state.

The Committee has groped with long-range plans for meeting this situation. It has considered the advantages and disadvantages of entering into a contractual arrangement with a professional fund-raising organization, has made some explorations into this field, and has come to the definite conclusion that this method of funding should not be undertaken by SRC.

Instead, the Committee reached the conclusion that the Council's interests would be served best by bringing onto the staff a person with sound experience in human relations and in fund-raising. Further, that the launching of any broad-gaged effort to raise funds in the South should await this staffing. This recommendation was carried to the Executive Committee, which approved it and authorized the employment of such a staff member when a suitable person could be found and funds were available.

I am glad to report that steps are now underway toward some such staffing. On December 1, Mr. Edwyn Lewis, of Florida, will come to SRC as Executive Assistant, with some responsibility for fund=raising. Mr. Lewis is a former businessman, whose success made possible his going, by choice, into human relations work. He is now Executive Director of the Florida Council and comes to us from that post (Mr. Lewis will you stand). Also, and beginning tomorrow, Mr. Russell Hanson, of North Carolina, will come to SRC for a period of severl weeks as a consultant to explore our potentialities in the field of business. Mr. Hanson was formerly Director of the North Carolina Industrial Development Commission (Mr. Hanson will you stand).

Meanwhile, the Committee has done certain other groundwork.

A promotional leaflet, long needed by SRC, has been prepared and printed. This was gotten out early this year and you are likely familiar with it. (display)

A list of the foundations in his or her state, as reproduced from the Foundation Directory published by the Russell Sage Foundation, has been supplied to each member of the Committee. Nat Welch did an excellent job with the Alabama list, and the other members are in the process of doing a similar one with the foundations in their own state. With help gotten through interviews with several knowledgeable individuals, Mr. Welch brought together pertinent information on each of the Alabama foundations, including suggested entre in some instance, and had it typed alongside each of the foundations listed. This is the kind of information the Council needs to collect and have in its files in undertaking any broad-gaged fund-raising effort throughout the South.

Further, some dialogue with sources of potential support has already been started in some of the states, and before the year is out we hope to have records of this on file in the office. And of course, considerable thought and discussion has gone into how best to go about getting the interest and support of business.

The Committee has also considered its own structure, and among its recommendations to the Executive Committee was the recommendation that the members of the Development Committee be appointed annually, subject to reappointment, and this was approved. Accordingly, the Executive Committee at its meeting last night authorized the chairman, Dr. Wheeler, to make these appointments for next year, to take office January 1.

Feeling that they should share with the other members of the Council information that had come so foreable to their own attention during these months, members of the Development Committee decided to each send to those of you in his own state the letter regarding the Council which you recently received. And speaking not only for the Committee but for SRC as a whole, I want to thank those of you who so promptly responded to the letter. All of us, I trust,

will keep in mind the situation confronting SRC that the letter pointed out, the increasing difficulty of raising funds for general support, and the pressure being now put on the organization to begin looking to the South itself for this support. You who are located throughout the region, and who know your local area, are here in position to be of marked assistance: 1) by sending in the names of potential donors along with the information about them and thus helping to build up SRC's files; and 2) when you deem it appropriate by you yourself undertaking to interest them in the Council movement.

Will you let me be a bit facitious?

For quite ahile now, in the vernacular of the teenager, we've been -- "going steady" with the great philanthropic foundations, "going steady." And over the years we've become warm friends. They like us, and we like them. We are interested in similar things. And they trust us.

We've been able to do many, many things together that we ourselves would never have been able to do -- because we couldn't have afforded them -- and they've "picked up the tab," Actually we are such warm friends that they have also helped us with our general expenses, with our year-to-year housekeeping expenses, so to speak. Have done so for years.

But they don't like to continue this. They fear we'll become dependent on it. You see, the truth of the business is, they don't want to marry us!

Still they are deeply interested in our future. And they feel its best for us to form a union with our people down here. They want us to try to get the interest of some of our people who would be, what is called, "good providers." In fact, again in the vernacular of the teenager, they are prodding us to "get into circulation!"

Now this doesn't mean that the great philanthropic foundations would not still be our same warm friends. We could still go out and do things together, undertake projects we're both interested in. And for these, happily for us, they would still "pick up the tab!"

That's about the way it is, my friends.

Still, after all, there can be something quite challenging about undertaking to woo the financial south. Let's join hands and see what we can do about it.

Attachment D

REPORT OF THE
NOMINATING COMMITTEE - 1965

The Nominating Committee met in Atlanta on August 30, 1965 with Dr. Colston, Dr. Duncan and Rabbi Mantinband present. The Committee is pleased to present the following nominations.

For President, the Committee takes great satisfaction in in nominating for re-election John H. Wheeler of Durham, North Carolina.

For Vice-Presidents, we nominate Josephine Wilkins of Athens, Ga.; Rufus E. Clement of Atlanta, Ga.; Stephen J. Wright of Nashville, and Paul R. Christopher of Knoxville, Tennessee.

For the Executive Committee, we nominate James McBride Dabbs, Mayesville, S. C.; Albert W. Dent, New Orleans, La.; C. G. Gomillion, Tuskegee, Ala.; Mrs. Martin Harvey, Jackson, Miss.; McNeill Smith, Greensboro, N. C.; Raymond M. Wheeler, Chairman, Charlotte, N. C.; H. Franklin Williams, Coral Gables, Fla.; Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, N. C.; and Thomas W. Young, Norfolk, Virginia.

The By-Laws of the Council provide that there be a Nominating Committee of five members, of whom three are to be elected by the Annual Meeting and two by the Executive Committee. For the Nominating Committee of 1966, we nominate Dr. S. E. Duncan, Salisbury, N. C.; Mr. James Youngdahl, Little Rock, Ark.; and the Rev. Powers McLeod of Mobile, Ala.

Our nominations for Council membership are as follows:

For the Class of 1969:

The following members of the class of 1965 are re-nominated:

Mrs. Joe R. Brewer, Scott, Arkansas
Rev. Caxton Doggett, Lakeland, Florida
Luther H. Foster, Tuskegee, Alabama
C. G. Gomillion, Tuskegee, Alabama

John A. Griffin, Atlanta, Georgia
Joseph F. Haas, Atlanta, Georgia
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Atlanta, Georgia
Guy B. Johnson, Chapel Hill, North Carolina
Rabbi Charles Mantinband, Longview, Texas
Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason, Norfolk, Virginia
The Rev. M. D. McCollom, Walterboro, S. C.
Benjamin Muse, Manassas, Virginia
John P. Nelson, Jr., New Orleans, La.
Lucius Pitts, Birmingham, Alabama
David H. Scull, Annandale, Virginia
Rev. Kelly M. Smith, Nashville, Tennessee
McNeill Smith, Greensboro, North Carolina

The following new persons are nominated:

Claude Ramsay, Jackson, Mississippi
Mrs. Barbara Jordan, Houston, Texas
William A. Maness, Jacksonville, Florida
Mrs. Martha Ragland, Nashville, Tennessee
Dr. Hollis Price, Memphis, Tennessee
Donald Hollowell, Atlanta, Georgia
William Becker, Little Rock, Arkansas

Respectfully submitted,

James A. Colston
S. E. Duncan
Charles Mantinband
J. Rupert Picott
James E. Youngdahl

ATTACHMENT E

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR to the 22nd Annual Meeting of theSouthern Regional Council, Atlanta Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia, November 16, 1965.

Members of the Council; Ladies and Gentlemen:

For several reasons, this will be an unconventional report.

First, at this ninth annual meeting, for me, time and habit have been long enough and strong enough to make me feel something of an intruder here in the front of the room. It still seems that I should be out in the hall worrying about lunch being served on time, or at least in the back of the room determing if you have the right material before you at the right time. (Incidentally, I have never felt these to be insignificant duties and certainly at this moment my appreciation of them is greater than ever.)

More importantly, the person who directed the Council's staff responsibilities for the great portion of the year is not here now as your director. To report in the normal sense on o ur problems and achievements would be to comment on Leslie Dunbar's good year. The Director's formal written report to you at the end of the year will concern itself with that responsibility.

In this instance, however, it seems more responsible to concentrate on recent events and the way in which these events will affect the future of the Council. Into this, too, must come some reflection of our philosophy and our plans and some indication of our suggested programs and priorities.

These things cannot be done without a personal observation. I have a strong sense of continuity. You have allowed me to serve under every Executive Director of the Council except the first. And, I have had the opportunity to know and work with Dr. Guy Johnson, the first director, to some extent.

It was my good fortune to work with George Mitchell briefly, and to get to know that great and grand man. (And, it is with the deepest of pleasure that we have Mrs. Mitchell as our honored guest today.)

During the course of Harold Fleming's directorship I was allowed to work with him and share to some measure our early lean years and our slow growth to relative affluence. More recently, of course, I have been privileged to serve in several capacities with Leslie Dunbar.

At this point a confession is called for. While none of these men can be blamed for any shortcomings of mine, I bring a little of these three rare, different men along with anything else that is brought to this position. (And, it is for me a real disappointment that neither Harold nor Les could be here today.)

Over this period of time, and especially over the past several years, I have been privileged too to get to know most of the Members of the Council, work with them, to visit in their homes, to see the broad range of talents and the deep sense of decency represented in this gathering of people. To see even, in some instances, good men and women grow great not because they were so different, so greatly courageous, or even uniquely talented. But men and women grown great because there were within them such deep wells of decency.

One could not experience these past ten years, these associations and these opportunities without a sense of continuity. And, certainly no one in such circumstances could fail to be aware that we now have opportunities of a magnificent nature only because those who have gone before us have built so soundly and so wisely.

One final comment of a personal nature and we shall be through with this, The proper choice of words is completely beyond me. But, please know that given the very realistic possibility of failure and the inconceivable possibility of unlimited glory, there is no position and no opportunity which could possibly come that could, to me, equal that position which you allow me to hold today. I thank you sincerely.

We cannot consider present or future programs without a discussion of staff. Staff is our program and I am convinced that we have a unique wealth of talent and dedication as our major resource. Shortly, Dr. Wheeler will introduce the staff to you.

(Incidentally, during the past weeks -- because of several unusual factors -- namely a number of positions unstaffed and very heavy demands -- your staff has worked as hard as was physically possible. I have been amazed at the degree to which evenings and weekends have been blended into the regular work week. This is certainly not expected on a continuing basis, but you should know of this and I must take this opportunity to express my appreciation.)

We have the ever present problem -- At SRC and with the State Councils -- of recruiting new staff people of high quality. Now that we have an opportunity to considerably expand the staff, this problem has become critical.

Our practice -- particularly that of the State Councils -- of securing good people from a variety of backgrounds has proved very successful and must continue. (In fact this has been so successful that SRC is now raiding two of the State Councils -- Alabama and Florida -- and others, particularly the federal government, are raiding us all.)

It is not an incidental part of our program that we provide so many people to staff other public and private agencies and while this creates serious problems it also creates excellent opportunities for us to export our methods and our philosophy.

Almost weekly one or more of our staff receives a lucrative offer. Sometimes I think it is quite a measure of their dedication that we have any staff. It is also a measure of the highly different "staff benefits" we offer. Our staff is a mature, talented group. They are treated as such. There is opportunity for initiative, experimentation, independence, responsibility. Given a decent measure of luck, we will continue to attract competent staff so long as these "benefits" exist.

We do not expect people to work at undue financial sacrifice. And we must not. In fact, your Executive Committee has comendably seen to it that this is not the case. The professional staff, generally, is adequatley paid. Not competitively, but adequately. This in my opinion is not as true of the remainder of our staff

and when resources permit we shall recommend a correction of this.

One final problem about staff. The SRC and State Council staff -- as well as all of the interracial movement -- are too white. This is serious in itself and serious to the extent that we seek to recruit, train, and export talent. It must be corrected and we must especially find ways to recruit more young people into this field.

The new and expanded programs we are about to launch -- and about which you will hear more this afternoon -- allow literally for a new era for the Southern Regional Council.

Here, let me quickly dispel two wide-spread and completely erroneous ideas.

1. The Ford Foundation did not make us rich! This foundation has been generous and we are deeply grateful, but they did not-- and had no intention of -- paying the rent, or the salaries, or anything else of the regular operations of the Council. Please help us interpret this basic truth!

2. The Ford Foundation did not create of us a foundation in Dixieland. Since the grant was announced several weeks ago I have receive 18 requests for grants. Please tell everyone that you still serve as Members of the Council, not on the Board of a foundation.

This generosity, however, and the generosity of other foundations, does allow us exciting new opportunities.

Mr. Wheeler will have comments to make about this tommorow, particularly about SRC's role and thinking in this particular period. I will not comment on these matters before my President does. However, there are several obeervations that can be made.

1. We will be able to move closer to the dreams of our founders, particularly to reflect more of the dreams of Dr. Howard Odum. To some degree -- and we have been inching toward

this for some time -- we can become a center for very specialized talents. We can begin to become a repository of skills long needed by this region.

2. We can more adequately than in the past try to form a partnership with publicly funded agencies and programs, to assist and advise, to research and criticize and to express our belief that at best governmental programs can be effective only when they are done in partnership with citizens and private agencies.

3. We can, to an extent never before possible, combine our research and information functions with implementation of what we learn. We can develop and assist programs in leadership training, in urban and rural self-help efforts, in attempts on a broad scale of giving people the information they need if they are to take advantage of the new opportunities available.

4. We have the resources to work closely with the state and local Councils on Human Relations and other agencies and we shall develop programs with and through these groups. This is an opportunity to benefit from the experience of these good resources, to strengthen these agencies and their programs, and to form a strong partnership which should lead to far greater effectiveness than any of us could hope to achieve singularly.

5. A theme that runs through all of our proposed programs is one of reaching the people -- the disadvantaged, the poor -- those who must be incorporated into our society if we are ever to become healthy.

Here I would like to venture into several areas of our philosophy -- the ideas on which our work will be planned.

We believe it is not hopeless that the disadvantaged can be brought completely into the larger society. They may not fit a pattern or a mold -- indeed they may have as much influence on affluent society as affluent society has on them -- the poor can be salvaged. We have seen too much of the spirit of these

people, of their talents and their abilities, and we know just enough of how much strength and talent they have had to muster to even survive to have no doubt of the potential.

There is a terrible irony in this problem: the desperately poor and discarded in the midst of unbelievable wealth. On a simplified, minuscule basis, this is not unlike the problem before the world. Namely, can the well-fed of the world effectively share with the starving. I believe all our future rests not so much on the resolution of East and West as on the answer to the simple question, can the starving be fed. Just as we know the challenge and the value -- as well as the rightness -- of achieving a truly integrated and decent society perhaps we can be presumptuous enough to speculate on the value-for everyone -- of successfully doing what we try; of feeding and clothing and giving opportunity to the poor and the disadvantaged.

Finally -- and this is perhaps the core of the philosophy we have -- in developing and financing "anti-poverty" programs and all the rest, this nation will not be the poorer for having made a "sacrifice." It will be the richer for having allowed this deep resource to give its own enrichment to our life and times. We are not cursed that there are disadvantaged peoples among us, we are blessed that there is this pool of talent and strength to be infused into our all too tired society.

And, if this is a "new era" for the Southern Regional Council, as we can legitimately speculate it is -- it is due at least in part to the fact that this is a new era for the region. We have no illusions of what must yet be done, or of how difficult it will yet be to reach into the Deep South. Yet most of this region -- and all of its urban areas -- are rapidly reaching that point in change where they look very much like the rest of the nation. Rapidly, in Atlanta, Memphis, Charlotte, Richmond, etc., we are reaching the national norm.

Like the rest of the nation we have achieved a measure of token school desegregation and are piddling with a little more. Public accomodations are generally open, some hospitably, some

reluctantly. Token employment barriers are down. We are gently nibbling even at housing integration.

For all purposes, this is the national norm.

Many of us have long speculated that the South had the potential of being first in the country to achieve a fully decent society. In the past when we thus speculated, we were at least in part whistling in the dark, speaking more of dreams than unemotional analysis.

This has changed. The region right now is at the point where it can rapidly produce this dream. We can continue to build on the progress we have made, to keep up, even increase, the momentum we have developed. Our peoples who have gotten to know each other a little this past decade can keep up the acquaintance and even explore friendship.

Or we can follow the national pattern, go on to make the same mistakes, and perhaps 20 years from now -- if we are fortunate enough to have the opportunity -- then begin to try to crawl out of an even sorrier mess than we now have.

Whether we build communities, or ghettos, whether we educate children or manipulate them, whether we build democracies or flout them, is the choice now for the people of our region.

The Southern Regional Council must be aware that we have reached the place of these choices. Our programs must attempt to help in the selection of the healthy choice of the two.

We have come too far now -- late as it is -- and too many have done too much -- to fail at this point. We have many opportunities -- some of them as a direct result of having succeeded in doing what we tried to do.

We have gone through lean, hard years. Now, neither we the Council nor we the South can let progress and opportunity defeat us when adversity could not.

The Southern Regional Council at its 22nd Annual Meeting expresses its respect and appreciation for the work and character of Leslie W. Dunbar as its executive director from 1961 to 1965, and as a member of its staff from 1959.

By his qualities of intellect, of eloquence, of practical skills in the guidance of human affairs, and of humane appreciation for people, Dr. Dunbar has made a lasting impression for the good on the present reality of the South, and has strengthened our hope for the attainment of the goals of equality and excellence.

We remember (and will keep trying to justify) the strength of his belief in all the people of the South, and his confidence in the ability of all of us to achieve a people's highest potential.

Leslie Dunbar is a man in a time of "image making" who creates immediately the impression that here is an honest and honorable man, with a great depth of integrity, an integrity tempered by a gentleness of manner and spirit. Much of the success of his work with us is attributable to the mark of his personality, the impact of this "image" of his on the South and the nation.

But more important is the fact known to us who know him that the impression he makes is not merely an"image," but is the very substance of this most remarkable man with whom we worked and with whom we are still associated in mutual concerns and beliefs, and whom we hold in affection and respect.

We have been honored by our association with him.

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Attachment G

PROPOSED GRANTS-IN-AID SCHEDULE, 1966

Condition of grants:

1. All grants to be paid quarterly on January 1, April 1, July 1, and October 1 of 1966 unless otherwise indicated.

2. Grants will not be paid until such time as adequate quarterly programs and financial reports have been received by SRC.

3. Grants are contingent on professional staff being maintained by the recipient councils.

4. It is expected that local fund raising will be held at least at the rate of 1965. Should this not be the case, revision during the year will be necessary, unless there are special circumstances. In cases where fund raising falls below 1965 rates, staff will withhold funds pending determination by the Executive Committee.

5. All grants are to be reviewed and likely revised if the performance of the recipient Council in all areas, including program and membership, is below realistic expectations. In such case, staff may withhold funds pending a review and decision by the Executive Committee.

Alabama	$5,500
Arkansas	4,600
Florida	4,600
Georgia	4,600
Louisiana	3,200
Mississippi	4,800
North Carolina	4,800
South Carolina	4,600
Tennessee	4,600
Virginia	4,600
Houston	1,800
Contingency	2,000
Geo. S. Mitchell Award	1,000
TOTAL:	$ 50,700

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

January 10, 1966

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council met on January 10, 1966, in the SRC conference room, convening at 10:00 A.M.

Present were: Dr. Raymond Wheeler, Chairman; Mr. Paul Christopher, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Mr. James M. Dabbs, Mr. Joseph F. Haas, Dr. C. G. Gomillion, Mr. John H. Wheeler, Miss Josephine Wilkins, Dr. H. Franklin Williams, Mr. M. A. Wright and Mr. Paul Anthony and other members of the Council's staff.

Invocation was offered by Mr. Dabbs. The proposed agenda was adopted and the statement on tax-exemption was read and signed by the members of the Committee.

Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler was, by unanimous vote, re-elected to serve as Chairman during 1966.

Mr. Anthony introduced new members of the staff. He then reported that Miss Lillian Smith and Mr. Paul Green had acknowledged acceptance of their election as Life Fellows and that those persons elected to Membership at the Annual Meeting had accepted. (See report of the Nominating Committee, Annual Meeting Minutes, 1965.)

The Chairman called for the report of the Secretary-Treasurer, Mrs. Alexander, who reported on income and expenses for the year.

In a report on fund raising, Mr. Anthony stated that five grants of $1,000 each had been committed or were serious possibilities in seeking funds to match the grant of the Stern Family Fund of $10,000. He reported that the Ford Foundation had made a grant of $100,000 per year for three years in support of the grant-in-aid program to state councils on human relations. Initial efforts are also underway for a renewal of support from the Rockefeller Foundation and for a grant from the Carnegie Corporation.

In light of the new funds being received and the substantial amount of funds on hand the Committee requested that a meeting be called of the Finance Committee to determine investment policies and programs and that reports of the Finance Committee be submitted to future meetings of the Executive Committee. In later action it was unanimously voted that Mr. L. D. Milton, Finance Committee Chairman, be invited to sit in on all Executive Committee meetings and that Mrs. Ruth House Alexander be made a member of the Finance Committee with special responsibility of serving as secretary of that committee.

The Executive Director reported on new and expanded program, including the unusual number of programs being sponsored with other agencies. He reported the Council (as approved at an earlier Executive Committee meeting) will co-sponsor with the Encampment for Citizenship a summer program for high-school students in the Applachian area at Union College, Barbourville, Kentucky. The staff reported on further conversations with personnel of the Peace Corps concerning the possibility of SRC conducting one or more training programs for overseas volunteers and presented the staff conclusion that such an undertaking should not be considered further at this time because of the burden of other commitments. The Committee concured.

Thereafter there were reports on and discussions of other programs including the urban planning project, the community organization project, and the publication and information projects.

During lunch the Personnel Committee met and immediately after lunch the Executive Committee went into Executive Session to hear a report from that committee.

In Executive Session the Committee approved the employment of Mr. Robert Anderson as Associate Editor and Mr. Thaddeus Olive, Jr. as Administrative Aide for the Voter Education Project. The Executive Director's recommendations on staff salary increases were accepted and approved.

After the Committee again went into general session the Chairman asked for a report on the Voter Education Project. Mr.

Anthony reported on fund raising for this project and expressed the hope that the Field and Taconic Foundations would soon respond favorably to the Council's request for funds for this project.

Mr. Jordan, Project Director, then reported on plans for the new Voter Education Project. He stressed the new programs which would be attempted including a greater emphasis on fact-finding and research, the program of scholarships to college students, the placement of high-school students in such learning situations as the offices of public officials, and the hope of developing some of these programs in cooperation with colleges and universities in the region.

Thereafter, Mr. Jordan reported on a staff recommendation that the Attorney General of the United States be invited to a special SRC sponsored dinner to address the regions leaders in citizenship participation of the role of the U. S. Justice Dept.

In action on this staff recommendation the Committee unanimously adopted the following resolution: "That the staff be authorized to extend, on behalf of the Southern Regional Council, an invitation to the Attorney General of the United States to address a special meeting in Atlanta on the role of the Department of Justice in the area of voter registration, such a dinner to have intited to it outstanding persons throughout the region having an interest in this subject."

Mrs. Tilly reported on a request coming from the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned that she contact the leaders of the major national womens organizations to develop a jointly sponsored program concerned with improving court practices in the region. She requested the permission of the Committee to do so. By motion, unanimously adopted, this permission was given.

The Committee appointed the two members of the 1966 Nominating Committee to serve with the three members of that Committee elected at the Annual Meeting. Those appointed were Mr. Jack Young of Jackson and Mr. Lucius Pitts of Birmingham.

Because of the lateness of the hour two items on the agenda were deferred to the next meeting of the committee. These items were a report on the Development Committee and a report on the work of the Special Consultant for business and industry.

The date for the next meeting of the Committee was set as Monday, April 18 .

Thereafter, the Committee adjourned.

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

April 18, 1966

The meeting of the Executive Committee convened at 10:00 a.m., April 18, 1966 in the Council's Conference Room.

Those present: Mr. Christopher, Dr. Clement, Mr. Dabbs, Dr. Dent, Dr. Gomillion, Mrs. Harvey, Miss Wilkins, Dr. H. Franklin Williams, with President John H. Wheeler, presiding. All members of the professional staff were present, with Mildred Johnson serving as recording secretary.

GENERAL SESSION

After invocation by Dr. Gomillion, the minutes of the January 10, 1966 meeting were adopted and the Resolution on Tax Exemption read and signed by each Member present.

REPORT ON PROGRAM AND ADMINISTRATION - Mr. Anthony

Detailed staff reports were circulated to the Executive Committee prior to its meeting. However, Mr. Anthony reported that Mrs. Tilly, who could not be present because of a broken wrist, had been authorized by the Committee to initiate a special program of church-women who would serve as observers in Southern courts in the interest of stimulating equal justice for all persons under the law. He reported that Mrs. Tilly called together, on March 24 and 25, an impressive group of women representing 14 major national women's organizations who had endorsed the program, and begun steps to get the program operating. Mr. Anthony expressed the hope that something substantial will come out of this program.

Urban Planning Project: - - It was reported that Moreland Smith, Director of the Urban Planning Project, has just returned from Washington where he had a very fruitful conference with Secretary Robert Weaver of Housing and Urban Development. Mr. Anthony pointed out that already a large number of persons in the region are seeking the services and resources of the Urban Planning Project.

State Council on Human Relations: -- Mr. Anthony stated that a more detailed report on the state Councils would come later in the meeting. He pointed out, however, that the Council has entered a new era in that this year for the first time there is available approximately $200,000 per year to support the programs of these councils.

Research and Information Departments: -- It was reported that these departments continue to be busy; however, there are still several major items in the areas of school desegregation and prison rehabilitation that have not yet been developed.

The reaction to the new quarterly, New South, has been favorable. The staff has made a substantial effort to increase New South subscribers. This was essential since during 1965 New South circulation had dropped to less than 1,500. It was Mr. Anthony's feeling that we cannot justify putting the kind of work into New South that is required and not see to it that its readership is increased. Our goal is to increase its circulation to at least 3,000 by the end of this year.

Mr. Anthony urged the Members to send to the Council office whatever other comments or criticisms they might have about the new quarterly.

Voter Education Project: -- A more detailed report on the Voter Education Project would come later in the meeting. However, Mr. Anthony reported that Mrs. Barbara Patterson, the Project's Research Director, has recently resigned to move to New York where her husband will soon be transferred. He commended Mrs. Patterson for having served well in her new post on the Council staff.

Following Mr. Anthony's presentation, a lengthy discussion of New South ensued. Miss Wilkins suggested that the staff give serious consideration to sending complimentary copies of the quarterly to college libraries in order to get it into the hands of young people. It was pointed out that New South

is currently being distributed to a fairly large number of southern college campuses, but a new effort is being made to get the quarterly on newsstands and in college bookstores. Mr. Anthony pointed out that through the Atlanta News Agency other commercial outlets are being sought for the distribution of New South, and more thinking is being done by the staff to determine how the quarterly can be gotten into high schools. Foundation support might be sought for this purpose.

REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE - Mrs. Alexander

Prior to the meeting a report of the Finance Committee and a Schedule of Investments for 1966 were circulated to the Members of the Executive Committee. Mrs. Alexander reviewed those materials, after which Dr. H. Franklin Williams made the following motion, which was seconded by Dr. Clement, and unanimously approved and adopted by the Committee:

> That the Executive Committee accepts and approves the Report of the Finance Committee and the transactions indicated in the Schedule of Investments for 1966.

There was some discussion of the procedure used and the persons empowered to purchase and sell securities. Mr. Anthony recalled for the Committee that it had been established that the Finance Committee was authorized to represent the Executive Committee in the Council's financial transactions. For the record, such authorization was made by motion and unanimously approved and adopted during the January 26, 1959 meeting of the Executive Committee as follows:

> That a Finance Committee be appointed by the President of the Council to represent the Executive Committee in the Council's financial transactions and to advise the staff on investments; said committee to have full power to invest monies and to sell securities as conditions may warrant and as it finds it advisable.

A final motion coming out of the same meeting was adopted as follows:

> That the President and Secretary-Treasurer of the Corporation be hereby authorized and directed to execute such documents pertaining to the sale or purchase of securities as may be required.

IN connection with financial transactions of the Council, the secretary was instructed to make a part of this record that minutes of any and all subsequent meetings of the Finance Committee, and any and all financial transactions made by it should become a part of the official records, and that prior to any transaction(s) a letter of authorization from the Executive Director or the Secretary-Treasurer should be directed to Mr. L. D. Milton indicating the specific transaction(s) to be made.

FUND-RAISING - Mr. Anthony

Mr. Anthony reported that the New World Foundation has renewed its support for $30,000 per year for two years for general operations. The New World Foundation has also provided a $10,000 contingency fund to be used to support special student activities.

A $100,000 grant has been received from both the Field and Taconic Foundations in support of the Voter Education Project since the Committee last met. An additional grant of $50,000 is available from the Taconic Foundation if this can be matched.

A special grant of $25,000 has been made to SRC by the Fund for the Advancement of Education which will allow SRC to purchase approximately 50,000 paperback volumes for distribution among the disadvantaged. Mr. Harry Elson, Director of the Atlanta News Agency, has agreed to make purchases of the paperbacks, and distribute them at the direction of the Council.

In appreciation to Mr. Elson, Dr. Clement, on behalf of the Council, made the following motion which was unanimously approved and adopted:

> That the Executive Committee instructs the staff to write

an expression of appreciation to Mr. Harry Elson of the Atlanta News Agency for his invaluable help in SRC's special project on paperback books distribution.

Mr. Anthony reported that we have received, for general operations, a grant of $250,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation to be paid as follows: $50,000 for three years, beginning in 1966; $40,000 in 1969; $35,000 in 1970; and $25,000 in 1971.

A renewal request of $0,000 is now before the Taconic Foundation for general support, and before the Field Foundation is a proposal requesting the Foundation to increase its grant from $25,000 to $40,000.

In analyzing the staff's fund-raising task for this year, Mr. Anthony pointed out that if the Taconic grant, along with the $15,000 increased grant from Field, come through and if SRC's internal income from the sale of literature and other sources is increased, there will remain a balance to be raised of approximately $20,000 for general operations. This means, Mr. Anthony felt, that the staff's fund-raising task would be a reasonable one. However, if the reverse is true, the situation changes tremendously and the staff will have to devote considerable time to securing adequate funds for the remainder of the year.

It was reported that we are beginning negotiations with the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation of North Carolina. It is hoped that a meeting with Dr. Hollis Edens, the Director of the Foundation, will materialize in the late spring.

In reporting on the Stern Foundation's matching grant recently made to SRC, Mr. Anthony strongly emphasized the continuing difficulty faced by the staff in trying to meet the conditions of that grant.

In considering the new sources of support, Dr. Clement suggested that the staff approach the Norris Herndon Foundation of Atlanta and the Kennedy Foundation.

Mr. Anthony requested the Committee's consideration of a policy matter concerning the Council and the Voter Education Project. It has been reported that the Democratic National Committee may be considering the distribution of substantial funds for voter education work and that the Council may be one of the recipients. Obviously, matters of policy and program could be involved in such action.

A full and lengthy discussion of this matter ensued. The Committee unanimously reached the decision that such funds could be' accepted so long as the donor, as with all donors and funds, understood that such funds were contributed without any stipulations or conditions on the part of the donor. Further, the Members of the Committee reiterated their instructions to the staff that all programs developed and supported by the Council were to be completely non-partisan and non-political in nature.

There followed a consideration by the Committee of approaching both the Democratic and Republican National Committees to seek financial support. This consideration was given in light of the endorsement of the Voter Education Project by both groups. After lengthy deliberation the following motion was unanimously approved and adopted:

> That the staff be instructed to write letters to both the Democratic and Republican National Committees, stating the purposes and intent of the Voter Education Project, and issuing an invitation to both Committees to make financial contributions to the work of voter education in the South; both letters to make clear the stated position of the Council that in receiving funds from either political party that the Council accepts those funds free of any obligation to either party.

REPORT OF THE DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE - Miss Wilkins

Miss Wilkins gave a report of the Development Committee, including some background information on the Committee's formation and concerns. Operating expenses since its inception in 1964 have been $746.00.

Miss Wilkins pointed out that the Committee has worked on a number of ideas and in the process has gotten a clearer picture of

the circumstances involved in funding the Council. The Committee realizes and is concerned with the position of the national foundations that SRC must have more support from regional sources. This has, in the main, been the purpose and function of the Development Committee.

Miss Wilkins reported on her efforts to approach several Southern foundations, and the reactions she encountered. After discussion, she and the Executive Committee were in agreement that care should be taken in such approaches and that, at best, few Southern foundations were yet in agreement with the Council's aims and programs.

Other efforts and ideas for expanded income were discussed. These included generating additional income from sale of literature and short-range investments; a greater concern with overhead funds from project grants, bequests, and approaches to national business concerns.

In response to Miss Wilkins' report, the Committee commended the Development Committee and made the following recommendations in support of suggestions made in the report:

(1) that the Committee make an approach to national business firms;

(2) that, where possible, all requests for project funds should include an amount of 20% for overhead purposes.

At this point in the meeting the Committee adjourned for lunch during which time the Personnel Committee met with the Executive Director.

EXECUTIVE SESSION
(Staff on Call)

Immediately after lunch the Executive Committee went into Executive Session, with the following action being taken:

Marvin Wall, editorial writer for the Atlanta Constitution,

was appointed Research Director for the Voter Education Project to replace Mrs. Barbara Patterson who resigned effective May 1.

GENERAL SESSION

PROPOSAL ON STAFF BENEFITS - Mr. Lewis

Mr. Lewis reviewed briefly his memorandum of March 31, 1966 to the ExecutiveDirector, which was circulated to each member prior to this meeting, in which he made the following two recommendations regarding SRC's medical insurance and term life insurance benefits for the staff:

(1) that we place our new insurance with Mutual of New York which provides better basic coverage, plus major medical coverage for all employees at a cost of $5.49 per person. Our present plan costs $4.59 per person. This increased coverage with cost $349.44 more per year based on 32 persons enrolled;

(2) that we change our term life insurance also to Mutual of New York. One benefit will be that all of our coverage will be with one major company with whom we have had a personal relationship for some years and very satisfactory servicing. The identical coverage can be had at a yearly cost of $2,047.92 against our present cost of $5,393.28 -- a saving of $3,345.36 for the year.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, the above recommendations were unanimously approved and adopted by the Committee.

In connection with staff benefits, Mr. John Wheeler raised the question of whether the time has not come when the Council should look at some design whereby staff persons might be covered by a transferable retirement plan.

With some discussion of this, the Committee instructed the staff to give further thought to the matter, and to submit what it thinks TO be a desirable plan to the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

THE GRANTS-IN-AID PROGRAM - Mr. Stanfield

Mr. Stanfield outlined briefly the conditions determining the grants-in-aid program under the new Ford Foundation grant making it clear that grants to state councils are being made on a one-year basis in an effort to encourage local growth and support.

Mr. Stanfield pointed out that grants will only be made to state councils which show a substantial increase in membership, in financial support, and initiate effective participatory program.

During a brief discussion it was revealed that several of the state councils had evidenced some hostility in regard to these criteria, pointing out that it is increasingly more difficult to raise money within the states. It is Mr. Stanfield's feeling, however, that a great deal more can be done on the local level.

In discussing the criteria for allocations to state councils under the Ford grant, Dr. Dent recalled that during the meeting of the Executive Committee at Williamsbhrg in 1956 policy was set for determining the relationship between SRC and the state groups after they became autonomous and how grants woul be made to them. He requested the staff to research this matter in the minutes of that meeting and so inform the ExecutiveCommittee.

With no further discussion of the Grants-in-Aid program, the Committee unanimously approved and adopted the Schedule of Grants-in-Aid to State Councils under the Ford Foundation grant (see attached).

Mr. Jordan presented a detailed account of how the Voter Education Project has been operating since its inception in early 1966. The committee accepted his report enthuiastically.

URBAN PLANNING PROJECT - Mr. Smith

Mr. Smith reported on his conference in Washington with Secretary Weaver and pointed up what this project hopes to accomplish.

With no other program matters to discuss, Dr. H. Franklin Williams, on behalf of the Committee, asked that the staff send a letter to Mrs. Tilly extending sorrow over her accident and congratulations on the work on which she and her ladies are embarking.

With no further business, the meeting adjourned.

EXPANDED GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAM FOR 1966

to

STATE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS*

STATE	ALLOCATION
Alabama	$ 9,000
Arkansas	8,000
Florida	7,000
Georgia	9,000
Louisiana	10,000
Mississippi	16,750
North Carolina	8,000
South Carolina	9,000
Tennessee	11,000
Virginia	8,250
Houston (Tex.)	4,000
Total:	$100,000

*Made possible by a three-year Ford Foundation grant. Grants to state councils will be revised for the second year, and again for the third, in the light of their progress toward attaining both substantially increased membership and financial support from the membership of the several state councils.

RESOLUTION ON SRC'S CHARTER AND TAX-EXEMPTION

WHEREAS, pursuant to advice dated January 29, 1960 from the Chief of the Exempt Organizations Branch of the Internal Revenue Service, this corporation was advised "You will be expected in the future to conform your operations strictly with the 'operational tests' set forth in the regulations;" and

WHEREAS, pursuant to said "operational tests" an organization is not regarded as exempt if it is an "action" organization, which means that a substantial part of its activities is attempting to influence legislation, by propaganda or otherwise, either by contacting or urging the public to contact members of a legislative body for the purpose of proposing, supporting or opposing legislation, or advocating the adoption or rejection of legislation.

NOW, THEREFORE, it is stated to be the policy of this body that no officer, agent or employee of Southern Regional Council shall, in the course of its operations, either contact or urge the public to contact members of any legislative body for the purpose of proposing, supporting or opposing legislation, nor shall any such member advocate the adoption or rejection of any legislation;

RESOLVED: That counsel for the Southern Regional Council be be directed, periodically, to scrutinize and evaluate the activities of members of the Staff so as to insure that such activities are consistent with the principles stated in this resolution and in the regulations defining the "operational tests" of the Internal Revenue Service;

RESOLVED FURTHER: That this resolution be read or referred to at every meeting of the Executive Committee, and shall be read at every Annual Meeting of Southern Regional Council.

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That no member of the staff or of the Southern Regional Council has the authority to speak for the Southern Regional Council in matters which are inhibited by the Internal Revenue Code.

February, 1961.

STAFF REPORTS

Field Activities (E. Stanfield, Director).--During this quarter the field director has attended at least one function of each of the ten state councils on human relations. This travel helped to acquaint him with the several organizations.

Inauguration of the expanded grant-in-aid program made possible by our $300,000 grant from the Ford Foundation was one of the significant tasks of the quarter. General conditions for the recipients, prepared by the field director, stress growth and self-sustenance by the state councils.

Another major concern of the field director has been to establish a staffed operation in Louisiana. To this end the New Orleans Community Relations Council has affiliated with the state council and a decision has been made to locate the LCHR office in Baton Rouge. A search for a director has started.

An "Experience Report" requested by the U. S. Conference of Mayors was assigned to the field director. It is a study of positive actions by municipal officials to improve human relations. The report is near completion.

The field department has cooperated with the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights and private agencies in planning ten statewide conferences on school desegregation. The first was held in Louisiana on March 26 with 750 participants. Others will be on successive Saturdays in April and May. S.R.C. secured a grant of $8,000 to obtain resource persons and provide travel expenses for participants in these conferences.

Other activities include the usual duties connected with SRC's functioning as the secretariat of the Southern Inter-agency Conference, attendance at a regional consultation of the National Social Welfare Assembly in New Orleans, speeches at two local councils, "trouble shooting" trips, and efforts to help the North Carolina and Alabama Councils find directors.

Woman's Work (Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Director). -- These ninety days have been busy days, teaching and speaking to local groups, attending the Governor's Legislative Forums on Tuesdays during the session of the Legislature, serving on the boards of United Church Women of Georgia, and the Bethlehem Community Center (a Negro institution in a poverty section of Atlanta.)

Prepared and directed our city's annual Brotherhood Day program held at the Catholic Cathedral of Christ the King. Early in January was called to Washington to meet with the National Woman's Committee which really developed into a four-way trip -- spent some time with the board meeting of Americans for Democratic Action, had a conference with the national leaders of the League of Women Voters and the Council of Catholic Women, and secured the promise that both would send someone to the conference on what was happening in Southern courts.

In February, attended the board meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union in New York, and while there contacted and secured support for the conference on Southern courts from the United Church Women of the National Council of Churches and the Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church.

At the last executive meeting, you gave sanction to a conference on the Southern Courts that would involve bringing together leaders of national women's organizations.

This came to be here in Atlanta on March 24 and 25 -- and the national leaders came, at their own expense. (See attached list.)

At the first session, facts were presented to them by four able lawyers: Mr. Charles Morgan of ACLU, Judge Dorothy Kenyon of New York -- who had been with Mr. Morgan in courts in Alabama -- Mr. Horace Ward, an attorney from Atlanta, and Judge Osgood Williams of Fulton County Superior Court.

After that the meeting was completely in the hands of our national women. Out of their concern they asked that state workshops be held in eleven Southern states.

Research and Information (Pat Watters, Director of Information and Sam Adams, Director of Research). --

(1) Voter Book - Most of Pat Watters' time has been spent in the major part of researching and the writing in collaboration with Reese Cleghorn of the Atlanta Journal of the book on current political effects and the long-range implications of the entrance of Negro voters in full into the South's democracy. This is the book with SRC contracted with Harcourt, Brace and World to produce. It had originally been scheduled for publication in October, 1966. A recent decision has been to postpone this until February or March, 1967, in order to include a final chapter on the outcome of the fall elections this year. While not a history of VEP as such, the book draws heavily on the first VEP research, as well as other research materials of SRC. (A table of contents is attached.)

(2) New South - The first issue of New South in its new quarterly format was issued, and the second is in the works. Its contents will include an extensive study of current Negro movement strategy, including political strategy, by August Meier; a study of Negro family structure in Birmingham by Dr. Beryle McCloskey of Miles College; an article on intermarriage by Charlayne Stovall; Attorney General Katzenbach's speech; a study of white volunteers in SCOPE last summer, and other material. Some 3,400 of the first issue were sent out as samples, and subsequently a larger mailing was made of an advertising brochure.

(3) Other publications have included a warning on the pitfalls of co-ops and credit unions by Al Ulmer, addressing himself to grass roots leaders looking for cure-alls; "Neighborhood Stabilizations: A Program," by Moreland Smith, setting out how community organization can save a neighborhood from block-busting and develop racial balance; another study by Mr. Ulmer, a pioneering how-to-approach on the all-important subject of community organization in southern Negro slums, based on his experience in Vine City. A press release was issued urging compliance with new school desegregation guidelines.

Bob Anderson processed the above reports editorially. He also contributed to the editing of the first new New South and development of the second, as did Margaret Long.

Margaret Long has written an article to appear in a spring issue of

Progressive. She has also spent considerable time with Josephine Rider, an author from San Francisco, who is under contract to do a book on Negro women. She is working with Ray G. Mack and other sociologists on an HEW-sponsored study of school desegregation and is doing a chapter of a book for that project on Atlanta school desegregation and its effect on education. She is working with Mrs. Adolphine Terry of Little Rock on a book length manuscript which Mrs. Terry hopes to have published.

We saw 29 visitors during the quarter, including 23 European teachers and three Ivory Coast leaders who were with us for four days.

Sam Adams has completed an extensive study of Atlanta housing for the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing. We may publish a portion of this study.

Considerable time has been spent on a study of recent intimidation and violence in the region. This information coupled with our expression of concern over the growing likelihood of explosions within urban slums and rural areas will be published in May in cooperation with the American Jewish Committee.

Urban Planning Project (Moreland Smith, Director). -- During the first quarter of 1966 Moreland G. Smith, was engaged in a number of consultative trips. He travelled to Washington, D. C., in February to talk with Secretary Weaver, scheduled for April. Two trips were made to Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, during this quarter, the first at the invitation of the Executive Director of the Urban Renewal Agency and the second at the request of Ft. Lauderdale NAACP officers. He was asked in both cases for his analysis of urban renewal plans presently under study for that city. The Urban Renewal Agency initiated these talks with the hope of using the Southern Regional Council as liaison between the city government and the local Negro community. Mr. Smith consulted with the Mayor and other city officials in Charlotte, North Carolina, about plans for the development of that city. While the response by the Mayor and City Manager was guarded, they seemed to see some benefit in an assessment of their plans by an impartial third party.

The Urban Planning Project has been involved with a pilot study for the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing. Mr.

Samuel Adams, Director of Research, compiled statistics and composed the report on availability of housing in Atlanta.

The first UPP "how-to-do-it" pamphlet on "neighborhoold stabilization" has been written and distributed. Supplies are already exhausted, and it is being revised according to criticism received and additional information. The Urban Planning Project has received a number of inquiries about specific problems relating to housing in the South.

A particularly exciting and unexpected aspect of the UPP has been the response of young planners and architects around the country. Mr. Smith is engaged in a continuing dialogue with a number of young men about the problems and basic philosophy in urban planning. Such interest could be the basis for a summer project utilizing these young men and their training either for survey and analysis of housing in particular cities or for creating bold and innovative schemes for establishing equal opportunity in housing in the South.

Voter Education Project (Vernon Jordan, Director). --

(1) Budget - VEP has to date $225,000 of its anticipated, needed $350,000 annual budget.

(2) Grants - Seventy-four proposals for grants have been received from 10 states and amount to $765,000 in funds requested. The project began funding programs March 2. There are presently 20 programs operative in 7 states, representing $26,400 in committed funds. Two are for voter education. The balance are for voter registration, on which emphasis will continue through the summer primaries.

(3) Program - A press release on February 18 made VEP official, and we received good press coverage. The VEP Advisory Committee had met in Atlanta December 30, 1965. A Committee suggestion -- that guidelines for developing VEP programs be circulated throughout the South -- was implemented in February with the distribution of 1,500 copies, along with a calendar of southern election dates. Preparation of statistical tables for the 11 states showing by county the Negro vote, 1962, 1964, and 1966, and the current white vote, is nearly completed. While the Katzenbach luncheon on February 28 was an SRC program item, the Council drew heavily on VEP associations and effort for persons who comprised the attendance of 275. Future

plans requiring immediate work call for a leadership training seminar for Mississippi grass-roots leaders, instruction in poll-watching procedure for persons in Alabama counties having critical elections May 3, cooperation with the Law Students Civil Rights Research Council summer internship program, and publication of a registration campaign handbook.

(4) Personnel - The Project Director has spoken at meetings in Mobile, Jacksonville, Little Rock, Jackson, Macon and Atlanta. As a member of the planning Council for the White Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights," he has been attending weekly sessions in Washington. On a recent trip to Mississippi he assisted leaders in six counties prepare voter programs. The Project Research Director has participated in conferences in North and South Carolina and the Administrative Assistant has reviewed a program in Augusta, Georgia. The Project is now staffed except for a field director.

Attached are a list of agencies for which grants have been approved and a financial accounting through March 31, 1966.

LABOR PROGRAM (Emory Via, Director). -- The Labor Program has shown steady growth during the first quarter. The efforts of the director have been split between program development and promotion, execution, and research.

As a part of program development, the director attended meetings of university and union labor educators in Detroit the last of March.

Two research related projects are underway. One is an attempt to develop a pamphlet on hidden unemployment and underemployment. Materials have been collected and negotiations started with a research writer. The labor program is also participating in a national study of apprenticeship programs as they related to minority groups. Our responsibility is limited to the Atlanta metropolitan area.

The program assisted in making arrangements for a conference and installation of the new EEOC regional director. An interesting attempt by the regional staff of the U. S. Labor Department to expand its effectiveness in reaching disadvantaged persons, led

to a cooperative effort with the Council and other agencies. We made a significant contribution to the planning, promotion and execution of the conference on March 23, with assistance from other members of the SRC staff.

The labor program has worked cooperatively with the Southern office of the AFL-CIO's Civil Rights Department. On several occasions we have successfully involved union leaders in programs sponsored by SRC and other agencies.

The director of the labor program has participated in a staff training program for the southeastern representatives of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in a regional meeting of the American Federation of Teachers, and in a month-long Southern Union Staff Training Institute.

The Southern Staff Institute was sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education in cooperation with the AFL-CIO Departments of Civil Rights and Education. Emory Via served as director of the Institute held from January 9 through February 4 at the University of Georgia. The Institute was attended by twenty-one, full-time union leaders from twelve states and fourteen international unions. It, of course, is rare to get working adults together for a full month of concentrated study. It seems to have been a most successful undertaking. One interesting by-product of the Institute was the bringing of Roy Wilkins to the campus to speak to an audience of students, faculty, and a few townspeople. It was the first time that a major, national civil rights personality had addressed a public meeting on the campus.

In recent weeks the labor program director has been serving on the Economic Security task force convened to assist in planning the White House Civil rights conference, "To Fulfill These Rights."

Community Organization Project (Al Ulmer, Director). -- During this three month period the original goal, that of surveying self-help and community organization efforts across the South, has been at least partially accomplished. I have visited groups concerned

with everything from cleaning up a block to marketing okra cooperatively, to operating a credit union, to self-help housing. From this survey and from prior experience with cooprative projects came the special report, "Cooperatives, Credit Unions and Poor People," published in March. Earlier, another special report, "A City Slum - Poor People and Problems," based on my experience of working in a slum community in Atlanta over the past year and a half was published.

I am continuing to work with groups in Atlanta interested in building community organizations centered around local self-interest problems such as inadequate housing, lack of recreational facilities, etc. At present, I amattempting to interest church groups and civic organizations in the possibility of their financing community people to do full-time organizational work in low-income communities. Also, I hope by being more aware of the problems of low-income people that these same organizations will eventually come to exert a different type of pressure on landlords and city officials to bring about a needed change.

I have worked with one group in Alabama in making application to OEO for a self-help housing grant and am presently working with Penn Community Center doing the preliminary work for a Title III-b (self-help housing - proposal which will involve approximately twenty families. The Project has provided a technical consultant to a group in Wilcox County, Alabama to work on a feasibility study for a proposed cooperative there. A second consultant, again in Alabama, has worked with three community groups interested in credit unions, explaining problems, procedures, and readying the groups for state credit union league charters.

Finding skilled consultants available to groups for the extended periods of time needed is a difficult task. Gradually, I am finding more qualified people to call upon, but I expect this aspect of the program to continue to present problems simply because the people having the skills required are usually not available.

Attachment 1 to PA Memo

National Women's Organizations represented
at the "Conference on Courts," March
24-25, 1966, Atlanta, Georgia

United Church Women of the National Council of Churches
Mrs. Stuart E. Sinclair, President
475 Riverside Drive
New Yor, N. Y.

National Council of Negro Women
Miss Dorothy Height, President
1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

National Council of Jewish Women
Mrs. Max Goldstein, Representative
One West 47th Street
New York, New York

National Council of Catholic Women
Mrs. George Gunning, Representative
1312 Massachusetts Avenue
Washington, D. C.

League of Women Voters of the U. S.
Mrs. William H. Wood, First Vice President
1200 Seventeenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

National Board of the Y.W.C.A.
Mrs. A. L. Cram, Jr., Vice President
600 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10022

B'nai B'rith Women
Mrs. Michael Shapiro, First Vice President
1640 Rhode Island Avenue
Washington, D. C. 10036

Unitarian Universalist Women's Federation
Mrs. George E. Kimball, Vice President
25 Beacon Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02108

Christian Methodist Episcopal Church
Woman's Missionary Council
Mrs. Benjamin Mays, Representative
1152 Landsdowne Boulevard
Youngstown, Ohio 44505

Disiples of Christ
International Christian Women's Fellowship
Mrs. O. Ivan Cole, President
222 S. Downey Avenue
Indianapolis, Indiana

African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church
Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society
Mrs. Rose Anna Nelson, First Vice President
3001 N. Cool Springs Street, Fayetteville, N. C.

Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
Board of Woman's Work
Miss Evelyn Green, Executive Secretary
2115 Monroe Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30306

The Methodist Church, Board of Missions
Woman's Society of Christian Service
Mrs. Niles C. Clark, Representative
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

United Church of Christ
Council of Lay Life and Work
Mrs. Edward M.Brown, Represenative
297 Park Avenue, South
New York, New York 10010

APPROVED PROJECTS

VEP 66-1	SOUTH CAROLINA VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
VEP 66-2	NAACP (Mr. W. C. Patton)
VEP 66-3	BIBB COUNTY (MACON, GEORGIA)
VEP 66-4	COAHOMA COUNTY (MISSISSIPPI
VEP 66-5	SHELBY COUNTY (MEMPHIS, TENN.)
VEP 66-6	RICHMOND COUNTY (AUGUSTA, GA.)
VEP 66-7	MR. & MRS. BUDDY TIEGER (POWERSVILLE, N.C.)
VEP 66-8	SNCC (ARKANSAS)
VEP 66-9	AUBURN LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
VEP 66-10	ALABAMA (HALE COUNTY)
VEP 66-11	OPALUCKA, FLORIDA
VEP 66-12	AIKEN COUNTY, S. C.
VEP 66-13	GRIFFIN NAACP (GEORGIA)
VEP 66-14	ALL CITIZENS, ATLANTA
VEP 66-15	TUSCALOOSA CITIZENS FOR ACTION COMMITTEE, (ALA.)
VEP 66-16	FORREST COUNTY NAACP
VEP 66-17	TUSKEGEE CIVIC ASSOC. (ALA.)
VEP 66-18	CONECUH COUNTY ASSOC. (EVERGREEN, ALA.)
VEP 66-19	LONGHILL LINDEN BRANCH NAACP
VEP 66-20	FLORENCE COUNTY
VEP 66-21	DURHAM COMMITTEE ON NEGRO AFFAIRS
VEP 66-22	RICHMOND BRANCH NAACP

REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE

On February 8 the Finance Committee met in the Council offices with the Director, the Secretary-Treasurer and the Executive Assistant. The Committee members present were Mr. L. D. Milton, Chairman, and Mr. Joseph Haas, Counsel. Dr. Stephen Wright was unable to attend.

Prior to the meeting the staff prepared a month by month estimate of total cash needs for the year and a comparable estimate on anticipated income. This provided the Committee with a guide of the maximum funds available for short term investments. In addition, to considering these investments, the Committee was asked to determine the best possible use of the funds on hand from the Ford Foundation for use with the State Councils on Human Relations during 1967 and 1968. These funds provide the Council with the opportunity for an investment of $100,000 for one year and an additional $100,000 for two years.

After review of this and other information, the Committee recommended that all funds be invested in the best government securities available according to the time schedule presented. It was further recommended that Mr. Milton proceed immediately to secure short term and long term government securities for this purpose. These recommendations have been implemented and the Council now has an investment schedule as indicated on the attached.

Respectively submitted,

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer
(Secretary to the Finance Committee)

RHA/km

M I N U T E S

Executive Committee Meeting
Southern Regional Council
September 12, 1966

The meeting of the Executive Committee convened in the SRC Conference Room on September 12, 1966 at 10:00 A.M.

Those present: Mr. Christopher, Dr. Clement, Mr. Dabbs, Dr. Gomillion, Mrs. Harve, Dr. Raymond Wheeler, presiding, and Miss Wilkins. All members of the professional staff were present with Mrs. Mildred M. Johnson serving as recording secretary.

The minutes of the last meeting were adopted and the resolution on Tax Exemption referred to and signed by all Members present.

REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE

Mrs. Alexander presented a Schedule of Investments for 1966 to date which was approved and adopted.

INVITATION TO MEMBERSHIP BY THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING

Mr. Anthony reported that the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing has extended the Council an invitation to membership. In the absence of Mr. Moreland Smith, the Committee agreed that the matter should be tabled and the following motion was unanimously approved and adopted: That the matter be tabled until the next meeting of the Committee in November so that Mr. Smith, Director of the Urban Planning Project, may have an opportunity to make a recommendation to the Committee.

REPORT OF THE DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE

Miss Wilkins reviewed the history of the Development Committee and presented two recommendations from that Committee to the Executive Committee:

(1) "That solicitation of bequests be one of the important elements in SRC's long-term financial program; and that a specific program to implement this policy be undertaken as soon as possible.

(2) "That in long-range planning the general policy be established (a) that individual contributors be left to state Councils, with assistance from SRC staff where and when needed; and, (b) that the national foundations as sources of support remain the responsibility of SRC, with state Councils having approach to foundations in their states."

In regard to these recommendations Miss Wilkins moved that recommendation #1 be received and adopted and that Recommendation #2

be received only as a matter of record and information. The motion was seconded by Dr. Gomillion and unanimously approved by the Committee.

The question of fund-raising efforts with national business firms was raised. A lengthy discussion ensued.

Mr. Anthony pointed out that the staff does have several long-range plans for programs which would, he hoped, establish rapport with regional and national business leaders. Miss Wilkins reported on her continued hope for a brief hard-hitting publication which would describe to business leadership the Council and the rationale for business support to the organization.

Miss Wilkins requested the reaction of the Committee on solicitation of Council Members for SRC support again this year. In response the Committee unanimously approved and adopted the following motion: that letters of reminder should be sent to Members of the Council from the Development Committee members in their states.

RESOLUTION OF STATE COUNCIL PRESIDENTS

Mr. Stanfield reported to the Committee some of the considerations expressed by the state Council Presidents in their meeting of June 17-18, and presented the five recommendations to SRC adopted by that group:

(1) "That large business firms operating in several southern states be considered a potential source of long-term financial support for both the SRC and the state Councils, and that an appropriate time we consult as to an equitable basis for sharing such funds as might be raised together with the costs of raising them.

(2) "That SRC move to implement its proposed program with a speed and priority matching the urgency with which it is asking the state Councils to build our own financial independence, making this a joint SRC-CHR activity in which we recognize the need for professional fund-raising direction of the highest calibre, working with a committee representing both SRC and the state Councils.

(3) "That SRC not expect one individual to give the Executive Director the general administrative assistance he needs, and at the same time be able to give to the above program the time, energy, imagination and concentrated effort it requires.

(4) "That SRC find a way to employ full-time, and to compensate suitably, a man for this work whose contacts, experience, and stature will enable him to meet

effectively with top officials of business and government, if necessary seeking special project funds for the purpose.

(5) "That he also be available to advise and assist the state Councils on their own financial development programs.

The recommendations were thoroughly discussed with an expression of appreciation to the State Council Presidents for them. No formal action was taken on the recommendations.

ELECTION OF LIFE FELLOWS

There were no recommendations for life fellowships.

NEW SOUTH PROMOTIONAL EFFORTS

Mr. Anderson reported approximately 1,300 new subscribers for the magazine and expressed the hope that more promotional effort could be made before the end of the year. He reported the staff goal of achieving a minimum of 6,000 subscribers within the next two years.

Thereafter, the Committee discussed further uses of the magazine and places to which it should be circulated.

REPORT ON PROGRAM

Mrs. Tilly reported on her work with women and the plan to have meetings in each of the southern states concerned with court procedures and reform. It was reported these programs and meetings will be developed in cooperation with the Council's project on Crime and Penal Rehabilitation, directed by Mr. John O. Boone.

Mr. Boone reported to the Committee on the research and program plans for his project.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Mr. Anthony reported on the continued illness of Mr. John Wheeler. The Committee requested that an expression of good wishes be sent Mr. Wheeler and Dr. Raymond Wheeler accepted the responsibility for seeing that this was done.

Mr. Anthony reported the resignation of Mr. Edwyn Lewis, Executive Assistant, who resigned to return to Miami to accept a position with the Office of Economic Opportunity there.

He reported on unsuccessful efforts to obtain support from the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation, but expressed the hope of continuing discussion with that foundation at a later date.

Plans for the Annual Meeting were briefly outlined, particularly

the plans for a somewhat longer meeting than in past years and for a structure which would attempt to allow more involvement on program planning on the part of the Members. It was finally reported that an outside speaker would not be invited, but that the President, Mr. John Wheeler, would be asked to address the Members and the guests of the Council at the Annual Dinner, November 17th. Members of the Committee expressed approval of the arrangements.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 3:30 p.m.

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M I N U T E S

Executive Committee Meeting
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
November 16, 1966

The meeting of the Executive Committee convened at the Atlanta Biltmore Hotel at 10:00 a.m. on November 16, 1966.

Those present: Mr. Christopher, Mr. Dabbs, Dr. Dent, Dr. Gomillion, Mrs. Harvey, Dr. Raymond Wheeler, presiding, Miss Wilkins, Dr. H. Franklin Williams, and Mr. Marion A. Wright. Members of the staff present were: Mrs. Alexander, Mr. Anthony, Mrs. Johnson, serving as recording secretary, Mr. Moreland Smith, and Mr. Edwin Stanfield.

The Proposed Agenda and the Minutes of the last meeting were adopted and approved. The Resolution on SRC's Tax Exemption was referred to and signed by all members present.

A report was made to the Committee that Mr. Thomas Young had sent regrets that he could not be present for this meeting due to unavoidable problems at his newspaper.

Mr. Anthony reported on the status of Mr. John W heeler's health and indicated that Mr. Wheeler hoped to be present and to deliver his Presidential address.

Mr. Anthony reported on SRC's law suit with the State of Georgia indicating that the state had appealed the case on the basis that it continues to feel SRC to be non-tax exempt.

The Committee entertained some discussion regarding New South. Several questions were raised as to its present distribution. In this regard, Dr. Gomillion suggested that the staff, during the 1967 Annual Meeting, provide the members with an analysis of the distribution of New South.

PROPOSED BUDGETS

Mr. Anthony presented the Proposed Budgets for 1967. He pointed out that $1,047,365 had been budgeted for the year, with an expectable income forecast of $712,265 being in sight. There remains, therefore, a balance to be raised of $333,100. After careful examination by the Committee of the budgets presented, Dr. Dent made the following qualifying motion: "That the Committee approves the 1967 budget as submitted with the funds to be raised of $333,100 subject to periodic review and necessary adjustments by the Executive Committee."

In discussing the budgets Miss Wilkins pointed out that there is a possibility of securing the services of Harold Fleming, Philip Hammer and Calvin Kytle to work up a paper of some type geared to

the business community. The purpose of such a document would be to solicit, at a feasible time, financial support from southern business. This effort would be spearheaded by SRC's Development Committee.

GRANTS-IN-AID SCHEDULE

Mr. Stanfield presented the Proposed Grants-in-Aid Schedule. The Committee, in duscussing the relationship of local Councils with state bodies, suggested that the time has come for the staff to give serious consideration to the emerging metropolitan problems which are specifically different from problems existing in the southern states as a whole. In this connection, Dr. Dent pointed out that it is unrealistic to think in terms of a total statewide operation with one small grant to a state Council. He suggested that we need to find some additional funds to be used in coping with major metropolitan areas in the states, and made the following motion: "That the staff give this matter careful consideration and study and come up with some kind of resolution as to what should and can be undertaken in the matter of metropolitan problems and bring before the Executive Committee, as soon as is feasible, a detailed report regarding the matter."

The motion was unanimously approved and adopted.

With no further discussion of the Proposed Grants-in-Aid Schedule, the Committee unanimously approved and adopted it as presented.

INVITATION FROM NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING.

This matter had been postponed during the September 12 meeting pending a recommendation from Mr. Smith as to the advantageousness to the Urban Planning Project in SRC's accepting the invitation from NCDH. Mr. Smith recommended SRC participation in the agency on the basis that his project is structured so as to operate on a national as well as a local level.

There was lengthy discussion of this matter, with some members of the Committee feeling that SRC should not become a participating member of a national organization. However, Dr. Dent pointed out that eventually a national policy on discrimination in housing will come, and SRC should be instrumental in any way it can to help to shape such a policy. He pointed out that SRC's participation in NCDH would be one such way of doing that. Dr. Dent, therefore, made the following motion: "That SRC become a member of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing." The motion was approved and adopted, with Miss Josephine Wilkins abstaining.

OTHER BUSINESS

Mr. Anthony pointed out that, according to the By-Laws, several members of the Council were dropped from membership this year. He asked the approval of the Executive Committee in naming the following three persons as Life Fellows:

Father Theodore Gibson
Miami, Florida

Colonel Francis Pickens Miller
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dr. Riley B. Montgomery
Lexington, Kentucky

It was so moved and unanimously approved that these persons be named Life Fellows of the Council.

Dr. Gomillion requested that written biographies be made available, in keeping with the established policy of submitting biographical data to the Executive Committee, on proposed Life Fellows.

LILLIAN SMITH STATEMENT

A statement in honor of Miss Lillian Smith, noted author and moving spiritual force for equal rights for all persons, was presented to the Executive Committee for its approval to be presented to the full body. The statement was approved by the Committee, with instructions to the staff that the section dealing with the establishment of an award be stricken before going to the full Council.

With no other business, the meeting adjourned.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Southern Regional Council
November 16-18, 1966

The 1966 Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council was held at the Atlanta Biltmore Hotel November 16-18 with the formal meeting beginning with lunch on the 16th. Miss Josephine Wilkins presided, welcomed the Members, and introduced Officers and new Members elected in 1965.

FIRST BUSINESS SESSION

The First Business Session convened at 2:00 p.m., with Dr. Albert W. Dent presiding. Invocation was given by Dr. Lucius Pitts.

Announcements and introduction of staff were made by Mr. Anthony.

Dr. Raymond Wheeler, chairman of the Executive Committee, presented the report of the Committee to the full Council (see Attachment 1).

Miss Wilkins, Chairman of the Development Committee, presented the report of that Committee (see Attachment 2). Dr. Wheeler paid recognition to the Council Members who had, during the year, served on special committees of the Council.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

The Council confirmed the Executive Director, the Secretary-Treasurer, and the Legal Counsel for the forthcoming year. Thereafter Mr. James Youngdahl, chairman of the Nominating Committee for 1966, read the report of that Committee.

FIRST PROGRAM SESSION

Mr. Anthony presented the report of the Executive Director (see Attachment 3).

Thereafter Members were invited to comment on and discuss the reports of Dr. Wheeler and Mr. Anthony. From a lengthy discussion, the following motion was made, seconded and unanimously approved:

> "That the Executive Committee and/or the SRC staff draw up a statement reaffirming our basic belief and advocacy of freedom, equality, and dignity for all peoples."

A second motion was made and adopted as follows:

> "That a committee be appointed to prepare such a document which could be brought before the full body for consideration."

Dr. Wheeler appointed the following persons to serve on the committee: Dr. Frank Graham, Chairman; Mr. Donald Hollowell, Mr. James Stewart, Mr. David Scull, and Mr. Marion A. Wright. Staff members appointed were: Pat Watters, Marvin Wall, and Margaret Long.

There followed a lengthy discussion about Mr. Anthony's comments on the relationship between the Southern Regional Council and the state Councils on Human Relations. It was the general feeling of the body that this relationship should have continuing consideration by the special committee appointed for that purpose, by all of the Members of the Council and by the staffs of the several agencies.

Thereafter discussion was centered on the need for SRC to give more attention to the collection and dissemination of economic data, to make greater use of the services of economists, and to continue seeking a qualified person as staff economist.

The First Program Session adjourned at 5:00 p.m.

State Council Dinner

The State Council Dinner was held at 7:00 p.m., with Mr. Stanfield presiding and delivering the report of the Director of Field Activities (see Attachment 4). The Presidents and Directors of the state Councils were present and seated at the head table. TheGeorge S. Mitchell Award of $1,000 was presented to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

SECOND PROGRAM SESSION

The Second Program Session was held at 9:00 a.m., Thursday, November 17, with Mr. Paul R. Christopher presiding.

The following staff members reported to the Council on their work:

Dr. Emory F. Via, the Labor Education Project

Mr. Al Ulmer, the Community Organization Project

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Women's Work and the Fellowship of the Concerned

Mr. Moreland G. Smith, the Urban Planning Project

Mr. John O. Boone, the Project on Crime and Corrections

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., the Voter Education Project

Mr. Pat Watters, the programs of Information and Research

Miss Glenda Bartley, mechanics of the Research Department

Mr. Robert Anderson, New South and other publications

Following these reports there was an opportunity for the Members to question the staff in some detail about the work being done and to give suggestions on continuing programs.

SECOND BUSINESS SESSION

The Second Business Session convened at 2:00 p.m., with Mr. Marion A. Wright presiding. The staff was on call during Executive Session at which time the full Council elected Officers and Members for the coming year. Those elected were:

For President

Mr. John H. Wheeler
Durham, North Carolina

For Vice-Presidents

Miss Josephine Wilkins, Athens, Georgia; Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta, Georgia; Paul R. Christopher, Knoxville, Tennessee; and Thomas W. Young, Norfolk, Virginia.

For the Executive Committee

James McBride Dabbs, Mayesville, South Carolina; Albert W. Dent, New Orleans, Louisiana; C. G. Gomillion, Tuskegee, Alabama; Mrs. Martin Harvey, Jackson, Mississippi; McNeill Smith, Greensboro, North Carolina; Raymond M. Wheeler, Chairman, Charlotte, North Carolina; H. Franklin Williams, Coral Gables, Florida; Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, North Carolina; and, Lucius Pitts, Birmingham, Alabama.

For the 1967 Nominating Committee

James Youngdahl, Little Rock, Arkansas; Jack Young, Jackson, Mississippi; and, Powers McLeod, Montgomery, Alabama.

FOR THE CLASS OF 1967

Mr. George Owens
Tougaloo, Mississippi

FOR THE CLASS OF 1968

Mr. Brooks Hays
Little Rock, Arkansas

FOR THE CLASS OF 1970

The following members of the Class of 1966 were re-nominated:

Edward E. Haddock
Richmond, Virginia

Robert J. Harris
Charlottesville, Va.

Mrs. Martin L. Harvey
Jackson, Mississippi

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
Atlanta, Georgia

L. D. Milton
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Samuel N. Nabrit
Houston, Texas

J. Rupert Picott
Richmond, Virginia

Mrs. J. N. Rayzor
Houston, Texas

Harry V. Richardson
Atlanta, Georgia

Rabbi Jacob Rothschild
Atlanta, Georgia

Miss Dorcas Ruthenburg
Louisville, Kentucky

The Rt. Rev. Msgr.
Alexander O. Sigur
Lafayette, Louisiana

Walter Sharp
Brentwood, Tennessee

William H. Townsend
Little Rock, Arkansas

Nat Welch
Atlanta, Georgia

T. Franklin Williams
Nashville, Tennessee

The following new persons were nominated to the Class of 1970:

Mr. Bradford D. Ansley
Sarasota, Florida

Mr. Edward Elson
Chamblee, Georgia

Dr. Jerome H. Holland
Hampton, Virginia

Dr. Vivian Henderson
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Glen E. Laskey
Ruston, Louisiana

Mr. J. Alan Parker
Tuskegee, Alabama

Mr. Vascoe Smith
Memphis, Tennessee

Mr. J. LeVonne Chambers
Charlotte, North Carolina

In General Session, the proposed budgets for 1967 were presented by Mrs. Ruth House Alexander, Secretary-Treasurer (see Attachment 5). Following questions and discussion, the following motion was made and unanimously adopted:

"That the Budgets as presented be approved subject to review and revision as necessary by the Executive Committee."

Because of the sudden illness of Mr. Stanfield, Mr. Anthony presented the proposed Grants-in-Aid Schedule for state Councils for 1967 (see Attachment 6). Following discussion the proposed schedule was unanimously approved and adopted.

In further regard to the relationship between SRC and the state Councils, Dr. Dreger introduced the following resolution:

"Whereas, the Southern Regional Council has wisely established state Councils on Human Relations to effectuate the purposes of the Southern Regional Council;

"And whereas, the Southern Regional Council has continued to affirm its strong support of the state Councils by continuing grants-in-aid, by maintaining a Department of Field Activities, and by repeated statements of confidence and support;

"And whereas, it is necessary in most states, both for the continued existence of the state Councils and especially now for the continued existence of the Southern Regional Council as a popular-support organization, to establish and maintain local Councils affiliated formally and functionally with state Councils;

"And whereas, it has been the case in several instances that Southern Regional Council projects have been carried out in the several southern states without the cooperation of and in some instances without even the knowledge of the state or local Councils;

"And whereas, the present methods of materials distribution by-pass the state Councils in many instances, making the state Councils appear useless as materials resource centers to local Councils and other groups who feel no need for affiliated with the state Council as long as they can be served directly by Southern Regional Council;

"Be it therefore resolved: that, insofar as profesionally practicable, all projects carried out within the Southern states be done in cooperation with the state Councils as represented by their Executive Directors;

"And that, again insofar as professionally practicable, materials distributed from the Southern Regional Council within the several southern states be channeled through the state Council offices, with the exception of the NEW SOUTH, materials going directly to members of

the Southern Regional Council, news releases of a general regional nature, and such other materials as the Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council deems inappropriate for the state Council distribution;

"And further, that the sense of this resolution carries with it the implication that at the very least the Executive Director of a state Council be informed that a program is now being undertaken in his state, and that in the future he will be informed that a program is to be undertaken, unless the project director, with the advice and consent of the Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, makes a specific decision that the information and/or further cooperation would be detrimental to the program or other interests of the Southern Regional Council."

Colonel Miller opened a lengthy discussion centering around the proposed resoltuion pointing out that the Council is a policy-making body and should, in his opinion, avoid issuing administrative instructions to the staff. Thereafter, the following substitute motion was made by Mr. Youngdahl:

"That the Southern Regional Council give all reasonable consideration to the healthy operations and status of state and local Councils when SRC operations take place within the geographical jurisdiction so involved."

It was then pointed out to the Members that SRC has a continuing committee which is considering the relationship between the state Councils and SRC and suggested that both resolutions, without further action by the Council, be referred to that committee for consideration. Dr. Dreger and Mr. Youngdahl both accepted this suggestion and withdrew their resolutions with the understanding they would be submitted to the special committee.

At 3:00 p.m. special program and committee meetings were held during which time the Members met with staff to discuss in detail program activities.

At 7:30 p.m. the Annual Dinner meeting of the Southern Regional Council was held. Some three hundred and fifty persons, including a large number of guests from the community and region were present. Mr. Dabbs introduced Mr. John Wheeler who was to deliver the presidential address. Following the introduction Mr. Wheeler was given a standing ovation. The address was warmly and enthusiastically heard by the audience. (The full text of the speech is reprinted in the Winter 1967 issue of NEW SOUTH.)

THIRD PROGRAM SESSION

The Third Program Session was convened at 9:30 a.m., Friday, November 18, with Mr. James M. Dabbs presiding.

Further discussion of program was entertained.

In regard to the public statement prepared by Dr. Frank Graham and the special Committee, Mr. Marion A. Wright expressed for Dr. Graham his regrets at having to leave the meeting to return to New York. Mr. Wright commended the committee for its work. He pointed out, however, that on hearing the presidential address by Mr. Wheeler, the Committee felt the address spelled out in detail the ideas which the Committee had tried to embody in their statement. Mr. Wright, therefore, offered the following motion which was unanimsouly adopted:

> "That the Council adopt the presidential address as expressive of the philosophy and commitment of SRC and instructs the staff to prepare a condensed version to be distributed."

It was further agreed that the Committee's statement, signed by Dr. Graham, should be published in New South.

A discussion was held of the invaluable services to SRC of Mr. Leonard Haas. Thereafter the following motion was made and unanimously adopted:

> "That the staff prepare a resolution expressing the Council's deep appreciation for Mr. Haas's long and able service to the Southern Regional Council."

Dr. Gordon Hancock, an SRC founder, made an eloquent statement, portions of which follow:

> "This meeting has been a very great inspiration to me and encouraging in the way the members of the Durham Conference had envisioned this Council. I have seen the Council come a long way. This Council has been fortunate to come up with great men to lead us; great presidents, great directors. I have seen the small things of this Council and now we are seeing better times.
>
> "I hope the time will come when we will come to a more direct confrontation with this matter of race prejudice, because race prejudice is the root of the whole thing. One of the things that gives me great hope is that we are doing the necessary work, but we have got to attack prejudice. Prejudice cannot be reached by reason -- it cannot be reached by reason. It is more fundamental than that. We have got to go after it directly. I am hoping the time will come that we will continue doing the things we are now doing, but we must continue to hope that race prejudice will be destroyed.
>
> "I have chosen for my epitaph: 'Race Prejudice Must Be Destroyed.'
>
> "I do not see how we can fail to win our fight. I see what Paul Anthony is doing,

what Mr. Dunbar did, and what Mr. Wheeler said last evening -- we are trying to help our great nation to survive -- because we are trying to suppress race prejudice in our nation; it cannot and must not survive. I am seeing a greater day. I thank the Lord that I have lived to see a brighter day. I speak as an old timer -- one of the original ones that went to Durham. I said there that we did not want the northern Negroes to speak for us but rather the southern Negroes to speak for us. And because we went that way we had great opposition, but we have broken the lion's jaws -- and now we see this great organization as a result of it.

"I give you my blessings this morning, Mr. Chairman."

There followed further discussions about SRC-State Council relations; programs to reach business leadership; and, research in depth of the lack of quality education for most of the region's Negro children.

Dr. H. Franklin Williams called attention of the Members to the draft statement which had been prepared by the staff in tribute to Miss Lillian Smith and made the following motion which was unanimously approved and adopted:

"That this tribute be read into the Minutes of this meeting and duly recorded there."
(See Attachment 7.)

Miss Wilkins commended the staff for arranging an excellent meeting and made the following motion which was unanimously adopted:

"That a vote of thanks be given to the staff and the Atlanta Biltmore Hotel for both having contributed and made this a successful meeting."

Mr. Anthony thanked the Members fortheir participation in and contributions to the meeting.

With no further business the 1966 Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council adjourned at 12:30 p.m., November 18th.

MINUTES

of the
Executive Committee Meeting
Southern Regional Council

February 13, 1967

The meeting of the Executive Committee convened at 10:00 a.m., February 13, 1967 in the Southern Regional Council Conference Room.

Those present: Mr. Dabbs, Dr. Clement, Dr. Dent, Dr. Gomillion, Mrs. Harvey, Dr. Pitts, Mr. Smith, Mr. John Wheeler, Dr. Raymond Wheeler, Miss Wilkins, Dr. H. Franklin Williams, Mr. Wright, and Mr. Young.

All members of the senior professional staff were present with Mrs. Mildred M. Johnson serving as recording secretary.

After invocation by Mr. Dabbs, and the adoption of the agenda, Mr. John Wheeler was asked to assume the chair until such time as a new chairman of the Executive Committee for the coming year had been elected. By motion of Dr. Dent, which was unanimously approved and adopted, Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler was re-elected after which the minutes of the last meeting were approved and adopted and Dr. Lucius Pitts was welcomed as a new member on the Executive Committee.

The Resolution on Tax Exemption was circulated and signed by each member present.

New Staff

James N. Wood who joined the staff in January as Executive Assistant was introduced by the Executive Director

Election of Two Members to Nominating Committee

Mr. Frank Smith of Knoxville and Dr. Vivian Henderson of Atlanta were elected to serve on the 1967 Nominating Committee.

To replace Dr. Stephen Wright on the Personnel Committee the Chairman appointed Dr. Lucius Pitts.

Consideration of Annual Meeting

The Committee considered plans for the 1967 Annual Meeting and unanimously agreed to the following:

Dates: November 8, 9, and 10

Place: Atlanta

Format: Similar to the 1966 meeting

In regard to the Annual Dinner, the Committee authorized the President of the Council, the Chairman of the Executive Committee, and the Executive Director to act as a committee to secure a speaker for the occasion.

The matter of how best to handle resolutions as they were presented during the Annual Meeting was discussed, and the Executive Committee instructed the staff to place on the agenda a request that any resolutions to be brought before the body be submitted in writing prior to their introduction on the floor.

Resolution Re: The Stephen R. Curriers

Dr. Raymond Wheeler made note of the untimely deaths of Mr. and Mrs. Stephen Currier. In appreciation for their interest in the Council and in the area of work which both the Council and the Curriers shared mutual concerns, the staff was instructed by the Executive Committee to prepare an appropriate resolution in memory of them to be transmitted to the proper persons.

Life Fellows

As requested by Dr. Gomillion during the November meeting of the Executive Committee, biographical data for The Rev. Theodore R. Gibson, Dr. Riley B. Montgomery,

and Colonel Francis Pickens Miller were mimeographed and placed before the Executive Committee.

SRC Financial Situation

The Director reported on the financial situation of the Council as follows: $298,000 was budgeted last year; toward meeting this figure we raised $273,000 creating a deficit of approximately $25,000. He reported that only $240,000 was spent during the year which ended the year with a balance of $33,000.

He further reported that $25,000 of the year-end balance has been held in reserve as a contingency amount in connection with the pending law suit with the Georgia Department of Labor in which the Council is involved. In this connection, Mr. Anthony reported that the suit had been, since the last meeting of the Committee, heard before the Georgia Supreme Court, but at this reporting no decision had been handed down. He pointed out, however, that with the continuing compounding of state taxes for which the Council is allegedly liable, legal counsel has informed us that by the time the suit is brought to conclusion and if the court's decision is unfavorable, the Council will probably be liable for at least $35,000. However, should an unfavorable decision be rendered, every effort will be made to have the suit heard by the U. S. Supreme Court.

The Director reported that prospects of future financial support from the Taconic Foundation, in light of the deaths of the Stephen Curriers were uncertain. He stated that in past years Taconic has supported the general operations of the Council in the amount of $25,000 per year, and we have been assured that every effort would be made by the Foundation to continue support at this level. He pointed out, however, that if this does not prove to be the case, the Council will face serious financial difficulties.

Of a much more serious nature, the Curriers supported the Voter Education Project at the level of $150,000 last year. However, we have been told by Taconic that

it is most unlikely that SRC can expect support for the VEP this year. In light of this situation, some ground work is being done to seek additional funds for the Voter Project from other sources.

Mr. Anthony reported that the Council expects five additional years of support under a six-year diminishing grant from the Rockefeller Foundation of $50,000 a year each in 1967 and 1968, and $40,000, $35,000 and $25,000 for the years 1969, 1970, and 1971, respectively.

The Rockefeller Brothers Fund grant, he reported, ends this year with a final instalment of $25,000 under a three-year grant which began in 1965.

Reporting on the status of the Stern Family Fund's matching grant of $10,000 in 1965, Mr. Anthony pointed out that the Council has been able up to this point to raise a total of approximately $8,500 toward the matching requirements.

Development Ideas

For the benefit of Dr. Pitts, a recent new member elected to the Executive Committee, Miss Wilkins reviewed the background of the Development Committee. She then reported to the Committee recent developments as a result of conversations both in Washington and Atlanta with Mr. David Apter and Mr. Calvin Kytle of David Apter and Associates. As a result of these conversations Apter and Associates submitted a proposal to the Council in which a survey would be conducted exploring the possibilities of developing programs with business and also exploring the possibility of long-range financial support from this source.

The full proposal was read to the Executive Committee by Mr. Anthony, after which lengthy discussion followed.

During the discussion the Committee generally agreed that the Council should pursue this consideration of

whether or not SRC could reach and develop informational and educational programs for this important segment of society, and whether or not the major national corporations represented a potential new source of financial support. Caution was raised, however, that the proposed consultants not at this time go beyond the information-gathering function. Actual decisions on program planning and fund-raising were seen at this time as policy decisions which should continue to be the sole responsibility of the Executive Committee.

Thereafter, it was agreed that a sub-committee should oversee the initial development of this proposal with a report of progress and further considerations being brought to the Executive Committee at its next meeting in May. The final action taken by the Committee was put into the following motion by Mr. Marion A. Wright which was unanimously approved and adopted:

> "Resolved, that a committee composed of the President, the Chairman of the Executive Committee, the Executive Director, and Miss Josephine Wilkins, be empowered to negotiate and conclude an agreement with David Apter and Associates concerning the services mentioned in their letter of February 9, 1967 or other services. The Committee should take into consideration and give effect to views of members of the Executive Committee as expressed in today's meeting."

Mr. John Wheeler pointed out that there is such a nebulous character to what is possible in tapping southern business, and pointed out that if SRC felt so inclined that a special project -- not demanding an additional staff person -- might possibly be worked up whereby data-gathering on the economic growth in the Federal Reserve Districts in the South might prove beneficial and productive.

Dr. Clement pointed out that Atlanta University has some funds for an economic development program, and indicated that the University hires skilled

personnel not on its staff to conduct this program. He pointed out that Atlanta University would possibly be in a position to assist SRC in an effort as outlined by Mr. Wheeler. This venture, however, would have to be taken under advisement by Mr. Hodding Young of the AU faculty and meet with his approval before it was initiated. The Executive Director of the Council expressed appreciation to Dr. Clement for this suggestion and offer, and expressed a hope that some arrangement could be worked out between AU and SRC.

At this point in the meeting Dr. Raymond Wheeler read a letter addressed to Mr. Anthony from Dr. Lucius Pitts of Miles College. The letter revealed that Miles College will bestow upon Mr. Anthony an honorary Doctorate Degree in March. The Executive Committee received this news warmly.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

During lunch the Personnel Committee met with the Executive Director to consider staff salaries. Following lunch the full Committee, in executive session, considered and approved the report of the Personnel Committee which was subsequently transmitted to the Secretary-Treasurer by Dr. Wheeler.

GENERAL SESSION

Other Business

Office of Education, HEW

Mr. Anthony reported to the Committee that several administrative officials in Washington have approached the Council requesting that a delegation of SRC members talk with key congressmen about the current situation and mood in the South. Upon learning that SRC's legal counsel had not been consulted about this request, the

following motion was made and unanimously approved: "That the Executive Committee approves the idea, subject to approval by SRC's legal counsel." (Note: Mr. Haas subsequently gave the opinion that unless SRC responds to an invitation from proper persons the visit might be misunderstood as lobbying. Therefore, unless a proper invitation is forthcoming this idea will be dropped.)

Recent Attacks on SRC

Mr. Anthony reported that the Council has been attacked by one southern newspaper and several hate sheets. He referred specifically to an attack which appeared in the Knoxville Journal of January 28, 1967 and brought to the attention of the staff by Board Member Frank Smith of Knoxville. The attack was made against the Greater Knoxville Council on Human Relations and SRC, indirectly, and branded both groups as being Communist. Information was supplied Mr. Smith, who in turn secured a full retraction which was printed on February 1, 1967 in the Journal. Copies of these two articles were reproduced and included in the packets of materials distributed to the Executive Committee members.

Mr. Anthony reported two other recent attacks, one appearing in the Birmingham Independent of February 1-8, 1967, and another in a monthly sheet entitled "Insight Broward" of February 1967, and published in Broward County (Ft. Lauderdale), Florida. The two accounts attacked the Alabama and Florida Councils on Human Relations respectively as being Communist organizations. It was pointed out that a Florida Council board member, named in the Broward attack, is considering filing a libel suit.

The Executive Director pointed out that these attacks are beginning to appear again in sufficient numbers to have them called to the attention of the

Executive Committee and to have SRC's policy in regard to such matters again reviewed.

The Committee pursued discussion of these attacks, and Mr. Marion Wright called to mind earlier incidents. He pointed out that at one time when libel suits by SRC members had been considered, Mr. Paul Williams conferred with an attorney who advised against litigation except in the most extreme circumstances.

The Executive Director raised the question of whether SRC could commit itself to assisting with legal costs where individuals' reputations are being damaged by such activity. It was the consensus of the Executive Committee that SRC provide adequate refutation, but not commit itself to furnishing funds for legal action. Should retractions be made, it was the feeling of the Committee that the staff give wide circulation to them.

Mr. Wright suggested that earlier minutes dealing with cases of this nature be reviewed and the results shared with interested parties.

Mr. Anthony expressed appreciation for the excellent attendance of this meeting.

A brief report was made on the recently held seminar for southern, Negro legislators sponsored by SRC's Voter Education Project. It was pointed out that this was an historic occasion, and that those in attendance had requested this to be an annual event.

Miss Wilkins expressed appreciation to the Committee for the way the David Apter proposal had been handled. Dr. Gomillion requested that copies of the proposal be mailed to members of the Committee for further study.

With no further business, the meeting adjourned.

M I N U T E S

of the
Executive Committee Meeting
Southern Regional Council

May 8, 1967

The meeting of the Executive Committee convened in the Southern Regional Council Conference Room at 10:00 a.m., on May 8, 1967.

Those present: Dr. Clement, Mr. Dabbs, Dr. Gomillion, Mrs. Harvey, Miss Wilkins, Dr. Williams, Mr. John Wheeler, Mr. Young, and Dr. Raymond Wheeler, presiding. Visiting the meeting were Mr. David Apter and Mr. Calvin Kytle of David Apter and Associates of Washington, D. C.

All members of the professional staff were present except Mrs. Tilly. Mrs. Mildred Johnson served as recording secretary

The minutes of the last meeting were unanimously approved and adopted, after which the Resolution on Tax Exemption was circulated and signed by each member present.

The Chairman reported that three members of the Committee, Dr. Dent, Mr. Marion A. Wright, and Mr. McNeill Smith had sent messages of regret at having to be absent during this meeting.

An announcement, warmly received by the Committee, was that Ohio State University plans to bestow upon Dr. Gomillion at its June commencement an honorary Doctor of Laws Degree. This news was received recently by the Executive Director from Dr. Brewton Berry of Ohio State.

REPORT OF DAVID APTER & ASSOCIATES

A report, "The Businessman of Good Will; Is He SRC's Forgotten Constituent?" prepared by David Apter and Associates by pre-arranged negotiations between the Council and the firm was circulated to the Executive Committee members for their consideration prior to the May 8th meeting. Mr. David Apter and Mr. Calvin Kytle were both invited to be present at this meeting to discuss the report.

Mr. Kytle stressed the need for SRC to consider programs to reach, influence, and assist business leadership. Mr. Kytle made three significant observations:

(1) There is much diversity of attitudes about race among businessmen;

(2) By and large the vast majority of white businessmen are not familiar with the Southern Regional Council;

(3) There is an opportunity, if not an obligation, for the Council to help improve the quality of business decisions on matters of race.

The Executive Committee discussed the report at length and several members expressed their appreciation of it. Mr. John Wheeler expressed some doubt of the success of SRC's programming in this area. He suggested that the staff and the Executive Committee give further study to the report. Mr. Anthony pointed out that the Apter report had several values -- the most important of which was that it opened up discussion of very important questions.

Mr. Anthony pointed out that the next step would be to determine which part of the programs as outlined in the report would be workable and feasible for SRC. He further pointed out that the Council has a great deal of decision-making to do about future programs and priorities. Among the decisions to be made, he said, are where do we want to go from here; what sources of support can we expect; what will be the role of the federal government in the future; what will be the climate in the South and in the nation; how will we concern ourselves with regional development and resources. SRC needs to consider, he pointed out, that ghettos are becoming the urban problems of the South -- we have to be cognizant of the fact that the Negro in the South is becoming more and more ghettorized. These things, he said, will play an important part in the Council's future. He stressed too that the Council must face the fact that racism still permeates the society.

Mr. Anthony stated that he hoped that by the end of the year the staff could have before the Executive Committee its analysis of all these concerns as well as proposed programs for the future and suggested that the Committee might wish to have a special 2-day meeting to consider them.

Immediately after lunch, the Committee took the following action in regard to the Apter report. It was unanimously approved and adopted that the report be submitted to the staff for further analysis and study and that staff recommendations be brought before the Committee for final disposition and implementation.

Doctors Ray Wheeler and H. Franklin Williams expressed on behalf of the Executive Committee appreciation to Messrs. Apter and Kytle for completion of the work commissioned.

Mr. Anthony brought before the Committee several matters before considering other items on the agenda.

The Committee was informed of Al Ulmer's resignation as Director of Community Organization. It was reported, however, that Mr. Ulmer will continue to work with the Council on a consultant basis.

The date of the next Executive Committee, according to the formula as previously set up and approved by the Committee, will be on September 11th. The Committee agreed to that date.

The Committee to obtain a speaker for the Annual Meeting Dinner proposed the name of Dr. J. Kenneth Clark of New York. It was the concensus of the Executive Committee that Dr. Clark is a good choice and authorized the Executive Director to extend an invitation to him.

DISCUSSION OF DREW PEARSON ARTICLE

Prior to the meeting of the Committee reproduced copies of Drew Pearson's article, "The Washington Merry-Go-Round" appearing in the Washington Post of April 7, 1967, was circulated to the members. The article alleged that SRC had been the recipient of CIA money channelled through both the New World Foundation and the Aaron E. Norman Fund of New York. Mr. Anthony reported that appropriate refutation had been made through a statement which he issued to the Post of April 10, 1967. However, since that time SRC's counsel, Mr. Haas, had expressed some uneasiness about the story and suggested that perhaps SRC might want to pursue the matter further. This was put before the Executive Committee which decided that it was not necessary at this point to go further into the matter.

DISCUSSION OF INVESTMENT POLICY OF RESERVE FUND

Mr. Anthony reported that because of Mr. Milton's illness the Finance Committee had not been approached regarding the matter of setting up a new investment policy regulating SRC's Reserve Fund. However, he reported to the Committee that Mr. Vernon Eagle of the New World Foundation had offered to advise SRC on one or more desirable mutual funds where the Reserve Fund might be invested.

Mr. James Wood reported that as of this date the Reserve Fund's value is approximately $84,914.

Upon hearing this report the Executive Committee authorized this change in investment policy calling upon the advice of Mr. Eagle, upon consultation with and approval of the Finance Committee. The Committee expressed its appreciation to Mr. Eagle for agreeing to provide this assistance.

INVITATION FROM WILTON PARK

Mr. Anthony explained that the Wilton Park Conference, an institute on international relations run by the British Foreign Office, was established after World War II. During the late 40's it was expanded to include other countries in Europe and later to include all of Western Europe, the United States, and other countries.

In the 1960's the Ford Foundation made a grant to the British government to pay expenses for having Americans attend these conferences. At this time, however, there are no foundation

funds available for this purpose and as a result an American group -- the American Friends of Wilton Park -- is working to stimulate U. S. groups and agencies to provide travel expenses for members of their staffs to attend these conferences. As part of this SRC has been invited to send a senior staff person annually to these international institutes. Mr. Anthony recommended to the Executive Committee that SRC take advantage of this opportunity by providing off-season travel costs for one senior staff member and spouse. The cost to SRC would be approximately $800.00 annually, and would be taken from the present travel budget.

In regard to this matter of the Executive Committee unanimously approved the following motion: "That such an arrangement is so authorized by the Executive Committee to be carried out at the discretion of the Executive Director; the staff person so selected each year is to be approved by the Executive Committee."

LILLIAN SMITH AWARD

Mr. Anthony reminded the Committee that during the November, 1966 meeting of the Executive Committee the matter of establishing a Lillian Smith Award was raised, with the Committee deciding that at a later meeting it would determine whether it so wished to establish such an award.

Mr. Pat Watters, at this meeting, recommended on behalf of the staff that an award be established; to be given no more than annually. It was recommended that the award should be given for any writing, of any length, that is an outstanding piece of work in southern race relations. A special committee of SRC members would make the decision on the recipient who would be invited to receive the award and a check for $200.00 during the time of the Annual Meeting.

The Committee approved in principal the idea as outlined and instructed the staff to work out and bring to the Committee at its next meeting further recommendations as to details of the award.

FUND-RAISING EFFORTS

Mr. Anthony pointed out that at the time the 1967 budget was approved in November, there was approximately $80,000 to be raised for the year. He reported that that gap continues to exist except for a few small contributions which have been received, including $1,000 from Mr. Stephen C. Rockefeller.

In terms of the Voter Education Project new funds need to be sought. Conversations which the staff has had with several potential sources have been disappointing.

At this point, there is a proposal before the New York Foundation for support of the VEP and the staff hopes to receive by June a $10,000 grant.

In further support of VEP, Mr. Anthony reported that New World Foundation may be in a position to make a grant, and the staff should know something relative to that in a few weeks. The Field Foundation, which committed $100,000 in December, 1966, has made a supplementary grant of $50,000.

DISCUSSION OF NEW POLICY REGARDING GRANTS-IN-AID IN 1968

Mr. Stanfield pointed out that the expended grants-in-aid to state Councils will end in 1968. As a result, some thinking has been done by the staff on future possibilities. He pointed out that this has been necessary because it is important to make clear to the state Councils what the course may be, and because SRC staff needs to begin planning fund-raising approaches to foundations.

The Director of Field Activities raised for purposes of reaction only the idea that at the end of 1968 SRC terminate the grants-in-aid program entirely and convert to a program of contracting with the human relations councils for certain specific programs and services which they are best in positions to render.

Mr. Stanfield cited specifically the area of research, pointing out that some councils have expressed special need in this area. The idea would be to hire on each state Council staff a qualified person whose work would be geared particularly to this area of concentration; services to be rendered both to the state group and to SRC. He further pointed out that such a person would be hired with the approval of the SRC staff as regards his qualifications and what his job description should be.

Mr. Stanfield pointed out that such an arrangement would serve several purposes; the most important of which would be to bring the state Councils to complete autonomy. It was his feeling that the time has come when they should be made to realize that it is possible for them to exist without relying directly upon SRC for the overall financing of their programs.

The Executive Committee discussed this at length and expressed some feeling that such an arrangement might be feasible.

No formal action was taken by the Committee on this recommendation. Mr. Anthony pointed out that the staff is still thinking through this arrangement and simply wanted to introduce the idea before any action becomes necessary.

With no other business, the meeting adjourned at 3:00 p.m.

M I N U T E S

of the
Executive Committee Meeting
Southern Regional Council

September 11, 1967

The meeting of the Executive Committee convened in the SRC Conference Room at 10:00 a.m., September 11, 1967.

Those present: Mr. Christopher, Dr. Clement, Mr. Dabbs, Dr. Dent, Dr. Gomillion, Mrs. Harvey, Dr. Pitts, Mr. McNeill Smith, Dr. Raymond Wheeler, presiding, Miss Wilkins, and Mr. Wright.

All members of the professional staff were present with Mrs. Mildred M. Johnson serving as recording secretary.

The minutes of the last meeting were unanimously approved and adopted, after which the Resolution on Tax Exemption was circulated and signed by each member present.

The Chairman of the Executive Committee made the following announcements:

(1) That Mr. John Wheeler, being hospitalized at the time of this meeting, sends regrets at not being able to be present;

(2) That Mr. Thomas W. Young, a long-time member of SRC and currently a Vice-President, died of a heart attack on Wednesday, September 6th in Norfolk;

(3) That two new staff appointments have been made -- that of Mr. Weldon Rougeau, Field Director for the Voter Education Project. Mr. Rougeau began his new duties on September 1. Also it was announced that John Lewis will join the staff, effective October 1, to head SRC's Community Organization Project. Mr. Lewis, prior to joining SRC was a former Director of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating

Committee and more recently on the staff of the Field Foundation in New York.

The Committee instructed the staff to express to Mr. Wheeler its best wishes for a speedy recovery. It also instructed the staff to express to Mrs. Young its grief and deep sense of loss in the death of Mr. Young.

COMMITTEE ACTION ON LILLIAN SMITH AWARD

Staff recommendations regarding the Lillian Smith Award were mimeographed and placed before the Committee and were read by Pat Watters. Some discussion was entertained by the Members with several expressing some desire to see no monetary presentation attached to the Award. As a result of this discussion, the following motion was made and unanimously approved and adopted: "~~That the staff recommendations be approved, and that the Chairman of the Executive Committee appoint an Award Committee whose partial responsibility would be to give consideration to Recommendation #6 determining the kind of award to be presented and whether or not a cash presentation would be a part of the Award~~."

See: Amendment embodied in minutes of Nov. 1, 1967, p. 1, par. 7. following

DISCUSSION OF WILTON PARK FELLOW

Mr. Anthony pointed out that although this matter had been brought before the Committee at its last meeting and had received its endorsement, that after some discussions with the staff it was felt that the Committee might need to review its decision to have an SRC staff person represented each year at the Wilton Park Conference in England.

After a brief discussion by the Committee, the following action was taken: "That the Committee reaffirms its original decision to send an SRC representative and spouse to the Wilton Park Conference each year with the Council providing travel expenses not to exceed $1,000. The staff is instructed to find, if possible, a donor to underwrite this cost."

Mr. Vernon Jordan was asked to report on his work with the newly formed Urban Coalition and future plans for the Voter Education Project. He reported on the Emergency Convocation of the Urban Coalition held in Washington, D. C. on September 24th at the Shoreham Hotel, pointing out the responsibility of the Coalition to be to help ease increasing tensions emerging in metropolitan areas across the country by creating more jobs, providing better housing and educational opportunities for the disadvantaged. Mr. Jordan, Mr. Anthony, Mr. Boone, and Mr. Wood attended the Conference from the SRC staff.

Mr. Jordan further reported on the Voter Education Project stating that the Project has less than a year and a half to go under its present plan. He pointed out that the time has now come when staff should begin thinking about whether there should be such a Project after 1968 and if so, what form it should take. He briefly reported on the seminars which the Project has recently sponsored for Negro elected officials.

During the Committee's discussion of the Urban Coalition, the question was raised as to how the Coalition is to be funded. Mr. Anthony pointed out that he had just received a letter from the Chairman of the Urban Coalition asking that each agency, business or group represented on the Steering Committee be responsible for $2,100 as part of the funding process for the Coalition. Mr. Anthony reported that he had discussed this matter with the President and the Chairman of the Executive Committee whose feelings were that SRC should make the requested contribution. With some discussion, the following motion was made: "That the Southern Regional Council be authorized to contribute the sum of $2,100 to the Urban Coalition." This motion was unanimously approved and adopted by the Executive Committee.

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS

Life Fellows. -- Mr. Anthony brought to the attention of the Committee the matter of nomination of any Life Fellow which it chooses to present this year to the Annual Meeting. He reported that only one recommendation had thus far been received -- that being Dr. Frank Graham. Dr. Graham being well-known to Members of the Executive Committee, Mr. Anthony pointed out that no biographical data had been circulated to the Committee as required. In keeping with the stated policy of circulating biographical data for each nominee for Life Fellowship, Dr. Dent requested that Who's Who in America be consulted. This was done and the following action was taken: The Executive Committee received the name of Dr. Frank Graham as a nominee for Life Fellowship, and with due consideration unanimously directed this nomination be presented to the Members at Annual Meeting.

Annual Dinner Speaker. -- Mr. Anthony reported to the Committee that Dr. Kenneth Clark has accepted the Council's invitation to be its Annual Dinner speaker.

Labor Education Project Director. -- It was reported that the Council is unfortunate in having lost Emory Via, SRC's Labor Education Project Director, back to the University of Wisconsin. Mr. Anthony stated that it is hoped that after a year at the University Mr. Via will return as a permanent SRC staff member.

Investment of Reserve Fund. -- Mr. Anthony reported that discussions have been had with Mr. Vernon Eagle of the New World Foundation regarding reinvestment of SRC's Reserve Fund. Mr. Eagle has advised that the Council not

go into this matter at this time because of the uncertainty of the investment market. The staff has acted on Mr. Eagle's advice and is continuing to await word from him as to when to make this transaction.

FUND-RAISING EFFORTS

Mr. Anthony reported the following grants having been made to the SRC during 1967:

(1) $50,000 to VEP from the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation;

(2) $10,000 to VEP from the New York Foundation;

(3) $10,000 to SRC general support from the Stern Family Fund. (This grant was announced in 1965 on a matching basis and received this year as a result of the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation grant.)

Mr. Anthony reported to the Committee that some discussions have been had with a principal in the Arthur Vining Davis Foundations who has invited the Council to submit a proposal. This has been done.

DISCUSSION OF PROGRAMS AND PROJECTS

In addition to a report from the Voter Education Project earlier in the meeting, reports were made by Mrs. M. E. Tilly on her work with the churchwomen, and by John Boone on his program in Crime and Prison Rehabilitation.

Minutes - 6.
Executive Committee
September 11, 1967

REPORT ON GATLINBURG MEETING

See: Attachment A of Nov. 1, 1967 Minutes of Executive Committee following

Prior to the Gatlinburg meeting a position paper was prepared by Edwin Stanfield of the Field Activities Department and circulated to members of the Executive Committee setting forth what SRC would see as a desirable relationship between itself and the state councils on human relations. The position paper was preseted to the state council directors at a meeting in Gatlinburg, Tennessee September 5 - 8, 1967 at which time, Mr. Stanfield stated, the directors largely repudiated the ideas offered by the paper. Many of the directors did feel that a greater emphasis on information-gathering and dissemination was important, but that the structure as proposed was not the most desirable. Mr. Stanfield felt that the following two days provided the most serious and profitable discussion between the state council and SRC staffs. He further reported that a discussion of the state councils, their future roles, and their relationship with SRC, would be a major item on the agenda of the Annual Meeting.

See: Attachment B of Nov. 1, 1967 Minutes of Executive Committee following

A second resolution was brought to the attention of the Executive Committee by Mr. Stanfield in which a number of the members of the SRC and HRC's staffs, meeting in Gatlinburg, requested the policy-making boards of these organizations to consider issuing a statement "regarding the war in Viet Nam as it affects the South."

After much deliberation by the Committee it was unanimously agreed that the resolution be sent to Mr. Haas for his legal advice in the matter.

On the matter of the prospective two-day meeting of the Executive Committee in either January or February, the Committee agreed that the staff should poll the Committee for suitable dates for such a meeting.

In regard to place, the Committee unanimously approved and adopted a motion stipulating Atlanta Biltmore Hotel as the site of the meeting, preferably to be hald on a weekend.

With no further business, the meeting adjourned.

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M I N U T E S

of the
Executive Committee Meeting
Southern Regional Council

NOvember 1, 1967

The meeting of the Executive Committee convened at 9:30 a.m., in Room 1007, Atlanta Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia, November 1, 1967.

Those present: Mr. Christopher, Dr. Clement, Mr. Dabbs, Dr. Gomillion, Mr. Haas, Dr. Pitts, Dr. Raymond Wheeler, presiding, Miss Wilkins, Dr. H. Franklin Williams, and Mr. Wright.

Mr. Paul Anthony, Mr. James Wood, and Mrs. Ruth Alexander of the professional staff were present, with Mrs. Mildred M. Johnson serving as recording secretary.

The agenda was approved by the Committee after which the minutes of the September 11, 1967 meeting were approved with the following two amendments:

(1) That the resolution adopted unanimously by state council directors during the Gatlinburg meeting of September 5-8, 1967 rejecting the position paper regarding future relationships between SRC and the state councils, and prepared by SRC staff, be made a part of the minutes (see attached); and, that the resolution adopted by the joint conference at Gatlinburg on September 8, 1967 regarding the Viet Nam crisis also be made a part of the minutes (see attached).

(2) That the motion dealing with the Lillian Smith Award be amended as follows:

"That the staff recommendations be approved, and that the Chairman of the Executive Committee appoint an Award Committee whose partial responsibility

would be to give consideration to Recommendation #6 determining the kind of award to be presented, i.e., plaque, scroll, etc.; said award to carry with it no monetary presentation."

The Resolution on SRC's Tax Exemption was circulated and signed by each member present.

The Proposed Budgets for 1968 were presented by Mr. James N. Wood which were discussed and approved after the Committee accepted the suggestion made by Dr. Clement that the 1969 budgets include a third column -- showing actual expenditures for the previous year for comparative purposes, and a fourth column showing a prediction of what the Council anticipates in terms of expenditures for the current year (see attached).

Mr. Ed Stanfield presented the 1968 Grants-in-Aid Schedule and the 1968 Grants-in-Aid Conditions for state Councils on Human Relations. During the discussion of these two documents, Mr. Haas suggested that Section 3-B of the Conditions be deleted. The Committee expressed favorable reaction to this suggestion, after which the Grants-in-Aid Schedule and Conditions were approved (see attached).

At this point, the Committee went into Executive Session with staff, other than the Executive Director, on call.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

The Committee was informed that the staff of the Ford Foundation had requested a first draft of the Council's proposal for future support by December 31, 1967. This being the case, the Director asked the Members of the Committee if they could meet in early December rather than in January as planned. ~~The Committee made the decision to meet in Atlanta on~~

See amendment embodied in Minutes of 12/1-3/67, p-1, paragraph 6 following

~~December 1, 2, and 3 for a thorough review and evaluation of the Council's programs and projects.~~

Dr. H. Franklin Williams, chairman of the Special Committee on SRC-HRC's Future Relationship gave the Committee a brief summary of the Committee's work with the understanding that a formal report would be presented to the Executive Committee for its consideration at the December meeting.

There followed a discussion of the operation of the Voter Education Project, with the Committee suggesting that this program, particularly, should receive considerable attention at the December meeting.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

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ATTACHMENT A

Resolution Unanimously Adopted by
State Council Directors Meeting in
Gatlinburg, Tennessee, September 5-8, 1967*

"We reject the proposed position paper on SRC-HRC relations for the following reasons:

"(1) It fails to provide for the critical and fundamental need for a position of integrity and equality between SRC and the SHRC's.

"(2) It fails to provide financial independence for an executive director. This independence has been demonstrated to be vital if the executive director is to be engaged in the tasks at hand.

"(3) It fails to examine either a structural or functional relationship between SRC and the SHRC's in the light of today's realities. Essentially it is based on notions of a past day."

*South Carolina director abstaining.

ATTACHMENT B

Resolution Adopted by Joint Conference of SRC-HRC Professional Staffs - Gatlinburg, Tennessee, September 8, 1967

"We, the professional staffs of the state human relations councils and the SRC, respectfully request that the policy-making boards of these organizations seriously consider a policy statement regarding the war in Viet Nam as it affects the South.

"We are particularly concerned about the effect of the war on attitudes toward the fulfillment of democracy, and on efforts to solve the economic and social problems of the South.

"Realizing that priorities might be different for different councils, we suggest the following points for consideration:

"That there be as strong a national commitment to insure free elections in the South as in Viet Nam.

"That there be a general reordering of priorities regarding the use of American resources."

M I N U T E S

of the
Executive Committee Meeting
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

December 1-3, 1967

EXECUTIVE SESSION

The Executive Committee meeting convened in Executive Session with dinner at 7:30 p.m. on Friday evening, December 1 at the Atlanta Biltmore Hotel.

Those present: Mr. Christopher, Mr. Dabbs, Dr. Gomillion, Mr. Haas, Mrs. Harvey, Dr. Henderson, Dr. Pitts, Mr. McNeill Smith, Dr. Raymond Wheeler, Miss Wilkins, Mr. Wright, and Dr. H. Franklin Williams.

Staff present were: Mr. Anthony and Mr. Wood.

The Committee adopted the Special Report to the Executive Committee as the formal agenda for this meeting, after which it re-elected Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler as chairman of the Committee for 1968. The Resolution on SRC's Tax Exemption was read and signed by each member present.

The minutes of the November 1st meeting of the Executive Committee were approved with the following change: that the statement on page two of these minutes, appearing in the section "Executive Session" and describing the purpose of the December 1-3 meeting, be expanded to include the phrase: "toward formulating future plans." The full sentence as amended reads:

> "...The Committee made the decision to meet in Atlanta on December 1, 2, and 3 for a thorough review and evaluation of the Council's programs and projects toward formulating future plans."

The question was raised as to whether or not the staff should continue preparing the minutes of the Executive Committee meetings or whether it would be desirable for a member of the Committee to do so. It was decided that, henceforth, the staff should prepare a draft of the minutes, as in the past, but that the draft should first be sent to the Chairman of the Executive Committee for review before they are circulated to the full Committee.

Two members were elected to serve on the Nominating Committee for 1968. They are: Mr. J. Bill Becker of Little Rock, Arkansas and Mr. Matthew Perry of Columbia, South Carolina.

The members of the Committee, by unanimous vote, instructed the staff to prepare a suitable resolution for Mrs. Rufus E. Clement and Atlanta University on the death of Dr.Rufus E. Clement. (For resolution, as prepared by the staff, see Attachment A.)

By unanimous vote the Committee elected Dr. Lucius Pitts of Birmingham, Alabama a Vice-President to fill the vacancy created by Dr. Clement's death.

~~The Committee discussed the problem created by the fact that inadvertently the Committee's recommendation of Dr. Frank Graham as a life fellow was not presented to the full Council at the 1967 Annual Meeting. In light of Dr. Graham's illness, the Committee voted to reaffirm this action, to promptly inform Dr. Graham of it, and to inform the members of this action at the 1968 Annual Meeting.~~

see: Amended minutes of Dec 1-3, 1967 following.

The Committee requested the staff to send to Mr. John Wheeler their sincere regrets at his inability to be with them.

Mr. Anthony requested the Committee's permission to make an effort to increase salaries at a higher than average rate in 1968. He informed the Committee that the item for salaries in the approved budget for 1968 had anticipated this request. The Committee authorized Mr. Anthony to prepare his proposal in this regard so long as the total does not exceed the item in the budget. The Director's recommendations for salaries will be presented to the Personnel Committee at the January meeting of the Committee and a report will be made to the full Committee at that time.

The Committee discussed at length filling the vacancies on the Executive Committee created by the deaths of Mr. Thomas W. Young of Norfolk and Dr. Rufus E. Clement of Atlanta. Dr. Wheeler presented to the Committee a petition requesting that Mr. David Scull of Virginia be considered for one of the vacancies (see Attachment B). After considerable discussion, the Committee decided to take no action in filling the two vacancies until the following morning.

The meeting recessed at 10:00 ~~a.m.~~ on December 1st and resumed at 9:30 a.m. on December 2nd. At that time the Committee voted unanimously to elect Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook of Durham, North Carolina and Mr. Frank Smith of Knoxville, Tennessee to the Executive Committee. The Committee further instructed the staff to present the petition concerning Mr. Scull to the 1968 Nominating Committee for consideration.

see Amended Minutes of 12/1-3/67 following.

At 10:00 a.m. the staff was invited into the meeting which continued in general session.

Saturday, December 2, 1967

GENERAL SESSION

The Committee reacted first to the introduction to the Special Report to the Executive Committee which had been prepared for it, and considered the several questions raised in that introduction. Those questions were:

(1) What are the conditions of the times in our nation and what implications do these have for the role of a private agency such as the Southern

Regional Council?

(2) To what part, if any, of the conditions of the times should the Council address itself particularly?

(3) Given the opportunity to raise funds for any decisions made, at what level, in terms of staff and budget, should the Council attempt to operate in the future?

There followed a day-long discussion concerning these matters; structure, methods of operation, and size of the Council were considered at length. The possibility was raised of SRC changing its structure and methods, and seeking some millions of dollars each year to help fill the gap being created by diminishing public support and to help meet some of the immediate and critical needs of the people in the region.

At 5:00 p.m. no definite conclusions had been reached, and the Chairman suggested that the Committee recess until Sunday morning.

Sunday, December 3, 1967

Dr. Wheeler opened the Sunday morning session by summarizing the discussions on Saturday. He pointed out that the body took cognizance of two outstanding needs in the South as follows:

(1) The development of economic and political power of the poor;

(2) The need to bring together a larger number of white allies who need to be sensitive to the decision-makers of the region and who should be encouraged to make some effort to influence these decision-makers.

Dr. Wheeler pointed out that Saturday's discussions centered around whether SRC should try to do both and if so, what emphasis should be placed on each, and, at what level, efforts of SRC should be performed. The question was discussed as to whether the role of SRC should continue to be that of interpreter, influencer and educator, as in the past, or if it should expand its programs to the point of becoming an action oriented* agency playing the role of innovator.

At this point in the meeting, and in consideration of what SRC should be in the future, two resolutions were introduced; one by Mr. Marion A. Wright and a second by Dr. H. Franklin Williams. Both resolutions were read and discussed after which the Committee

See: Personal Memoirs of 12/1-2/67 following

~~*Action oriented here refers only to initiating and acrrying out specific programs either within the Council structure, through other independent agencies, or through local, state, and national governments, as opposed to direct frontal action.~~

called for a combining of the two resolutions. As a result, the following resolution was approved and adopted by the Committee:

> Resolved, that the proper role of the Southern Regional Council in the future, as it has been in the past, should lie primarily in the allied fields of research, interpretation and education.
>
> That the education and interpretation should extend to officials, policy makers and the total public with a view to hastening realization of these goals.
>
> That the Southern Regional Council should lend aid and encouragement to direct programs consistent with its purposes whether operated by government or by independently controlled organizations where necessary and feasible and to limited pilot projects. Except for purposes of demonstration or testing, SRC should leave to government or such independently controlled and operated groups direct frontal and massive ameliorative action.
>
> That SRC should constantly seek to broaden and deepen its research and education programs, adding new fields of research and seeking through education to reach new and larger constituencies, in which connection youth and young adults should receive early and accentuated attention.

At this point in the meeting the Chairman directed the Members' attention to the Special Report to the Executive Committee and asked that each project as presented be considered and action taken on the recommendations set forth, as the Committee so wished.

INFORMATION AND RESEARCH

The Information and Research Department was considered with Recommendation #3, page 11, being approved and adopted by the Committee as follows:

> "That we ask the Ford Foundation for $15,000 in support of the position of 'Managing Editor, SRC Publications' since we feel this position is essential for the adequate production of the publications for the project grants allow for."

URBAN PLANNING PROJECT

The Urban Planning Project was discussed with both Mr. Smith, director of this project and Mr. Boone, director of the Crime and Corrections Project, concurring in the feeling that

because of obvious overlapping of interests among the projects a great deal more coordination than has been had in the past among the various SRC projects is now required.

Mr. Smith emphasized the need for expanding the Urban Planning Project staff to include a Negro planner.

After lengthy discussion of these two points, the Committee took the following action in regard to the Urban Planning Project: That Recommendation #5, page 32, be approved and adopted with the modification that funds not be made available for consultants in all 14 Model Cities in the Southeast, but rather that no more than 3 Model Cities be embarked upon as pilot projects.

Recommendation #5 as amended reads as follows:

> "Mr. Smith feels that the ideal solution would be for SRC to have two planners (Negro and white), a fund for consultants for no more than 3 Model Cities in the Southeast, and a Community Organizer, under John Lewis and advised by SRC urban planners, on effecting equal treatment in the Model Cities Program."

CRIME AND CORRECTIONS PROJECT

Mr. Boone referred to page 37 of the Special Report and stated the sentiments of the project staff as follows:

> "While refunding at approximately the same general level would be adequate, full exploitation of opportunities and requests for consultation and technical advice as well as the travel required for the collection of dependable research data would seem to call for a somewhat higher level of funding in these areas."

The Committee engaged in a lengthy discussion of the Project based on comments made and new program possibilities suggested by the Project director, after which the following motion was unanimously approved and adopted:

> "That the Committee approves the project as it has been conducted and further encourages the project in the direction which it has taken."

The Committee recognized the need to give consideration to changing the name of the project to possibly "Administration of Justice," since it was determined that the project as it now operates more nearly relates to such a title. No formal action was taken on this point. However, the project director concurred in this and assured the Committee that this would be considered further by the staff.

LABOR EDUCATION PROJECT

The concensus of the Committee was that the Labor Education Project is an important aspect of the Council's work and should be continued. The Committee, therefore, approved the staff recommendation on page 33 as follows:

> "...That this project be continued at approximately its present level of funding, subject to securing a qualified project director..."

An additional motion was unanimously approved and adopted as follows:

> "That the Committee instruct the staff to put forth every effort to persuade Dr. Via to return to SRC as a permanent staff member."

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

Mr. Jordan summarized briefly the Project's work as outlined more extensively in the Special Report to the Executive Committee. He emphasized the concept of the third Voter Education Project as it has been envisioned as follows: discontinuing the present VEP as it now exists and creating a successor agency with emphasis on leadership training.

He pointed out that some thought has been given to giving the successor agency a new name consistent with its new emphasis. And, further thought has been given to making such an agency a separate entity. He hastened to point out, however, that the latter point was not appealing and expressed a hope that the new agency would continue under the aegis of SRC.

The Committee entertained a lengthy discussion centering around whether or not the VEP can afford to confine its programs to securing large Negro registration in the South. It was pointed out that historically the tax exemption which the VEP enjoys was granted on the basis that the project would be research-oriented; that is, to seek the best methods, through research, of securing Negro voter registration. It was noted by staff that there are remaining enough unanswered questions about the nature of and the reasons for the hard core of unregistered voters to provide a continuing research-oriented basis for a voter registration project.

A second point discussed was whether VEP can also afford to be discriminating in its efforts; that is, designing programs and conducting workshops geared only to the Negro population of the region while not providing the same programs for the white population. It was agreed by the Committee that leadership programs sponsored by VEP should not, in fact, be officially discriminating or exclusive. Realizing that the

programs and workshops would serve primarily newly-elected Negro officials, the Committee agreed that such programs should plainly be made open to all southern, newly-elected officials who would wish to attend.

After much discussion of these two points, and the Committee's apparent desire to know how much money would be required to complete the remaining job of getting maximum Negro voter registration in the southern states, the following motion was introduced, approved, and unanimously adopted:

> "That the staff prepare a comprehensive document, based on research, on what would be required in terms of program, personnel, and sponsorship, to bring citizenship education programs to all the leadership of the South toward the end of providing maximum feasible voter education and voter registration programs for all the southern states."

It was the consensus of the group, in considering questions raised on page 20 of the Special Report, that (1) SRC does wish to continue a significant program in the area of voter education; (2) that this area is of sufficient importance to the nation to continue such a program, but that the risk of jeopardizing SRC's tax exemption should be kept to a minimum; (3) that considerable funds should still be provided in support of voter education; (4) that no attempt should be made to create a separate, autonomous agency for the project.

FUTURE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SRC AND THE STATE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS

(see attachment C)

This report, referred by the full Council, meeting in November, to the Executive Committee for review and deliberation was discussed at length by the Executive Committee on December 3rd. Following discussion, a motion was made and unanimously approved and adopted that the report be accepted in toto, and that the questions raised on page 29 of the Special Report to the Executive Committee be answered as follows: (1) No, SRC should not attempt to continue a grant-in-aid program since current supporters have indicated their unwillingness to continue funding such a program; (2) Yes, SRC should undertake to place a staff person, under the direction of SRC, in those states where a viable council on human relations does not in fact exist; (3) Yes, the Executive Committee should undertake to have placed before it summaries of any requests from state councils for project funds and approve of them separately after evaluation; (4) Yes, a strong advisory committee on field activities should be established.

See amended minutes of 12/1-3/67 following

An additional motion was introduced, and unanimously approved and adopted that the action taken in regard to this report and any future policy relating to state councils be immediately shared with the state directors and presidents; such action to subsequently appear in the Field Department's Newsletter.

PROGRAMS FOR THE BUSINESS SECTOR

Before having to leave the meeting Dr. Gomillion expressed

the opinion that SRC should attempt to work with business firms. He suggested, however, that SRC do so on the basis that businessmen be viewed simply as citizens and community leaders rather than business agencies expecting special services from SRC in order to be eligible for monetary benefits from them. It was his feeling that for SRC to deal with the business sector in any other way would be to impose upon or create a compromising position for the Council.

In connection with the whole spectrum of whether or not SRC should attempt to work with business, the Committee unanimously approved and adopted the following motion:

> "That the staff, through exploratory conversations with foundations, determine how SRC can best influence the economic sector of this region, and consider including in the SRC proposal to the Ford Foundation a request for $40,000 toward this end."

The Committee unanimously expressed gratitude to the Executive Director for the most comprehensive report ever presented to it.

The Executive Committee, having been instructed by the Annual Meeting in November "to prepare a statement re-affirming, in the light of present conditions, the interrelationships between our regional concerns and the national and international scene," turned its attention to this matter. With proper consideration having been given to a draft resolution, circulated to committee members prior to this meeting, Dr. H. Franklin Williams introduced a revision of the draft which was, after due consideration by the Committee, unanimously approved and adopted as follows:

> We note that our commitment to regional development and racial justice in the South become increasingly entwined with events of the nation, and indeed with the problems of the world. This interrelationship has become so strong that it is now difficult to restrict our thinking and comment to the South.
>
> American freedom of movement has caused problems of this region to appear in new and sharper forms in urban ghettos all over the country. The resultant explosions of frustrated people during the last two years have induced new attitudes among Negroes and whites alike, attitudes which are quickly reflected back into the region. Increasingly, the same attitudes afflict the nation and the region.
>
> National policies, or the lack of them, to deal with the problems of American cities and rural areas, and to offer assistance and rehabilitation of the poor affect this region significantly. We note with regret and concern the lack of leadership

this region has offered for development and support of programs which we need as a nation. We remind the leaders of government and business in the South and in the nation that, even now, the search for sound measures is infinitely valuable.

The continued existence and increasing awareness of racism in this country has the most profound importance in our dealings with the nations of the world. We recognize that the struggle of minorities in this country for equal opportunity is often equated with the struggles everywhere of peoples seeking independence and self expression. We recognize the grave significance of color in these struggles in this country and throughout the world.

It is tragic that this richest of nations has not developed a society free of fear, hunger, and want. We recognize the impact of this failure on the billions of people in fear, hunger and want throughout the world.

We call on our nation to recognize these matters, to adopt programs compatible with both the need and the potential of this great country, to resolve honorably and swiftly, with new and imaginative approaches, the international conflicts in which we are involved and to take the lead in achieving the greatness which is in man universal.

DATE OF THE NEXT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

Mr. Anthony pointed out that the SRC will be at the disposal of a Ford Foundation review team in January and that the Executive Committee would probably wish to meet in late January or early February. With this in mind the Committee agreed to meet on Saturday, January 20th.

OTHER BUSINESS

Before leaving the meeting Dr. Wheeler expressed, on behalf of the Committee, appreciation to Katharine Martin and Mildred Johnson as secretaries to this meeting.

Miss Wilkins called the Committee's attention to the fact that over many years this body has been making policy which is buried in the minds of the Council. It was her feeling that these policies should be recorded on 3 x 5 cards, catalogued and indexed. In this regard the following motion was unanimously approved and adopted:

~~"That the policy be established, by Committee Action, that from time to time policy matters be lifted from the records, catalogued and indexed."~~

See Amended Minutes of 12/1-3/67 following

Mr. McNeill Smith pointed out that statistics show that Negro lawyers are declining and recruiting programs are failing. In recognition of this the following motion was unanimously approved and adopted by the Committee:

> "That the Southern Regional Council staff be instructed to plan a program of investigation; finding out how many Negro lawyers there are, why the number is declining, and how the SRC might be helpful in bringing more Negroes into the legal profession."

See amended minutes of 12/1-3/67 following

~~Miss Wilkins spoke to the matter of returning soldiers. She pointed out that after World War II, and largely through the efforts of the old Interracial Commission and the YMCA, effective programs were initiated and implemented in regard to returning soldiers. It was her feeling that perhaps some attention should now be focused on this, since soldiers who return from the War in Vietnam will be suffering from even greater frustrations. This idea was not formally acted on, but was received by the Committee for further consideration.~~

Mr. Anthony pointed out that the first draft of the Ford Foundation proposal is due in the hands of the Foundation by December 31st. He pointed out that the proposal will reflect what has taken place in this meeting and informed the members that copies would be sent to each of them prior to their next meeting.

Mr. Christopher suggested that the Council give some attention to creating what he called a "Finance Counselling Agency" to assist persons badly in debt. He further suggested that in developing the Ford proposal that this idea might be included. He expressed some interest in discussing this in more detail at a subsequent meeting of the Committee.

With no further business the meeting adjourned.

ATTACHMENT A

RESOLUTION

of the
Executive Committee
Southern Regional Council, INc.
Atlanta, Georgia

On behalf of the members of the Council, the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council wishes to express to Mrs. Rufus E. Clement and Atlanta University its deep grief and great sense of loss. Dr. Clement, an Incorporator and founder of the Council, was for more than 20 years one of the organization's most influential and effective leaders. His contributions to the leadership of this agency were invaluable. We shall miss this good friend and great American.

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M I N U T E S

of the
Executive Committee Meeting
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

December 1-3, 1967

EXECUTIVE SESSION

The Executive Committee meeting convened in Executive Session with dinner at 7:30 p.m. on Friday evening, December 1, at the Atlanta Biltmore Hotel.

Those present: Mr. Christopher, Mr. Dabbs, Dr. Gomillion, Mr. Haas, Mrs. Harvey, Dr. Henderson, Dr. Pitts, Mr. McNeill Smith, Dr. Raymond Wheeler, Miss Wilkins, Mr. Wright, and Dr. H. Franklin Williams.

Staff present were: Mr. Anthony and Mr. Wood.

The Committee adopted the Special Report to the Executive Committee as the formal agenda for this meeting, after which it re-elected Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler as chairman of the Committee for 1968. The Resolution on SRC's Tax Exemption was read and signed by each member present.

The minutes of the November 1st meeting of the Executive Committee were approved with the following change: that the statement on page two of these minutes, appearing in the section "Executive Session" and describing the purpose of the December 1-3 meeting, be expanded to include the phrase: "toward formulating future plans." The full sentence as amended reads:

> "....The Committee made the decision to meet in Atlanta on December 1, 2, and 3 for a thorough review and evaluation of the Council's programs and projects toward formulating future plans."

The question was raised as to whether or not the staff should continue preparing the minutes of the Executive Committee meetings or whether it would be desirable for a member of the Committee to do so. It was decided that, henceforth, the staff should prepare a draft of the minutes, as in the past, but that the draft should first be sent to the Chairman of the Executive Committee for review before they are circulated to the full Committee.

Two members were elected to serve on the Nominating Committee for 1968. They are: Mr. J. Bill Becker of Little Rock, Arkansas and Mr. Matthew Perry of Columbia, South Carolina.

The members of the Committee, by unanimous vote, instructed the staff to prepare a suitable resolution for Mrs. Rufus E. Clement and Atlanta University on the death of Dr. Rufus E. Clement. (For resolution, as prepared by the staff, see Attachment A.)

By unanimous vote the Committee elected Dr. Lucius Pitts of

Birmingham, Alabama a Vice-President to fill the vacancy created by Dr. Clement's death.

The Committee discussed the problem created by the fact that inadvertently the Committee's recommendation of Dr. Frank Graham as a life fellow was not presented to the full Council at the 1967 Annual Meeting. In light of Dr. Graham's illness, the Committee, exercising its authority to act for the full Council when it is not in session, voted to elect Dr. Graham a life fellow, to promptly inform Dr. Graham of it, and to inform the members of this action at the 1968 Annual Meeting.

The Committee requested the staff to send to Mr. John Wheeler their sincere regrets at his inability to be with them.

Mr. Anthony requested the Committee's permission to make an effort to increase salaries at a higher than average rate in 1968. He informed the Committee that the item for salaries in the approved budget for 1968 had anticipated this request. The Committee authorized Mr. Anthony to prepare his proposal in this regard so long as the total does not exceed the item in the budget. The Director's recommendations for salaries will be presented to the Personnel Committee at the January meeting of the Committee and a report will be made to the full Committee at that time.

The Committee discussed at length filling the vacancies on the Executive Committee created by the deaths of Mr. Thomas W. Young of Norfolk and Dr. Rufus E. Clement of Atlanta. Dr. Wheeler presented to the Committee a petition requesting that Mr. David Scull of Virginia be considered for one of the vacancies (see Attachment B). After considerable discussion, the Committee decided to take no action in filling the two vacancies until the following morning.

The meeting recessed at 10:00 p.m. on December 1st and resumed at 9:30 a.m. on December 2nd. At that time the Committee voted unanimously to elect Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook of Durham, North Carolina and Mr. Frank Smith of Knoxville, Tennessee to the Executive Committee. The Committee further instructed the staff to present the petition concerning Mr. Scull to the 1968 Nominating Committee for consideration.

At 10:00 a.m. the staff was invited into the meeting which continued in general session.

Saturday, December 2, 1967.

GENERAL SESSION

The Committee reacted first to the introduction to the Special Report to the Executive Committee which had been prepared for it, and considered the several questions raised in that introduction. Those questions were:

(1) What are the conditions of the times in our nation and what implications do these have for the role of a private agency such as the Southern Regional Council?

(2) To what part, if any, of the conditions of the times should the Council address itself particularly?

(3) Given the opportunity to raise funds for any decisions made, at what level, in terms of staff and budget, should the Council attempt to operate in the future?

There followed a day-long discussion concerning these matters; structure, methods of operation, and size of the Council were considered at length. The possibility was raised of SRC changing its structure and methods, and seeking some millions of dollars each year to help fill the gap being created by diminishing public support and to help meet some of the immediate and critical needs of the people in the region.

At 5:00 p.m. no definite conclusions had been reached, and the Chairman suggested that the Committee recess until Sunday morning.

Sunday, December 3, 1967.

Dr. Wheeler opened the Sunday morning session by summarizing the discussions on Saturday. He pointed out that the body took cognizance of two outstanding needs in the South as follows:

(1) The development of economic and political power of the poor;

(2) The need to bring together a larger number of white allies who need to be sensitive to the decision-makers of the region and who should be encouraged to make some effort to influence these decision-makers.

Dr. Wheeler pointed out that Saturday's discussions centered around whether SRC should try to do both and if so, what emphasis should be placed on each, and, at what level, efforts of SRC should be performed. The question was discussed as to whether the role of SRC should continue to be that of interpreter, influencer and educator, as in the past, or if it should expand its programs to the point of becoming an action oriented agency playing the role of innovator.

At this point in the meeting, and in consideration of what SRC should be in the future, two resolutions were introduced; one by Mr. Marion A. Wright and a second by Dr. H. Franklin Williams. Both resolutions were read and discussed after which the Committee called for a combining of the two resolutions. As a result, the following resolution was approved and adopted by the Committee:

> Resolved, that the proper role of the Southern Regional Council in the future, as it has been in the past, should lie primarily in the allied fields of research, interpretation and education.
>
> That the education and interpretation should extend

to officials, policy makers and the total public with a view to hastening realization of these goals;

That the Southern Regional Council should lend aid and encouragement to direct programs consistent with its purposes whether operated by government or by independently controlled organizations. This aid and encouragement could extend to the formation of such organizations where necessary and feasible and to limited pilot projects. Except for purposes of demonstration or testing, SRC should leave to government or such independently controlled and operated groups direct frontal and massive ameliorative action.

That SRC should constantly seek to broaded and deepen its research and education programs, adding new fields of research and seeking through education to reach new and larger constituencies, in which connection youth and young adults should receive early and accentuated attention.

At this point in the meeting the Chairman directed the members' attention to the Special Report to the Executive Committee and asked that each project as presented be considered and action taken on the recommendations set forth, as the Committee so wished.

INFORMATION AND RESEARCH

The Information and Research Department was considered with REcommendation #3, page 11, being approved and adopted by the Committee as follows:

"That we ask the Ford Foundation for $15,000 in support of the position of 'Managing Editor, SRC Publications' since we feel this position is essential for the adequate production of the publications the project grants allow for."

URBAN PLANNING PROJECT

The Urban Planning Project was discussed with both Mr. Smith, director of this project and Mr. Boone, director of the Crime and Corrections Project, concurring in the feeling that because of obvious overlapping of interests among the projects a great deal more coordination than has been had in the past among the various SRC projects is now required.

Mr. Smith emphasized the need for expanding the Urban Planning Project staff to include a Negro planner.

After lengthy discussion of these two points, the Committee took the following action in regard to the Urban Planning Project: That Recommendation #5, page 32, be approved and adopted with the modification that funds not be made available for consultants in all 14 Model Cities in the Southeast, but rather that no more than 3 Model Cities be embarked upon as pilot projects.

Recommendation #5 as amended reads as follows:

> "...that the ideal solution would be for SRC to have two planners (Negro and white), a fund for consultants for no more than 3 Model Cities in the Southeast, and a Community Organizer, under John Lewis and advised by SRC urban planners, on effecting equal treatment in the Model Cities Program."

CRIME AND CORRECTIONS PROJECT

Mr. Boone referred to page 37 of the Special Report and stated the sentiments of the project staff as follows:

> "While refunding at approximately the same general level would be adequate, full exploitation of opportunities and requests for consultation and technical advice as well as the travel required for the collection of dependable research data would seem to call for a somewhat higher level of funding in these areas."

The Committee engaged in a lengthy discussion of the Project based on comments made and new program possibilities suggested by the project director, after which the following motion was unanimously approved and adopted:

> "That the Committee approves the project as it has been conducted and further encourages the project in the direction which it has taken."

The Committee recognized the need to give consideration to changing the name of the project to possibly "Administration of Justice," since it was determined that the project as it now operates more nearly relates to such a title. No formal action was taken on this point. However, the project director concurred in this and assured the Committee that this would be considered further by the staff.

LABOR EDUCATION PROJECT

The concensus of the Committee was that the Labor Education Project is an important aspect of the Council's work and should be continued. The Committee, therefore, approved the staff recommendation on page 33 as follows:

> "...That this project be continued at approximately its present level of funding, subject to securing a qualified project director..."

An additional motion was unanimously approved and adopted as follows:

> "That the Committee instruct the staff to put forth every effort to persuade Dr. Via to return to SRC as a permanent staff member."

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

Mr. Jordan summarized briefly the Project's work as outlined more extensively in the Special Report to the Executive Committee. He emphasized the concept of the third Voter Education Project as it has been envisioned as follows: discontinuing the present VEP as it now exists and creating a successor agency with emphasis on leadership training.

He pointed out that some thought has been given to giving the successor agency a new name consistent with its new emphasis. And, further thought has been given to making such an agency a separate entity. He hastened to point out, however, that the latter point was not appealing and expressed a hope that the new agency would continue under the aegis of SRC.

The Committee entertained a lengthy discussion centering around whether or not the VEP can afford to confine its programs to securing large Negro registration in the South. It was pointed out that historically the tax exemption which the VEP enjoys was granted on the basis that the project would be research-oriented; that is, to seek the best methods, through research, of securing Negro voter registration. It was noted by staff that there are remaining enough unanswered questions about the nature of and the reasons for the hard core of unregistered voters to provide a continuing research-oriented basis for a voter registration project.

A second point discussed was whether VEP can also afford to be discriminating in its efforts; that is, designing programs and conducting workshops geared only to the Negro population of the region while not providing the same programs for the white population. It was agreed by the Committee that leadership programs sponsored by VEP should not, in fact, be officially discriminating or exclusive. Realizing that the programs and workshops would serve primarily newly-elected Negro officials, the Committee agreed that such programs should plainly be made open to all southern, newly-elected officials who would wish to attend.

After much discussion of these two points, and the Committee's apparent desire to know how much money would be required to complete the remaining job of getting maximum Negro voter registration in the southern states, the following motion was introducted, approved, and unanimously adopted:

> "That the staff prepare a comprehensive document, based on research, on what would be required in terms of program, personnel, and sponsorship, to bring citizenship education programs to all the leadership of the South toward the end of providing maximum feasible voter education and voter registration programs for all the southern states."

It was the consensus of the group, in considering questions raised on page 20 of the Special Report, that (1) SRC does wish to continue a significant program in the area of voter education;

(2) that this area is of sufficient importance to the nation to continue such a program, but that the risk of jeopardizing SRC's tax exemption should be kept to a minimum; (3) that considerable funds should still be provided in support of voter education; (4) that no attempt should be made to create a separate, autonomous agency for the project.

FUTURE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SRC AND THE STATE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS.

This report (see Attachment C), referred by the full Council, meeting in November, to the Executive Committee for review and deliberation was discussed at length by the Executive Committee on December 3rd. Following discussion, a motion was made and unanimously approved and adopted that the report be accepted in toto, and that the questions raised on page 29 of the Special Report to the Executive Committee be answered as follows: (1) No, SRC should not attempt to continue a grant-in-aid program since current supporters have indicated their unwillingness to continue funding such a program; (2) Yes, SRC should undertake to place a staff person, under the direction of SRC, in those states where a viable council on human relations does not in fact exist; (3) Yes, the Executive Committee should undertake to have placed before it summaries of any requests from state councils for project funds and approve of them separately after evaluation; (4) Yes, a strong advisory committee on field activities should be established.

An additional motion was introduced, and unanimously approved and adopted that the action taken in regard to this report and any future policy relating to state councils be immediately shared with the state directors and presidents; such action to subsequently appear in the Field Department's Newsletter.

PROGRAMS FOR THE BUSINESS SECTOR.

Before having to leave the meeting Dr. Gomillion expressed the opinion that SRC should attempt to work with business firms. He suggested, however, that SRC do so on the basis that businessmen be viewed simply as citizens and community leaders rather than business agencies expecting special services from SRC in order to be eligible for monetary benefits from them. It was hisfeeling that for SRC to deal with the business sector in any other way would be to impose upon or create a compromising position for the council.

In connection with the whole spectrum of whether or not SRC should attempt to work with business, the Committee unanimously approved and adopted the following motion.

> "That the staff, through exploratory conversations with foundations, determine how SRC can best influence the economic sector of this region, and consider including in the SRC proposal to the Ford Foundation a request for $40,000 toward this end."

The Committee unanimously expressed gratitude to the Executive Director for the most comprehensive report ever presented to it.

The Executive Committee, having been instructed by the Annual Meeting in November "to prepare a statement re-affirming, in the light of present conditions, the interrelationships between our regional concerns and the national and international scene," turned its attention to this matter. With proper consideration having been given to a draft resolution, circulated to committee members prior to this meeting, Dr. H. Franklin Williams introduced a revision of the draft which was, after due consideration by the Committee, unanimously approved and adopted as follows:

We note that our commitment to regional development and racial justice in the South become increasingly entwined with events of the nation, and indeed with the problems of the world. This interrelationship has become so strong that it is now difficult to restrict our thinking and comment to the South.

American freedom of movement has caused problems of this region to appear in new and sharper forms in urban ghettos all over the country. The resultant explosions of frustrated people during the last two years have induced new attitudes among Negroes and whites alike, attitudes which are quickly reflected back into the region. Increasingly, the same attitudes afflict the nation and the region.

National policies, or the lack of them, to deal with the problems of American cities and rural areas, and to offer assistance and rehabilitation of the poor affect this region significantly. We note with regret and concern the lack of leadership this region has offered for development and support of programs which we need as a nation. We remind the leaders of government and business in the South and in the nation that, even now, the search for sound measures is infinitely valuable.

The continued existence and increasing awareness of racism in this country has the most profound importance in our dealings with the nations of the world. We recognize that the struggle of minorities in this country for equal opportunity is often equated with the struggles everywhere of peoples seeking independence and self expression. We recognize the grave significance of color in these struggles in this country and throughout the world.

It is tragic that this richest of nations has not developed a society free of fear, hunger, and want. We recognize the impact of this failure on the billions of people in fear, hunger, and want throughout the world.

We call on our nation to recognize these matters, to adopt programs compatible with both the need and the potential of this great country, to resolve honorably and swiftly, with new and imaginative approaches, the international conflicts in which we are involved and to take the lead in achieving the greatness which is in man universal.

DATE OF THE NEXT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

Mr. Anthony pointed out that the SRC will be at the disposal of a Ford Foundation review team in January and that the Executive Committee would probably wish to meet in late January or early February. With this in mind the Committee agree to meet on Saturday, January 20th.

OTHER BUSINESS.

Before leaving the meeting Dr. Wheeler expressed, on behalf of the Committee, appreciation to Katharine Martin and Mildred Johnson as secretaries to this meeting.

Miss Wilkins called the Committee's attention to the fact that over many years this body has been making policy which is buried in the minds of the Council. It was her feeling that these policies should be recorded on 3 x 5 cards, catalogued and indexed. In this regard the following motion was unanimously approved and adopted:

> "That policy established from time to time by SRC action, be lifted from the records, catalogued, and indexed."

Mr. McNeill Smith pointed out that statistics show that Negro lawyers are declining and recruiting programs are failing. In recognition of this the following motion was unanimously approved and adopted by the Committee:

> "That the Southern Regional Council staff be instructed to plan a program of investigation; finding out how many Negro lawyers there are, why the number is declining, and how the SRC might be helpful in bringing more Negroes into the legal profession."

Miss Wilkins spoke to the matter of the returning soldier, citing prior interest in this field by both SRC and the old Interracial Commission. She raised the question as to whether some attention should perhaps now be focused on the Vietnam returnee who will doubtless suffer even greater frustration than former soldiers, and asked the Committee to be giving some thought to the matter.

Mr. Anthony pointed out that the first draft of the Ford Foundation proposal is due in the hands of the Foundation by December 31st. He pointed out that the proposal will reflect what has taken place in this meeting and informed the members that copies would be sent to each of them prior to their next meeting.

Mr. Christopher suggested that the Council give some attention to creating what he called a "Finance Counselling Agency" to assist persons badly in debt. He further suggested that in developing the Ford proposal that this idea might be included. He expressed some interest in disucssing this in more detail at a subsequent meeting of the Committee.

With no further business the meeting adjourned.

ATTACHMENTS

ATTACHMENT A

RESOLUTION
of the
Executive Committee
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

On behalf of the members of the Council, the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council wishes to express to Mrs. Rufus E. Clement and Atlanta University its deep grief and great sense of loss. Dr. Clement, an Incorporator and founder of the Council, was for more than 20 years one of the organization's most influential and effective leaders. His contributions to the leadership of this agency were invaluable. We shall miss this good friend and great American.

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ATTACHMENT B

November 2, 1967

To the Executive Committee
Southern Regional Council
Dr. Raymond Wheeler, Chmn.

Dear Dr. Wheeler:

We would like to submit to the Executive Committee the recommendation of David H. Scull to serve on the Executive Committee in the vacancy created by the death of Thomas W. Young. This is not necessarily a nomination to the Vice-Presidency, but would presume the Executive Committee's action in appointing a Vice President from the Executive Committee, thus creating said vacancy.

We believe that David Scull would contribute to the Executive Committee a base of State and Local Council relationship, and balance geographically as well as occupationally, being a member of the business community. His experience and contacts in terms of the many forms of the human relations movements, his creative thought and procedural know-how would be of constructive value. His service on the Development Committee of SRC we believe has won respect.

A list of particulars of his background and current associations is attached. We would appreciate your thoughtful consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Hubert S. Beckwith, Virginia
Mrs. Tom Ragland, Tennessee
Mrs. Lawrence Coe, Tennessee
Fred D. Alexander, North Carolina

Benjamin Muse, Virginia
W. Carroll Broke, Virginia

ATTACHMENT B Continued

DAVID H. SCULL, ANNANDALE, VIRGINIA BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

President, The Turnpike Press, Inc., Annandale, Va. (Only union printing firm in Northern Virginia; pioneer in open employment policy.

Age 53. Born Kenosha, Wisconsin. Swarthmore College, A.B. 1936. Resident of Fairfax County, Virginia since 1940. Married, 4 children.

Founding member, Fairfax County Council on Human Relations. Individual member of SRC prior to formation of state councils. President, Virginia Council on Human Relations, 1965-67. Member, VCHR Executive Committee approximately 10 years; served as Chairman of Fair Employment and Personnel Committees; presently Chairman, Finance Committee.

Life Member, NAACP. Member, National Urban League Housing Advisory Comm. Member, Va. Advisory Committee, U. S. Civil Rights Commission. Member, Inter-religious Committee on Race Relations (D.C.)

Founding member & Vice-Chairman, Natl. Capital Area Civil Liberties Union; former Virginia State correspondent, ACLU.

First Board Chairman, now Vice-President, Planned Communities, Inc. (formerly Modern Community Developers), selling and management agent for Mutural Real Estate Investment Trust (M-REIT), involved in integrated housing. First President, now V-P, HURELCO Land & Development Corp. of Va. and President or officer in other concerns working in integrated housing.

1952-64 Director, Nationwide Insurance Companies of Columbus, Ohio, and subsidiaries (Broadcasting, Real Estate, Finance, etc.). Chairman of International Committee of Board of Directors. Chairman of Study Team which went into India in 1962 investigating what cooperatives could do from USA to help co-ops in India; major staff and investment program now based on team's recommendations.

In cooperative movement since 1935. Past President, Rochdale Coop of Va. Following merger with Greenbelt Consumer Services to become largest urban consumer coop in US, served 2 years as Director. Former President of Potomac Cooperators (coop wholesale for region). 1966-67, Chairman of GCS Committee on Inner City Coop Development.

Trustee 6 years, & Treasurer, Group Health Assn., cooperative medical service for over 50,000 people in D.C.

Delegate to Congresses of International Cooperative Alliance on 3 occasions. Visited co-ops in over 20 countries. Travelled in Europe, Middle East, Africa. Director, American Travel Association.

U. S. Government employee, 1939-53. (Treasury, Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, State Dept.). Personnel & administrative officer, management analyst, foreign affairs officer. Last 3 years with Technical Assistance Program. Left in 1953 to join in family business.

Clerk, Langley Hill Friends Meeting. Chairman, Friends Council-National Capital Area. Member, Executive and Finance Committees, Friends World Committee. Former Chairman, Southern Sub-committee, Community Relations Program of American Friends Service Committee. Planning Chairman, 1st National Conference of Friends on Race Relations. Chairman of major committee, 1967 Friends World Conference, Guilford, N.C.

Past President and/or Treasurer of several credit unions; Treasurer, U.S. State Dept. Federal Credit Union; President, D. C. Credit Union League; member, CUNA Founders Club.

Past Director, Printing Industry of Washington; Trustee, Lithographis Education Foundation of D.C. Member, Fairfax Co. Chamber of Commerce.

Past President, Burgundy Farm School (cooperative school which was first integrated school in Virginia.)

Chairman, Overseas Committee of Community Service, Inc. (Arthur E. Morgan, Pres.; concerned with school & community development project in South India.)

One of 4 original complainants, Thompson's Restaurant Case, decided by U.S. Supreme Court in desegregating restaurants in D.C. In Scull vs. Virginia, acquitted by unanimous decision of U. S. Supreme Court following contempt of court conviction for refusing to reveal private activities of an inter-racial nature to investigating committee of Virginia Legislature.

Recipient of distinguished achievement awards in areas of race relations, 2 from NAACP, 1 from American Veterans Committee.

Speaker, author & co-author of various articles and phamplets, on race relations, & on ethical-religious aspects of economic system.

ATTACHMENT C

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL - STATE COUNCIL RELATIONS

The Committee agreed that the question under discussion must be considered in the light of the needs of the South, which both the Southern Regional Council and the state councils on human relations are committed to serve.

The South has real need for a Human Relations Council movement based on a belief that solution of problems of the area requires the common and combined effort of both races. Perhaps at one time an interracial groups was needed to assure the Negro of a sharein decisions which concern him. Now the Negro is playing his role and

ATTACHMENT C continued

the problem is to prevent repolarization in problem solving. The South needs participation not only of white leaders but of large numbers of white citizens. The Negro leadership needs to feel that significant numbers of whites are ready to share in problem solving. To this end there should be regional leadership by the Southern Regional Council, but there must also be state councils and local councils to bring problem solving to the grass roots level with involvement of larger numbers.

At each level the ideal organization would be a self-starting group of convinced individuals. Strong local organizations would be coordinated by vigorous state councils, each with a board and staff. The role of the SRC would be one of leadership and assistance. History and reality present a different picture, but this need not forbid an attempt to bring reality closer to the ideal.

State councils fall into two categories, the mature and the developing. The mature councils come close to the ideal. They have boards which are active and interested. They have programs in which board members share. They have local councils which carry program to local communities and assure support of the state council. The state policy board employs staff which executes its policy for these councils. SRC has been giving general support. It now proposes to substitute project support for the general support formerly given.

It can be assumed that in many areas (such as housing, employment, voter education, prison reform, and education) there will be common aims as between SRC and the state councils. Projects in specific areas might originate either with a state council or with SRC. The pattern envisaged is that SRC can approach foundations which reject general support with proposals for projects in specific areas. If interest is shown, SRC would seek to obtain cooperation from state councils on the basis of payment for additional staff which might be needed, together with a solid "overhead" for general service. If the state council chooses to participate it would have more staff and help in administrative costs. If the state council rejects the offer, the SRC would be free to act with its own staff on the project, but with the understanding that the state council will be kept fully informed. The pattern would be that the state human relations council and the SRC, after a joint consideration of the needs of the state, would be equals engaged in the same cause, cooperating where appropriate and acting independently in some cases.

The case of developing councils is different. There councils need assistance to reach the situation where their boards will take responsibility for setting policy and employing staff. In states which have had no councils or where councils have ceased to be viable and request assistance, the committee pictures the SRC as seeking foundation grants to support an organizing effort. The staff sent into such a state would be employed by SRC and responsible to it. The man or woman sent in would be something of a specialist in setting

up a state council. When he has assembled a board, persuaded them to commit themselves to the cause, and started them along the path to regular-fund-raising, it is the committee's hope that the state board would seek its independence and become a mature council. Then it would negotiate with SRC as an equal.

It is the recommendation of the committee that the SRC retain its present role of field service to state councils, whether mature or developing. We recommend that SRC continue consultation on staff, program and methods. We recommend that it form a strong advisory committee on field activities, a committee drawn from SRC members, state council members, and knowledgeable outsiders. We recommend that SRC continue to sponsor meetings and workshops for officers and staffs of state councils. We recommend that SRC tighten the coordination among its own programs as they move into the field so that SRC will speak with one voice in a community. We recommend that SRC work closely with state councils and local councils for their mutual advantage. These recommendations will certainly require enlargement of the Field Activities Department.

One more item should be included in this report. This Committee envisages the transition to the new system of relations as involving full discussion of the proposal and of individual situations with state councils. It assumes that in each case there could be agreement on the classification of the state council, since there are advantages to each status. One helpful factor would certainly be an allowance of time for a council seeking independence to achieve the necessary support.

In summary the committee recommends a full commitment by the SRC to an enlarged constituency through state and local councils. SRC will seek support to promote councils where they do not exist or are too weak to stand alone. For this developmental stage the SRC will be fully responsible. When state councils have effective board and basic support they will make policy and employ staff. At this stage the SRC will not furnish grants-in-aid for general support. It will, however, continue to give field service. It will, in addition, seek funds for specific projects in which state councils may participate if they choose. By this means some support will be available to councils.

It is the opinion of the committee that such an arrangement would assure staff security while the state council is de facto in a formative stage, while at the same time assuring both the SRC and the state council board of attention to the details of organization and administration. It will also give the SRC control at all points of funds for which it is responsible. Where funds are sought and responsibility accepted for development of the general operations of the state council, control can be exercised through selection and supervision of personnel. Where funds are sought and responsibility accepted for special projects the control will be exercised through contractual agreement. It seems to us that the strength of the proposal is that it resolves these two fundamental issues.

This report is designed as a policy statement. If adopted it could only be made effective if the Southern Regional Council could win sufficient approval of the policy from funding agencies to secure the necessary financial support.

JUN 23 1955

CITY OF TOLEDO
OHIO

BOARD OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS

565 N. ERIE STREET, TOLEDO 2, OHIO
GARFIELD 1961—EXT. 212, 213

C. ARTHUR COLLIN
CHAIRMAN

HON. OLLIE CZELUSTA
MAYOR

JOHN G. FEILD
SECRETARY

June 21, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

This will confirm our arrangements in connection with our Third Annual Workshop. Mr. Tidings, in Louisville, was able to obtain your release from the labor school and, as I indicated to you, we would like to have you in Toledo around 10:00 a.m. - July 1st. Should you find it necessary to fly into Willow Run instead of Toledo, I would be able to pick you up. I believe, however, that the North-bound planes all stop in Toledo. I am enclosing a copy of the Workshop program so you may get some estimate of our sessions. There will be around 50 in the group, which includes school teachers, religious education leaders, agency workers, and civic leaders. We have arranged a luncheon session immediately following the Workshop, which should be concluded by 1:30. We would be delighted to have you stay at our house if you come in Thursday night. Please feel free to call me at my home, Kingswood 2035.

We are delighted that you are able to be with us and I will look forward to seeing you. Best wishes.

Cordially,

John

John G. Feild
Secretary

JGF:arv
Enclosure

July 11, 1955

Mr. John G. Feild
Secretary
Board of Community Relations
565 North Erie Street
Toledo 2, Ohio

Dear John:

I had a delightful time, and I am grateful to you and Mrs. Feild and the University of Toledo and the Board of Community Relations, and all of your joint friends. The Treasurer sent his check today. We are extremely grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

JUL 8 1955

CITY OF TOLEDO
OHIO

BOARD OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS

565 N. ERIE STREET, TOLEDO 2, OHIO
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MAYOR

JOHN G. FEILD
SECRETARY

July 6, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I can't begin to tell you about how pleased I was with your presentation at our Workshop. People around town are still talking about the session and I would imagine that the channel may now be well established whereby other groups in our community would begin calling on the experience and point-of-view of persons associated with the Southern Regional Council. It's good for us Northern folks to develop a "national" perspective.

Marilyn and the kids send you their best wishes and we shall look forward to seeing you again soon. Thanks for the tips on the Federal Government. Please give my regards to Fred Routh and the others in your group. Best wishes.

Cordially,

John G. Feild
Secretary

JGF:arv

July 11, 1955

Mr. Charles J. Kirschner, Sr.
Director of Summer Sessions
University of Toledo
Toledo 6, Ohio

Dear Mr. Kirschner:

I am extremely grateful for your check for $100, and for kind words about my appearance at Toledo the other day. You were all most courteous to me and I greatly enjoyed the occasion.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

UNIVERSITY OF TOLEDO
TOLEDO 6, OHIO

DIRECTOR OF SUMMER SESSIONS

July 7, 1955

JUL 9 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

On behalf of The University of Toledo and the Workshop Coordinating Committee, I want to extend our sincere thanks for your contribution to the Third Annual Workshop in Intergroup Relations. The value of a project of this kind is almost wholly dependent upon the caliber of our lecturers and group leaders. We believe that much of the credit for the success of this year's Workshop was due to your thoughtful presentation.

K.S.

Enclosed is our check for $100.00, the amount agreed upon to cover expenses and honorarium.

Sincerely yours,

Charles J. Kirschner, Sr.

Charles J. Kirschner, Sr.
Director of Summer Sessions

cjk/lk
encl.

TOWARD A TABLE OF CONTENTS FOR AN SRC BOOK

The Human Relations Crisis in the South

Cogwheels Conquer the Iron Hoes

Legislative Re-apportionment - The Man with the Hoe

Anthropology

The Cultural Distance

Pure Breeds

Color Comes ~~off~~ up

Law Swings Around

Four Societies Under One Law

Court Orders Versus Agreement

Cut Off Their Heads

Dignity

Responsibility

Efficiency

The Local Committee

Lay Down This Heavy Load

COGWHEELS CONQUER THE IRON HOES

The cherished opinion of the msjority of white Southerners - what is called "white supremacy" - grew out of slavery. The plantation society bred fear and jealousy of the slaves. This old inheritance hangs over the American South and ditorts every public issue. Then explain how the plantation economy de-graded.

Contrast the Civil War society and so on generally in the spirit of Mumble-de-peg Versus Scooter Baseball.

LEGISLATIVE REAPPORTIONMENT - THE MAN WITH THE HOE

With all of the work to be done

the C H show the ascendency of the pl economy in the

increasingly industrial South.

ANTHROPOLOGY

Some anthropologists who write the truth.

THE CULTURAL DISTANCE

It's quite true that a cultural distance survives between white and Negro people in the mass in much of the South. But as usual individuals in each group depart from the mass mean. Generally speaking, desegregation will throw together only those being adult or fully compatible; or being children and still capable of rapid pick-up of cultural values.

PURE BREEDS

Say what can be said to slay the ghost of wide-spread miscegenation.

COLOR COMES UP

The progress that has been made in equalizing white and Negro culture and economic standing.

LAW SWINGS AROUND

Quick run-down of the course of the law as it made its way from Plessy v. Ferguson to recent Supreme Court decisions.

FOUR SOCIETIES UNDER ONE LAW

Show that in any given State in the Lower South you have got parts of seven ages and conditions of society. The moral is that the smart thing to do is to swing around to pretty complete desegregation in the advanced parts of each State and to go more slowly at desegregating the unadvanced parts.

COURT ORDERS VERSUS AGREEMENT

Show that the law has less opportunity to adjust itself flexibly to the needs of local situations than citizens groups would have.

OFF WITH THEIR HEADS!

General discussion of Tennessee Labor article.

DIGNITY

Argue that the essential Negro demand is for recognition of equal human dignity.

RESPONSIBILITY

Show that Negro society so long denied responsibility has encased itself in a shell of irresponsibility.

EFFICIENCY

Show that this kind of responsibility leads to the growth of efficiency.

THE LOCAL COMMITTEE

Show that this achieves recognition of dignity, responsibility and efficiency at one whack.

LAY DOWN THIS HEAVY LOAD

The doctrine that the white South frees itself of clumsy impedimenta when it recognizes the dignity of the Negro people in the South.

FOOTNOTES

Facts thus far neglected the progress of desegregation in the various facets of ~~the~~ Southern life, including the school; that slimy gospel of the Citizens' Councils; and doubtless many others.

BOOKS FOR EQUAL EDUCATION

236 EAST 46th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017 • 687-3676 • CABLE, YACWAY

Co-Sponsors: UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION, UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL • National Director: FRANK A. MILLSPAUGH

30 April 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I thought that I may as well send you the entire thing that I sent the Foundation, including prospectus, report, budget, and letter from Mays and Pitts. (There is none from Wright.)

I will be in New York throughout the period during which you indicate that Mr. Dunbar will be here, and, of course, I will be eager to meet with him whenever he is able.

My thanks to both you and Mr. Dunbar for your support and assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Frank

Frank A. Millspaugh
National Director

FAM/aa

Enclosures

Home phone EN9-1608

Supporting Organizations:

Americans for Democratic Action, Campus Division
American Friends Service Committee, College Section
American Youth Hostels
Association of International Relations Clubs
B'nai B'rith Young Adults
Collegiate Council for the United Nations
Cooperative League of the U.S.A., Student Div.
Encampment for Citizenship
4-H Clubs and Young Men's & Young Women's Programs
Lisle Fellowship, Inc.
National American Indian Youth Committee of Arrow, Inc.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Youth Division
National Catholic Youth Organizations Federation
National Federation of Catholic College Students
National Jewish Welfare Board
National Newman Club Federation
National Student Christian Federation
National Student Council of the Young Men's Christian Association
National Young Men's Christian Association Young Adult Council
Students for a Democratic Society
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
Student Religious Liberals
United Christian Youth Movement
United World Federalists, Student Division
United States National Student Association
United States Student Press Association
Workmen's Circle
Young Christian Students
Young Christian Workers
Young Democratic Clubs of America
Young Women's Christian Association of the United States of America

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Co-Sponsors: UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION, UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL • National Director: FRANK A. MILLSPAUGH

Feb. 22, 1965

PA

Dear Paul:

No word from me for weeks, then a thick, special delivery. Oh well.

Here are draft materials for the Books for prostpectus. I have had to negotiate down to the last comma with the damned YMCA, but we are finally in agreement, and I am going to the coast Wednesday to close the deal. All this has put me behind schedule, and I will have to really push on the grant when I get back.

If you possibly can, please review this material thoroughly and send me your comments. Among those comments should especially be suggestions of the first foundation(s) to try it out on. I hope that you will be able to help me, at least with an impressive letter of support, and if possible and actual visit when the time comes to visit the Foundation, because they always categorize me as a nice young colleg boy and offer me a 50¢ tip and a pat on the head. The full majesty of my 28½ years fails to sink in despite my protestations.

Of course, the budget is rough also; the NSWA accountant is doing it up in fine, with FICA, etc. You will notice that I have chickened out and trimmed the budget a bit. Also, FYSA is picking up my salary for the next year, so that's a SMALL amount that won't go on the request.

Additional materials which will accompany this request are brochures from NSA, USYC, BEE brochure, Clipping reprint. Do you think a brochure on each of the distributing organizations would help? God, I'll have to rent a truck to deliver all this stull. (Of course, I can use the same truck to take all the money to the bank).

Please write as soon as you can.

Regards,

Frank

Supporting Organizations:

Americans for Democratic Action, Campus Division
American Friends Service Committee, College Section
American Youth Hostels
Association of International Relations Clubs
B'nai B'rith Young Adults
Collegiate Council for the United Nations
Cooperative League of the U.S.A., Student Div.
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United States Student Press Association
Workmen's Circle
Young Christian Students
Young Christian Workers
Young Democratic Clubs of America
Young Women's Christian Association of the United States of America

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BOOKS FOR EQUAL EDUCATION

236 EAST 46th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017 • 687-3676 • CABLE, YACWAY

Co-Sponsors: UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION, UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL • National Director: FRANK A. MILLSPAUGH

Draft - 2/22/65

An application is hereby submitted to the Foundation for a grant of $59,100.00 to finance the "Books for Equal Education" domestic collection and distribution program for the period between May, 1965, and April, 1966. The organizations sponsoring this program are the United States National Student Association and the United States Youth Council, both of which are exempt from federal income tax under the educational provisions of section 101 (6) of the Internal Revenue Code.

"Books for Equal Education" is a program designed to collect books from all over the country for distribution to major areas of poverty in the United States. Since the beinning of this program in May, 1964, over 400,000 books have been collected and distributed under its auspices. During its second year of operation, an estimated million and a half books will be made available to educational facilities serving the impoverished. A complete description of the first year of operation and the second year planning is contained in Appendix I, which should be considered an integral part of this prospectus.

At present, ~~negotiations~~ distribution agreements have been completed with major organizations serving the South, the West Coast, and the Appalachian region. These organizations are, respectively, the Southern Regional Council, the Southwest Council of the Young Men's Christian Association, and the Appalachian Volunteers division of the Council of Southern Mountains.

Supporting Organizations:

Americans for Democratic Action, Campus Division
American Friends Service Committee, College Section
American Youth Hostels
Association of International Relations Clubs
B'nai B'rith Young Adults
Collegiate Council for the United Nations
Cooperative League of the U.S.A., Student Div.
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Lisle Fellowship, Inc.
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Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
Student Religious Liberals
United Christian Youth Movement
United World Federalists, Student Division
United States National Student Association
United States Student Press Association
Workmen's Circle
Young Christian Students
Young Christian Workers
Young Democratic Clubs of America
Young Women's Christian Association of the United States of America

Generally, the division of responsibility is as follows. The national office does all the general publicity, conducts the campus drive in the spring and the publishers' drive in the fall, develops new areas of distribution, supervises the area directors, and coordinates the efforts of the distribution agencies. The distribution agencies (the organizations listed above) provide the area directors with the organizational structure and technical assistance requisite to the actual distribution of the books. With the assistance of these organizations, the area directors secure and staff warehouses; sort and ship books to the recipients; identify existing and help begin new educational projects for the receipt and use of the books.

The grant requested is to cover the salaries of all necessary personnel not covered by previous grants from other sources, travel expenses, and administration expenses not covered by the sponsoring or distributing organizations. The request does not include the"BEE Comics" or international assistance projects. It may be interesting to note that the requested figure comes to less than four cents per book on the estimated number of books to be placed during the coming year.

We will greatly appreciate your consideration of this request. Of course, I shall be most pleased to provide you with any further information you may require and to meet with you for full discussion at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Frank Millspaugh
Natioanl Director

BOOKS FOR EQUAL EDUCATION

236 EAST 46th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017 • 687-3676 • CABLE [illegible]WAY

Co-Sponsors: UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION, UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL • National Director: F[illegible] MILLSPAUGH

APPENDIX I

DIRECTOR'S REPORT

February 6, 1965

March, 1964 through September, 1964:

"Books for Equal Education" (BEE) is a nationwide book drive co-sponsored by the United States Youth Council and the United States National Student Association. It was officially begun in March of 1964 with the receipt of a grant for $2,500.00 from the Edgar Stern Family Fund for the promotion and administration of the drive. Additional funds approximating $1,500.00 were raised through contributions and campus fund-raising.

The goal of the 1964 drive, held during the spring and summer months, was the collection of 250,000 books of all educational levels for distribution to Southern Negro schools and community centers. Special emphasis was to be given to Southern Negro Colleges and Universities whose accreditation had been withheld, withdrawn, or otherwise jeopardized due to inadequate library facilities.

Books were solicited through the member organizations of the Council and the member schools of the United States National Student Association. The Council was responsible for mailing promotional material to its membership. I was then employed by USNSA which promoted the program on its member campuses and assumed responsibility for the over-all administration by contributing my time to serve as director of the project.

With the assistance of Miss Connie Curry, then director of the USNSA Southern Project Office in Atlanta, Georgia, we secured the use of a full floor in a large warehouse in Atlanta. With the grant mentioned above, we hired Mr. Harry deLung as a full-time assistant to receive, sort and distribute the books from the Atlanta location. The USNSA Southern Project office provided Mr. deLung with clerical support.

Supporting Organizations:

Americans for Democratic Action, Campus Division
American Friends Service Committee, College Section
American Youth Hostels
Association of International Relations Clubs
B'nai B'rith Young Adults
Collegiate Council for the United Nations
Cooperative League of the U.S.A., Student Div.
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United States Student Press Association
Workmen's Circle
Young Christian Students
Young Christian Workers
Young Democratic Clubs of America
Young Women's Christian Association of the United States of America

The policy of the BEE program was to hold contributing campuses and agencies responsible for the cost of shipping books to the central collection point in Atlanta. The project then assumed responsibility for shipping arrangements to the recipient campuses and agencies.

To assist us in establishing policy and criteria for the distribution of the books, Mr. deLung and I created an Advisory Board consisting of several outstanding men: Dr. Benjamin Mays, President of Moorehouse College; Dr. Stephen J. Wright, President of Fisk University; Dr. Lucius H. Pitts, President of Miles College; Mr. Paul Anthony, Field Director for the Southern Regional Council; and Mr. Monroe Schlactus, Director of the Southeast Region of the Anti-Defamation League. One meeting of the Advisory Board was held in June. The expenses were covered by the grant. Mr. Anthony and Mr. Schlactus live in Atlanta and were, therefore, readily available for consultation. Subsequent consultations with the other members of the Board were conducted by telephone and through correspondence. All the Advisors were most enthusiastic about the project and gave freely of their time and assistance. The project could not have been successful without their aid.

By the end of August, approximately 275,000 books had been received at the Atlanta warehouse. About 90% of these were usable. By September 17, the last of these books had been distributed. Most of the children's books and pre-college texts were contributed to the community centers operated by the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) and to similar projects throughout the South. The major recipients of the college-level books were six Southern Negro Colleges and Universities: Shaw University, Raleigh, North Carolina; Friendship Junior College, Rockhill, South Carolina; Allen University, Columbia, South Carolina; Miles College, Birmingham, Alabama; Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama; and Rust College, Holly Springs, Mississippi. These schools were selected upon the advice of our Advisory Board. Following a lengthy correspondence with the Presidents and librarians of each of the recipient schools, but prior to distribution, we visited each of the schools to conduct final negotiations and to determine the ability of the staff to handle the numbers of books requested. Final distribution was made according to our judgement and in consultation with one or more of the Advisors.

No state schools were included because our Advisors felt that giving books to state schools would make it more difficult for the administration of such schools to then secure proper assistance from state legislatures. Furthermore, each of the schools selected, with the exception of Tuskegee Institute, is having problems with accreditation which center around the sole or primary factor of inadequate library facilities. Such schools were given first preference because it was thought that the books they received from BEE could have a substantive effect on their status. Many other schools had the same desperate need for books, but their status would not have been affected because of other serious deficiencies. In addition, some schools otherwise eligible to receive books were given a lower priority because they did not have the staff available to catalog and shelve books in any appreciable quantity. Tuskegee Institute, however, is the one fully accredited school to which we contributed books. The request from this school was based not on its own need, but on a special project which the school wished to inaugurate: a mobile library unit to provide the rural communities surrounding the school with the first and only library facilities available to Negroes in that section of Alabama. Tuskegee Institute was able to provide the staff and the truck, and BEE supplied about 15,000 books of every educational level.

October, 1964 through Present:

At the end of September, 1964, BEE received a six-month grant of $3,900.00 from the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs to pay my salary and expenses as director and incidental printing costs. The United States Youth Council is administering this grant, and I am working out of the USYC offices, being provided office space and clerical support by the Council.

In this period, most of my efforts have been directed to developing broader bases of distribution and solicitation for the project. It was agreed among the sponsoring organizations that the first drive would be based primarily on student and youth organizations sources, because one of the goals of the program was to offer an opportunity for as many as possible of such organizations to work together productively. Although this will continue to be the program's solicitation emphasis, other sources of books are being developed. Among them are book publishers, public libraries, boards of education, adult civic clubs, etc. Publishers are being especially responsive to this program. As their contributions are eligible for tax write-offs, there is unlimited opportunity in this area.

For a number of excellent reasons, distribution of the books during the early stages of the program was confined to agencies which would enhance the educational opportunities of Southern Negroes. Although first priority will continue to be assigned to this area, the base of distribution is being expanded to include other areas of educational need: urban tutorial projects; deficient school facilities in the Appalachian region; mission schools on Indian reservations; literacy projects in migrant worker camps; and, on the international level, educational assistance to selected projects in the developing nations.

In order to upgrade the efficiency of distribution in all areas, I have been in extensive negotiations with major organizations servicing areas described above. The effect of these negotiations is to "farm out" book distribution to organizations with a thorough knowledge of an extensive contacts in the various areas.

Late in October, arrangements were concluded with the Appalachian Volunteers program of the Council of the Southern Mountains for distribution of books to the impoverished residents of the nine-state Appalachian region. To date, approximately 90,000 books have been distributed through these auspices. The cost of this program is being born by the CSM under a broad grant received from the federal government under the Economic Opportunities Act of 1964. The CSM maintains a warehouse in Berea, Kentucky, and a full-time staff person devoted to the distribution of books through existing agencies and the development of new agencies such as library substations. This person is under the cooperative supervision of the CSM and the director of BEE.

A similar arrangement has been worked out with the Southern Regional Council for distribution in the southern states. Under our agreement, the SRC will provide office and clerical support and immediate supervision for a full-time staff person to be paid by BEE. This arrangement will become operative pending the receipt of a grant sufficient for this person's salary and operating expenses. We anticipate this by early spring, 1965.

Negotiations are now under way with the Southwest Council of the YM and YWCAs for a similar arrangement for the benefit of west coast migrant workers. Extensive correspondence has been exchanged on this subject, and in late February, I will be travelling to San Francisco to resolve the remaining details and complete the negotiations.

Commitments have also been made to the World Assembly of Youth for books for WAY projects in African countries. We will make only a token contribution of actual books, but are providing the apparatus and supervision for a book drive to be held in Great Britain, Belgium, and France through these countries' national committees of WAY and the national unions of students. Collection and distribution will be done in the name of BEE, with WAY endorsement and support.

The BEE program has not easily lent itself to situations in which book needs are highly specific, which is the situation in northern urban ghettos. Therefore, we have secured the services of a research assistant to prepare appropriate materials for distribution in these areas. Enclosed with this report is a prospectus describing the "BEE Comics" program. This prospectus is under discussion with the New World Foundation which seems positively disposed toward giving financial assistance.

Funding for the total BEE program remains a severe problem. A prospectus is being prepared encompassing all areas of distribution for an estimated one and a half million books during the coming year. The budget for such an operation will probably exceed $50,000.00 annually. Experiments are being made to determine other sources of income. The National Council of YWCAs has undertaken to hold book rummage sales ("BEE Fests") in their community agencies to help raise funds for the project. It is also hoped that the BEE Comics will become a source of renevue, but that is a long time off.

PROJECTED PLANS:

In order to facilitate the many aspects of the BEE program, we are beginning to construct an advisory committee representing education, publishing, welfare, and international interests. Dr. Harold Taylor has consented to assist us in the compiling of such a list and making initial contacts.

A campus drive will be held again this spring coinciding with the completion of spring terms. The initial mailins will be sent to all campuses in the United States, with follow-ups to the 400 members of the United States National Student Association and all others who respond to the early contacts.

A publishers' drive will be initiated during the late summer and early fall. This drive will be primarily directed toward the ninety members of the American Textbook Publishers Institute.

A late fall drive will be held in Great Britain, France, and Belgium for the benefit of the African projects of the World Assembly of Youth.

Efforts will be made to effect agreements with organizations servicing American Indian reservations and Puerto Rican sites for distribution in those areas.

National service organizations will be invited to hold supporting drives among their chapters in local communities to tap sources such as libraries, boards of education, etc.

Work in all present areas will continue and intensify.

Respectfully submitted,

Frank Millspaugh
National Director

FM/aa

Enclosure

file

BOOKS FOR EQUAL EDUCATION

General Report of the Southern Operation, Summer, 1965

Harry L. DeLung, Jr.,
Assistant Director

CONTENTS·

I. Introduction
II. How BEE works
III. Placements Recommended by the Advisors
IV. Other Placements and Special Projects
V. Problems and Prospects for the Future

INTROCUTION

Books for Equal Education (BEE) was founded in early 1964 by Mr. Frank Millspaugh, then the Community Issues Director for the U. S. National Student Association. U. S. N. S. A. and the U. S. Youth Council agreed to co-sponsor the project which would receive and distribute new and used books to unaccredited southern Negro colleges. Since that time, BEE has expanded to become a clearing house for hundreds of thousands of donated books which are distributed to colleges, primary and secondary schools, V.I.S.T.A. projects, reform schools, Job Corps training centers, literacy projects, community libraries, and similar programs.

The common object to every placement of books by BEE is that they will go in the hands of persons who do not have normal access to the books they need. The reason may be racial, economic or cultural disadvantage. Every request for books is considered on this basis, and the ability of the requesting agency or individual to effectively utilize the books.

HOW BEE WORKS

BEE is financed by foundations grants, and all books are contributed. Each spring an appeal is made for books from college students, publishers, and other organizations. Since the project began, over 500,000 volumes have been received at the Atlanta warehouse.

When the books are received, they are sorted into 15 catagories, ranging from college academic disciplines to pre-school story books. All college-level volumes are shelved according to academic classification. Books suitable for use in primary and secondary schools, community libraries, vocation training, "Head-Start" programs, and other uses are stacked separately.

A board of advisors recommends colleges and certain other educational institutions which are contacted in regard to receiving books. Members of the board have been· Dr. Benjamin Mays of Morehouse College, Dr. Lucius Pitts of Miles College, Mr. Robert Cousins of the Southern Education Foundation, Mr. Paul Anthony of the Southern Regional Council, and Dr. Stephen Wright of Fisk University.

At the original meeting of the board, a basic criteria was established for schools that would be contacted. They would be Negro schools because these institutions have suffered the greatest general disadvantage. Unaccredited colleges would be given first priority, especially those which are close enough to meeting accreditation standards that the books might be an appreciable gain. Recognizing that southern states should bare the first responsibility of seeing that their colleges are accredited, it was decided work would be more effective if it was primarily with private institutions. This would leave maximum pressure on the states to bring up the standards of their schools.

When a college decides to accept books, representatives are sent to the Atlanta warehouse to select the books they want. Because the shelves are continuously being re-stocked as more books are sorted, no limit is put on the number of volumes a school can take. No charge of any kind is made to institutions that receive books, but these must be responsible for transporting them. Usually a truck or trailer is rented, although some schools have preferred to use motor express.

The major emphasis of the project has always been on colleges (and a few selected preparatory schools), and only these institutions may select books off of the shelves. Other recipients select books from the broad catagories that are arranged in the warehouse which are books that are not of an academic level suitable for colleges.

This summer broad contacts have been used to locate suitable agencies in which to place the books that colleges have not found useful. Since these books account for about 70 percent of all those received, the type of recipients is somewhat less specialized.

Dr. J. T. Brooks, executive secretary of the Negro American Teachers Association, has sent letters to his affiliated organizations in the South, advising them of the availability of large numbers of secondary and primary school text books. Since some southern states still do not provide free text books to all students, these books have been very useful to grade school teachers. In most public school systems, very little money is available for the school libraries, and substantial contributions have been made in this area.

Newspaper publicity has been responsible for putting BEE in contact with many agencies who qualify for our books. A full page feature article appeared in the Atlanta Journal this summer, and about 25 qualified recipients were selected from the hundreds of requests that were made as a result of the article.

Additional placements have been made with the help of the agencies with which we have regular contact. These include the Southern Regional Council,Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, National Urban League, and the Southern Student Human Relations Project (of USNSA).

PLACEMENTS RECOMMENDED BY THE ADVISORS

Last summer our advisors recommended six colleges be contacted. Those which responded and received books were · Allen University, Friendship Jr. College, Miles College, and Shaw University. Also, books were provided to Tuskegee Institute to use in a book mobile, This summer, more than twice as many college and other recommended schools have received books. On the average, each has taken about three times as many books as each school last year.
These schools are·

KITRELL COLLEGE, Kitrell, North Carolina. - This is a junior college operated by the A. M. E. Church. It has state, but not regional accreditation. Its importance to Negro education is measured in part by its location in the eastern, plantation section of North Carolina, which is the least developed part of the state and has the worst racial situation.

BOGGS ACADEMY, Keysville, Georgia.- This is the only Negro preparatory school in Georgia. Their need was heightened by a recent fire which totally destroyed their library. It is operated by the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

VOORHEES COLLEGE, Denmark, S. C. - This is an Episcopal-sponsored junior college which hopes to expand into a four year institution, and needs to greatly increase their library facilites to get accreditation for their new curriculum.

MORRIS COLLEGE, sumter, S. C. - Morris lost is regional accreditation in 1951, and is in serious need of building up its library facilities. Last year, Morris did not have a professional librarian, and the advisors felt that the books could not be utilized effectively. However, this year they have hired a full-time professional librarian and the decision was made to invite their participation.

BARBER SCOTIA COLLEGE, Concord, N. C. - This school is in danger of losing its regional accreditation if library facilities are not enlarged. It is a four year college with a predominantly rurla, local student body. It was felt that an accredited college is very important in the area.

CLINTON COLLEGE, rock Hill, S. C. - This is a junior college, without regional accreditation. Books are seriously needed to imporve their standing.

PALMER MEMORIAL INSTITUTE, Sedalia, N. C. - This is a Negro preparatory school which meets the critical need of giving Negro students the background necessary for entrance into better colleges, including the recently de-segregated state institutions in the South. In addition to college-level reference and library books, Palmer received secondary school books which are provided free by the state to public institutions, and are necessary for state accreditation.

LANE COLLEGE, jackson, Tenn. - This is a four year institution which has regional accreditation, but has had very limited money with which to develope its library facilities.

MATHERS SCHOOL AND JR. COLLEGE, Beaufor, S. C. - This school has a preapratory function similar to that of Palmer in North Carolina. In addition, the junior college is in the developing stages, and seriously needs college-level books.

MILES COLLEGE, birmingham, Alabama. - Miles has been considered the most critical institution for both summer of our operation. It is the only Negro college in the entire Birmingham area. Despite a very competent administration, limited funds have kept it from reaching accreditation standards. During the summer, I personally selected books for their library, including an unused 1964 edition of Encyclopedia Britannica. These books were sent to Miles with a professional librarian who volunteered her services for her vacation period. It is hoped that the school will receive Southern Association accrediatation after its examination this winter.

All of these schools sent representatives to Atlanta, and have received a substantial number of books from us. In every case, their response to BEE was very positive, and most schools asked to come back for more books next summer.

ADDITIONAL PLACEMENTS AND SPECIAL PROJECTS

An important expansion of the BEE program has been the placement of secondary and primary school textbooks. About 300,000 volumes have been received since 1964, most of them sent as discards by county and municipal systems in the North and West. Some of the obvious problems is finding uses for these books are: few agencies are equipped to receive such large quantities of identical text books. most schools receive text books free from the state, and only certain titles and authors are on the accredited lists which each state requires in its accredited grade schools. Finally, most of these texts are concerned only with academic subjects (such as algebra, grammar, and physics), and are therefore of little interest to community libraries, literacy projects, etc.

Research has indicated that only Alabama and Mississippi are completely inadequate in providing free text books to all students, although laws provide for free distribution in both states. Official state channels have not been receptive to using our books, so it has been necessary to restrict contacts to individual schools and teaching organizations. The need is very great in this area, and I regret that I have had so little time to work with it this summer.

Our text books are being sent to both states now, and the observation of (a) Randolph county, Alabama, Negro principal is worth repeating: "When your school children don't have any books at all, it doesn't matter whether the books you can give them are on the state's accredited list or not."

The largest single recipients of our non-college books (other than Alabama and Mississippi public schools) have been:

PRINCE EDWARD CO., VA. LITERACY PROJECT - This project, sponsored by the Southern Student Organizaing Committee, consists of four teaching centers located in this part of Virginia where public schools were closed for serveral years.

"HEAD-START" PROJECTS - Several predominantly Negro schools in the Atlanta area received children's books for use in the well-known "Head -Start" program for culturally deprived pre-schoolers.

VINE CITY COMMUNITY ACTION PROJECT - Vine City is an Atlanta Negro ghetto in which several welfare and civil rights organizations have organized a community action and self-help project. Books were given to their new community house library.

SNCC FREEDOM SCHOOLS- The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee operates these schools, primarily in Mississippi, Southwest Georgia, and Arkansas, to train Negroes in citizenship, government, and other educational areas. So many books were sent to these schools during the Summer Project in 1964, that most of this summer's BEE books have gone to new schools opened this year.

JOB CORPS TRAINING CENTER - The Job Corps school in Franklin, N. C., which is attended by trainees from all over the South, received a truck load of books for their library.

YOUTH DEVELOPMENT CENTER - This is the state reformatory for girls in Georgia. The books they received will be used primarily for pleasure reading and self-improvement by the students who are sent there.

Another function of our warehouse has been as a clearing house for food and clothing. None of these materials have been solicited as a part of the BEE program. However, contributors in the North who wished to send supplies to southern Negroes have apparently gotten our address. The food and clothing has been stored in a corner of the warehouse until it could be distributed through some of the same contacts that take our books. Most of it was given to SNCC or to an American Friends Service Committee project in Vine City.

Early this summer BEE planned to send books to the Negro library at the Georgia state prison in Reidsville, This library was built at the same time as the white library and by the same plans. The difference is that there are little or no books in the Negro library. Before books were sent, it was decided that the local office of the American Civil Liberties Union should be contacted about the possibility of bringing a suit to de-segregate the prison library. A former inmate of Reidsville, who served a term as a result of civil rights activity, was put in contact with the ACLU, and the shipment of books has been postponed, pending the proposed suit.

This summer we came into contact with a New York-based organization called Friends of Freedom Libraries. Their membership is mostly professional librarians who are concerned with assisting southern Negroes through work with books and library facilities. Four volunteers came to our Atlanta warehouse this summer to help in classifying books. They stayed for a week, working very hard and for long house. Their help was of great benefit to our work, and BEE is now acting to put some of their members in contact with other institutions in the South that need this kind of help. In August, one of their volunteers went to Miles College in Birmingham, where she worked in their library.

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

When I worked with the first BEE project in the summer of 1964, it was a pilot project, and its success had to be measured not just in terms of practical accomplishments, but as a proving ground for something that had never been done before. The trial and error approaches that were taken were necessary and helpful· the benefits of the 1964 experiment can be seen in the 1965 success. Approximately two hundred times as many books have been placed this year as last. Types of books which seemed useless within the scope of the 1964 project are now in the hands of those who want and need them.

Much of this year's success can be attributed to an improved utilization of time and money. Funds were available for me to hire an assistant to work in the warehouse. In addition to sorting books, he was able to manage the warehouse and take care of visitors who came for books when I could not be there. This freed more time for me to spend in the administration of the project, developing contacts, corresponding with schools, and researching the book needs of various institutions. Only with this administrative time were we able to effectively distribute a large number of books.

Last summer I was able to visit three Negro college libraries and talk to the college administrators. After this experience, I felt that money alloted for 1965 travel expenses could more effectively be used to build book shelves in the warehouse. Before this was done, all books were stacked on the floor, and it was very difficult for librarians (or me) to know what books we had. Shelves were built for all of college-level volumes and effieiency was greatly improved in sorting books,

keeping inventory, and the selection process by visiting schools

The installation of a telephone in the warehouse was well worth the price, in terms of time and convenience. Locks were installed on the front door of our floor and on the freight elevator door. This became necessary to keep out unauthorized persons who took books and snoopers who rummaged my desk. I had planned to buy a fan rather than pay expensive rental, as was done last year. However, both became unnecessary because of the relatively cool summer.

A substantial amount of money was allowed for any necessary transportaion charges. However, our policy of insisting that all incoming shipments be pre-paid, and recipients pay the cost of transporting their books was entirly successful. Only when I sent some books to Miles College by train with a volunteer who was going to help in their library was it necessary to pay a small excess baggage charge.

BEE owes a great debt of gratitude of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta which allowed us to use their offices and facilities whenever necessary. Their clerical and mailing services were invaluable, and we were able to use their bookkeeping facilities for my $1,000 summer operations fund.

Our warehouse space, conveniently located near downtown Atlanta, is given to BEE without charge by the Massell Company. However, I have been informed by a paying tenant in the same building that he is considering renting the space this winter. In this event, we are under agreement with Massell to vacate the space on 30 days notice. Considering this possibility, I have tried to empty the warehouse as much as possible so that we will not be faced with a tremendous moving project in the winter when BEE is inactive and without salaried help. A salvage company will remove all trash, discarded books and waste paper on the last day of our summer operation. All that will be left in the space are our shelves, the college books left on the, and whatever other books that have not been distributed by that date.

Should moving be necessary, I anticipate that the Massell Company will try to give us space at some other location. Transferring what is left, including the shelves, should not be too difficult.

My strongest r commendation, on the basis of two years experience with BEE, is that it be made a year-round operation. During the eight months when no one is available to look after the warehouse, shipments come in which are unattended: this results in such a mess at the warehouse that the paying tenants are antagonized, Massell threatens to evict us, and last winter, the city fire department threatened court action if steps were not taken to reduce the hazzard.

More important is the need for an administrator who can give 12 month attention to correspondence, the annual appeal for books, reciet of these books, sorting and distribution of books, and general organizational problems. Simply getting the warehouse back in shape and re-organizing the project required most of the first month of our peration this summer. Despite the very substantial accomplishments of the 1965 BEE project, I feel greater results could be had from the same amount of time, and with less money, if we operated on a 12 month basis.

The ultimate goal of Books for Equal Education, as I expressed it at the end of last year's report, should be to act as a clearing house for books which are donated by all types of organizations and individuals, and to distribute these where they can be of the greatest use and meet the greatest need. I feel this remains the most realistic and useful role BEE can serve. Certainly a major emphasis should remain on Negro colleges, since they represent one of the most critical areas of need in the South.

In considering the "clearing house" role, BEE is probably the largest agency active in this field. The concept of re-distributing books is a very valid one in a society where part of our population has more printed matter than it knows what to do with, and another part is thirsting for books to which it has no access. Although my education and career in law will probably separate me from BEE after this summer, I sincerely recommend the project's continued support and operation.

Harry L. DeLung, Jr.
Atlanta, Georgia
September 15, 1965

BOOKS FOR EQUAL EDUCATION

236 EAST 46th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017 • 687-3676 • CABLE, YACWAY

Co-Sponsors: UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION, UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL • National Director: FRANK A. MILLSPAUGH

File

MJ-file

29 September 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N W
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Frank requested that I dispatch the enclosed proposal to you for your perusal. It is his intention to contact you on Monday for your comments and suggestions conerning it.

Yesterday, I sent off a letter to Harry about his seeing the German delegation over a warm pile of used books. So, if he hasn't talked to either you or Mr. Ulmer as yet, he will surely do so within the next day or two.

I would like to personally thank you for your assistance and continued interest in the books program, and further to wish you good fortune in your new post.

Sincerely yours,

Cornelia E. McNamara

Cornelia E. McNamara
Assistant to the Director

:CEM

Enclosure

Supporting Organizations:

Americans for Democratic Action, Campus Division
American Friends Service Committee, College Section
American Youth Hostels
Association of International Relations Clubs
B'nai B'rith Young Adults
Collegiate Council for the United Nations
Cooperative League of the U.S.A., Student Div.
Encampment for Citizenship
4-H Clubs and Young Men's & Young Women's Programs
Lisle Fellowship, Inc.
National American Indian Youth Committee of Arrow, Inc.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Youth Division
National Catholic Youth Organizations Federation
National Federation of Catholic College Students
National Jewish Welfare Board
National Newman Club Federation
National Student Christian Federation
National Student Council of the Young Men's Christian Association
National Young Men's Christian Association Young Adult Council
Students for a Democratic Society
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
Student Religious Liberals
United Christian Youth Movement
United World Federalists, Student Division
United States National Student Association
United States Student Press Association
Workmen's Circle
Young Christian Students
Young Christian Workers
Young Democratic Clubs of America
Young Women's Christian Association of the United States of America

1 October 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Director
Field Foundation, Incorporated
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

An application is hereby submitted to the Field Foundation for a grant of $46,600.00 to finance the "Books for Equal Education" domestic collection and southern distribution program for the period between November 1, 1965 and October 31, 1966. The organizations sponsoring this program are the United States National Student Association and the United States Youth Council, both of which are exempt from federal income tax under the Educational Provisions of Section 101 (6) of the Internal Revenue Code.

"Books for Equal Education" is a program designed to collect books from all over the country for distribution to major areas of poverty in the United States. Since the beginning of the program in May, 1964, over 800,000 books have been collected under its auspices. A general description of the operation and future planning is contained in Appendix I. A detailed report of this summer's southern distribution forms Appendix II. These should be considered an integral part of this program.

At present, distribution agreements have been completed with major organizations serving the South, the West Coast, and the Appalachian region. These organizations are, respectively, the Southern Regional Council, the Southwest Council of the Young Men's Christian Association, and the Appalachian Volunteers division of the Council of Southern Mountains.

Generally, the division of responsibility is as follows: the national office does all the general publicity; conducts the campus drive in the spring and the publishers drive in the fall; develops new areas of distribution; services the area directors; and coordinates the efforts of the distribution agencies. The distribution agencies (the organizations listed above) provide the area directors

with the organizational structure and technical assistance requisite to the actual distribution of the books. With the assistance of these organizations, the area directors secure and staff warehouses; sort and ship books to the recipients; identify existing and help begin new educational projects for the receipt and use of the books.

The grant requested is to cover only the costs of domestic collection and southern distribution, including the salaries of necessary personnel not covered by previous grants from other sources, travel expenses, and administration expenses not covered by the sponsoring or distributing organizations. The request does not include the "BEE Comics", international assistance projects, or regional offices other than southern. It may be interesting to note that the requested figure comes to less than four cents per book on the estimated number of books to be placed during the coming year.

We will greatly appreciate your consideration of this request. Of course, I shall be most pleased to provide you with any further information you may require and to meet with you for full discussion at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Frank A. Millspaugh, Jr.
National Director

FAM/cem

Enclosure

BOOKS FOR EQUAL EDUCATION

DOMESTIC COLLECTION AND SOUTHERN DISTRIBUTION

PROGRAM BUDGET

November, 1965 - October, 1966

I. NATIONAL OFFICE

General Operations:

Salaries:			
Director (covered by previous grant)*			
Administrative Secretary	$5,500.00		
Typist, part-time	2,400.00		
		$7,900.00	
Travel:		3,000.00	
Promotion:			
Printing	1,500.00		
Advertising	500.00		
		2,000.00	
Shipping:		2,000.00	
USYC Overhead:			
Postage	500.00		
Telephone	1,200.00		
Misc. (bookkeeping, supplies, etc.)	300.00		
		2,000.00	
Contingency:		2,000.00	
Total General Operation			$18,900.00

Campus Drive (USNSA-Washington, D.C.):

Salary, Director (four months):		1,300.00	
Travel:		200.00	
Promotion:			
Postage	1,800.00		
Printing	350.00		
		2,150.00	

* $8,500.00 for salary and travel: Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs

Campus Drive--continued

USNSA Overhead: (Telephone, bookkeeping, supplies, etc.)	$ 550.00		
Total Campus Drive		4,200.00	
TOTAL National Office			$23,100.00

II. SOUTHERN OFFICE

Salaries:			
Director	7,000.00		
Warehouse Manager	5,000.00		
Part-time warehouse help	2,000.00		
		14,000.00	
Travel:		2,000.00	
Promotion:		500.00	
Shipping:		2,500.00	
Equipment Purchase:		1,000.00	
SRC Overhead (Telephone, postage, bookkeeping, etc.)		2,500.00	
Contingency:		1,000.00	
TOTAL Southern Office			$23,500.00
TOTAL DOMESTIC COLLECTION AND SOUTHERN DISTRIBUTION BUDGET			$46,600.00

BOOKS FOR EQUAL EDUCATION

General Report of the Southern Operation, Summer, 1965
September 10, 1965

Harry DeLung, Jr.,
Assistant Director

CONTENTS:

I. Introduction
II. How BEE Works
III. Placements Recommended by the Advisors
IV. Other Placements and Special Projects
V. Problems and Prospects for the Future

INTRODUCTION

Books for Equal Education (BEE) was founded in early 1964 by Mr. Frank Millspaugh, then the Community Issues Director for the United States National Student Association. USNSA and the United States Youth Council agreed to co-sponsor the project which would receive and distribute new and used books to unaccredited southern Negro colleges. Since that time BEE has expanded to become a clearing house for hundreds of thousands of donated books which are distributed to colleges, primary and secondary schools, VISTA projects, reform schools, Job Corps training centers, literacy projects, community libraries, and similar programs.

The common object to every placement of books by BEE is that they will go in the hands of persons who do not have normal access to the books they need. The reason may be racial, economic or cultural disadvantage. Every request for books is considered on this basis, and the ability of the requesting agency or individual to effectively utilize the books.

HOW BEE WORKS

BEE is financed by foundations' grants, and all books are contributed. Each spring an appeal is made for books from college students, publishers, and other organizations. Since the project began over 800,000 volumes have been received at the Atlanta warehouse.

When the books are received, they are sorted into 15 categories, ranging from college academic disciplines to pre-school story books. All college level volumes are shelved according to academic classification. Books suitable for use in primary and secondary schools, community libraries, vocation training, "Head-Start" programs, and other uses are stacked separately.

A board of advisors recommends colleges and certain other educational institutions which are contacted in regard to receiving books. Members of the board have been: Dr. Benjamin Mays of Morehouse College, Dr. Lucius Pitts of Miles College, Mr. Robert Cousins of the Southern Education Foundation, Mr. Paul Anthony of the Southern Regional Council, and Dr. Stephen Wright of Fisk University.

At the original meeting of the board, a basic criteria was established for schools that would be contacted. They would be Negro schools because these institutions have suffered the greatest general disadvantage. Unaccredited colleges would be given first priority, especially those which are close enough to meeting accreditation standards that the books might be an appreciable gain. Recognizing that southern states should bare the first responsibility of seeing that their colleges are accredited, it was decided work would be more effective if it was primarily with private institutions. This would leave maximum pressure on the states to bring up the standards of their schools.

When a college decides to accept books, representatives are sent to the Atlanta warehouse to select the books they want. Because the shelves are continuously being re-stocked as more books are sorted, no limit is made to institutions that receive books, but these must be responsible for transporting them. Usually a truck or trailer is rented, although some schools have preferred to use motor express.

The major emphasis of the project has always been on colleges (and a few selected preparatory schools) and only these institutions may select books off the shelves. The other recipients select books from the broad categories that are arranged in the warehouse which are books that are not of an academic level suitable for colleges.

This summer broad contacts have been used to locate suitable agencies in which to place the books that colleges have not found useful. Since these books account for about 70 percent of all those received, the type of recipients is somewhat less specialized.

Dr. J. T. Brooks, Executive Secretary of the Negro American Teachers Association, has sent letters to his affiliated organizations in the South, advising them of the availability of large numbers of secondary and primary school text books. Since some southern states still do not provide free text books to all students, these books have been very useful to grade school teachers. In most public school systems, very little money is available for the school libraries, and substantial contributions have been made in this area.

Newspaper publicity has been responsible for putting BEE in contact with many agencies who qualify for our books. A full page feature article appeared in the Atlanta Journal this summer, and about 25 qualified recipients were selected from the hundreds of requests that were made as a result of the article.

Additional placements have been made with the help of agencies with which we have regular contact. These include the Southern Regional Council, Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, National Urban League, and the Southern Student Human Relations Project of the US National Student Association.

PLACEMENTS RECOMMENDED BY THE ADVISORS

Last summer our advisors recommended six colleges be contacted. Those which responded and received books were: Allen University, Friendship Jr. College, Miles College and Shaw University. Also, books were provided to Tuskegee Institute to use in a book mobile. This summer, more than twice as many college and other recommended schools have received books. On the average, each has taken about three times as many books as each school last year.

These schools are:

KITRELL COLLEGE, Kitrell, North Carolina - This is a junior college operated by the A.M.E. Church. It has state, but not regional accreditation. Its importance to Negro education is measured in part by its location in the eastern, plantation section of North Carolina, which is the least developed part of the state and has the worst racial situation.

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Summer Project in 1964, that most of this summer's BEE books have gone to new schools opened this year.

SCOPE COMMUNITY CENTER - The Southern Christian Leadership Conference's SCOPE project has begun a community center, day school and library in Crawfordsville, Georgia.

JOB CORPS TRAINING CENTER - The Job Corps school in Franklin, N.C., which is attended by trainees from all over the South, received a truck load of books for their library.

YOUTH DEVELOPMENT CENTER - This is the state reformatory for girls in Georgia. The books they received will be used primarily for pleasure reading and self-improvement by the students who are sent there.

URBAN LEAGUE - The Southern Regional office of the National Urban League is currently selecting books for about twenty projects which it is supporting. Because of the indiscriminate nature of these projects' book needs, the Urban League agreed to wait until the better defined requests were filled. It is anticipated that the Urban League's total needs will be 75-85,000 books.

Another function of our warehouse has been as a clearing house for food and clothing. None of these materials have been solicited as a part of the BEE program. However, contributors in the North who wished to send supplies to southern Negroes have apparently gotten our address. The The food and clothing has been stored in a corner of the warehouse until it could be distributed through some of the same contacts that take our books. Most of it was given to SNCC or to an American Friends Service Committee project in Vine City.

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Much of this year's success can be attributed to an improved utilization of time and money. Funds were available for me to hire an assistant to work in the warehouse. In addition to sorting books, he was able to manage the warehouse and take care of visitors who came for books when I could not be there. This freed more time for me to spend in the administration of the project, developing contacts, corresponding with schools, and researching the book needs of various institutions. Only with this administrative time were we able to effectively distribute a large number of books.

Last summer I was able to visit three Negro colleges' libraries and talk to the college administrators. After this experience, I felt that money alloted for 1965 travel expenses could more effectively be used to build book shelves in the warehouse. Before this was done, all books were stacked on the floor, and it was very difficult for librarians (or me) to know what books we had. Shelves were built for all of college-level volumes and efficiency was greatly improved in sorting books, keeping inventory, and the selection process by visiting schools.

The installation of a telephone in the warehouse was well worth the price, in terms of time and convenience. Locks were installed on the front door of our floor and on the freight elevator door. This became necessary to keep out unauthorized persons who took books and snoopers who rummaged my desk. I had planned to buy a fan rather than pay expensive rental, as was done last year. However, both became unnecessary because of the relatively cool summer.

A substantial amount of money was allowed for any necessary transportation charges. However, our policy of insisting that all incoming shipments be pre-paid, and recipients pay the cost of transporting their books was entirely successful. Only when I sent some books to Miles College by train with a volunteer who was going to help in their library was it necessary to pay a small excess baggage charge.

BEE owes a great debt of gratitude to the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta which allowed us to use their offices and facilities when ever necessary. Their clerical and mailing services were invaluable, and we were able to use their bookkeeping facilities for my $1,000 summer operations fund.

Our warehouse space, conveniently located near downtown Atlanta, is given to BEE without charge by the Massell Company. However, I have been informed by a paying tenant in the same building that he is considering renting the space this winter. In this event, we are under agreement with Massell to vacate the area in 30 days notice. Considering this possibility, I have tried to empty the warehouse as much as possible so that we will not be faced with a tremendous moving project in the winter when BEE is inactive and without salaried help. A salvage company will remove all trash, discarded books and waste paper on the last day of our summer operation. All that will be left in the space are our shelves, the college books left on them, and whatever other books that have not been distributed by that date.

Should moving become necessary, I anticipate that the Massell Company will try to give us space at some other location. Transferring what is left, including the shelves, should not be too difficult.

My strongest recommendation, on the basis of two years experience with BEE, is that it be made a year-round operation. During the eight months when no one is available to look after the warehouse, shipments come in which are unattended: this results in such a mess at the warehouse that the paying tenants are antagonized, Massell threatens to evict us, and last winter, the city fire department threatened court action if steps were not taken to reduce the hazzard.

More important is the need for an administrator who can give 12 month attention to correspondence, the annual appeal for books, receipt of these books, sorting and distribution of books, and general organizational problems. Simply getting the warehouse back in shape and re-organizing the project required most of the first month of our operation this summer. Despite the very substantial accomplishments of the 1965 BEE project, I feel greater results could be had from the same amount of time, and with less money, if we operated on a 12 month basis.

The ultimate goal of Books for Equal Education, as I expressed it at the end of last year's report, should be to act as a clearing house for books which are donated by all types of organizations and individuals, and to distribute these where they can be of the greatest use and meet the greatest need. I feel this remains the most realistic and useful role BEE can serve. Cetainly a major emphasis should remain on Negro colleges, since they represent one of the most critical areas of need in the South.

In considering the "clearing house" role, BEE is probably the largest agency active in this field. The concept of re-distributing books is a very valid one in a society where part of our population has more printed matter than it knows what to do with, and another part is thirsting for books to which it has no access. Although my education and career in law will probably separate me from BEE after this summer, I sincerely recommend the project's continued support and operation.

SUPPLEMENT TO BOOKS FOR EQUAL EDUCATION GENERAL REPORT

Summer 1965

Because BEE is operational for only the summer months, there is always a problem of how to care for the warehouse facilities during the eight months during which no full-time worker can give it his attention.

This year, this problem is being handled in two areas. So that incoming shipments of books, which are sent all year, can be received, and moved from loading dock to the third floor, I have hired a Morehouse College student. Jack Smith, Jr. will be able to come over to the warehouse on notification from another tenant in the building that a shipment has arrived.

We will be unable to arrange for a representative to actually sign and acknowledge the shipment, but Jack will be able to come to the warehouse the same day, and move the books off the dock and into our space on the third floor.

Jack will receive payment for each trip he makes to move books. His requests for payment, and making out of his check willbe handled through the Southern Regional Council Office in Atlanta. SRC has maintained a BEE expense for my use this summer, the balance left from this fund will go to pay his expenses.

So that the books that remain in the warehouse can be effectively utilized during the winter months, the National Urban League's Southern office in Atlanta will have access to the warehouse. Books will be distributed on a relatively limited scale to agencies with which the League has contact and feels to be worthy. They will keep records of all such distribution.

Despite the responsibilities undertaken by Jack Smith and the League, BEE will continue to have full custody and responsibility for the warehouse, under the same terms on which we received free use of the space from the Massell Company.

BOOKS FOR EQUAL EDUCATION
236 East 46th Street
New York, New York 10017

NATIONAL DIRECTOR'S REPORT

September 21, 1965

March, 1964 through September, 1964:

"Books for Equal Education" (BEE) is a nationwide book drive co-sponsored by the United States Youth Council and the United States National Student Association. It was officially begun in March of 1964 with the receipt of a grant of $2,500.00 from the Edgar Stern Family Fund for the promotion and administration of the drive. Additional funds approximating $1,500.00 were raised through contributions and campus fund-raising.

The goal of the 1964 drive, held during the spring and summer months, was the collection of 250,000 books of all educational levels for distribution to Southern Negro schools and community centers. Special emphasis was to be given to Southern Negro Colleges and Universities whose accreditation had been withheld, withdrawn, or otherwise jeopardized due to inadequate library facilities.

Books were solicited through the member organizations of the Council and the member schools of the United States National Student Association. The Council was responsible for mailing promotional material to its membership. USNSA promoted the program on its member campuses and assumed responsibility for the overall administration by contributing Mr. Millspaugh's time to serve as director of the project.

With the assistance of Miss Connie Curry, then director of the USNSA Southern Project Office in Atlanta, Georgia, the use of a full-floor in a large warehouse in Atlanta was secured. With the grant mentioned above, a Mr. Harry DeLung, Jr. was hired as a full-time assistant to receive, sort, and distribute the books from the Atlanta location. The USNSA Southern Project Office provided Mr. DeLung with clerical support.

The policy of the BEE program was to hold contributing campuses and agencies responsible for the cost of shipping books to the central colection point in Atlanta. The project then assumed responsibility for shipping arrangements to the recipient campuses and agencies.

To assist in establishing policy and criteria for the distribution of the books, Mr. DeLung and Mr. Millspaugh created an Advisory Board consisting of several outstanding men: Dr. Benjamin Mays, President of Moorehouse College; Dr. Stephen J. Wright, President of Fisk Univer-

sity; Dr. Lucius H. Pitts, President of Miles College; Mr. Paul Anthony, then Field Director for the Southern Regional Council; and Mr. Monroe Schlactus, Director of the Southeast Region of the Anti-Defamation League. One meeting of the Advisory Board was held in June. The expenses were covered by the grant. Mr. Anthony and Mr. Schlactus live in Atlanta and were, therefore, readily available for consultation. Subsequent consultations with the other members of the Board were conducted by telephone and through correspondence. All the Advisors were most enthusiastic about the project and gave freely of their time and assistance. The project could not have been successful without their aid.

By the end of August, approximately 275,000 books had been received at the Atlanta warehouse. About 90% of these were usable. By September 17, the last of these books had been distributed. Most of the children's books and pre-college texts were contributed to the community centers operated by the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) and to similar projects throughout the South. The major recipients of the college-level books were six Southern Negro Colleges and Universities: Shaw University, Raleigh, North Carolina; Friendship Junior College, Rockhill, South Carolina; Allen University, Columbia, South Carolina; Miles College, Birmingham, Alabama; Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama; and Rust College, Holly Springs, Mississippi. These schools were selected upon the advice of our Advisory Board. Following a lengthy correspondence with the Presidents and librarians of each of the schools to conduct final negotiations of books requested. Final distribution was made according to our judgement and in consultation with one or more of the Advisors.

No state schools were included because our Advisors felt that giving books to state schools would make it more difficult for the administration of such schools to then secure proper assistance from state legislatures. Furthermore, each of the schools selected, with the exception of Tuskegee Institute, is having problems with accreditation which center around the sole or primary factor of inadequate library facilities. Such schools were given first preference because it was thought that the books they received from BEE could have a substantive effect on their status. Many other schools had the same desperate need for books, but their status would not have been affected because of other serious deficiencies. In addition, some schools otherwise eligible to receive books were given a lower priority because they did not have the staff available to catalog and shelve books in any appreciable quantity. Tuskegee Institute, however, is the one fully accredited school to which we contributed books. The request from this school was based not on its own need, but on a special project which the school wished to inaugurate: a mobile library unit to provide the rural communitites surrounding the school with the first and only library facilities avaailable to Negroes in that section of Alabama. Tuskegee Institute was able to provide the staff and the truck, and BEE supplied about 15,000 books of every educational level.

October, 1964 through March, 1964:

At the end of September, 1964, BEE received a six-month grant of $3,900.00 from the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs to pay the director's salary, expenses and incidental printing costs. The United States Youth Council administered this grant, as work for the project was then done out of its offices. The Council also provided office space and clerical support. In March, 1965, this grant was extended, as was the support arrangement, for a twelve-month period.

In this period, most efforts have been directed to developing broader bases of distribution and solicitation for the project. It was agreed among the sponsoring organizations that the first drive would be based primarily on student and youth organizations, because one of the goals of the program was to offer an opportunity for as many as possible of such organizations to work together productively. Although this has continued to be the programs's solicitation emphasis, other sources of books are being developed. Among them are book publishers, public libraries, boards of education, adult civic clubs, etc. As their contributions are eligible for tax write-offs, there is unlimited opportunity in this area.

For a number of excellent reasons, distribution of the books during the early stages of the program was confined to agencies which would enhance the educational opportunities of Southern Negroes. Although first priority will continue to be assigned to this area, the base of distribution is being expanded to include other areas of educational need: urban tutorial projects; deficient school facilities in the Appalachian region; mission schools on Indian reservations; literacy projects in migrant worker camps; and, on the international level, educational assistance to selected projects of the developing nations.

In order to upgrade the efficiency of distribution in all areas, extensive negotiations have taken place with major organizations servicing the areas described above. The effect of these negotiations is to "farm out" book distribution to organizations with a thorough knowledge of an extensive contact in the various areas.

Late in October, 1964, arrangements were concluded with the Appalachian Volunteers Program of the Council of the Southern Mountains for distribution of books to the impoverished residents of the nine-state Appalachian region. To date, approximately 90,000 books have been distributed through these auspices. The cost of this program is born by the CSM under a broad grant received from the Federal Government under the Economic Opportunities Act of 1964. The CSM maintains a warehouse in Berea, Kentucky and a full-time staff person devoted to the distribution of books through existing agencies and the development of new agencies such as library sub-stations. This person is under the cooperative supervision of the CSM and the director of BEE.

A similar arrangement has been worked out with the Southern Regional Council for distribution in the southern states. Under our agreement, the SRC will provide office and clerical support and immediate supervision for a full-time staff person to be paid by BEE. This arrangment will become operative pending the receipt of a grant sufficient for this person's salary and operating expenses.

Negotiations are now concluded with the Southwest Council of YM and YWCA's for a similar arrangement for the benefit of West Coast migrant workers and Indian reservations. Extensive correspondence has been exchanged on this subject, and in late February Mr. Millspaugh traveled to San Francisco to resolve the remaining details and complete the negotiations.

Commitments have also been made to the World Assembly of Youth for books for WAY projects in African countries. BEE will make only a token contribution of actual books, but are helping to provide the apparatus and supervision for a books drive to be held through the participating countries' national committees of WAY and the national unions of students.

April, 1965 through Present:

1) Spring Campus Drive: In April, the second annual campus drive was begun. The United States National Student Association sent one mailing to all major universities and college student governments and a second, follow-up mailing to all its own membership. The United States Youth Council's campus-based member organizations, other than USNSA, sent mailings to all their local chapters. Because of insufficient funds for distribution or promotion, no other publicity or organizational effort were solicited. To date, approximately 375,000 volumes have been received from this drive. Of these, 325,000 were received at the Atlanta warehouse. To judge from last year's experience, an additional 200,000 are expected to arrive during the winter months.

2) Distribution: Although approximately 50,000 ungraded books were sent into urban projects this summer, the vast majority of distribution has been southern. A detailed report, filed September 10, 1965, by the Southern Director, Harry DeLung, Jr., follows this report. Actual and projected southern distribution for this summer totals approximately 300,000 volumes. No distribution to Appalachia has as yet been made, because of the Council of the Southern Mountains-PTA book drive; their remaining needs will be analyzed this winter and our pledge of 50,000 volumes will then go into effect. West Coast distribution has not yet been possible because of difficulty of funding.

3) Funding: This summer's operation was funded through the generosity of two members of the Rockefeller family, who contributed $2500.00 each, and the Southern Education Foundation, which granted $1350.00. This enabled us to appropriately staff the project for the summer months and to provide for part-time warehouse coverage for the next few months, but funds must yet be secured to permit distribution on a year-round basis and to broaden our base of solicitation.

Respectfully submitted,

Frank A. Millspaugh, Jr.
National Director

FAM:cem

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund

REGARDING:

~~Books&for&Education~~
Books for Equal Education proposal - LWD prods Freeman to consider proposal in order to allow "BEE" to go to another foundation,if that proves necessary.

DATE:

April 30, 1965

SEE:
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Foundations - "Rockefeller Brothers Fund"

BOOKS FOR EQUAL EDUCATION

236 EAST 46th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017 • 687-3676 • CABLE, YACWAY

Co-Sponsors: UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION, UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL • National Director: FRANK A. MILLSPAUGH

file

MT-file

November 4, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is a check in the amount of $250.00 for deposit to the Southern Regional Council BEE account. I am sorry for the delay on this and hope it has caused no inconvenience.

I talked to Les Dunbar today on the phone and have an appointment with him on November 12 to discuss the BEE prospectus. Wish me luck.

It was good seeing you in Atlanta; when will you be in New York? Be sure to save a lunch-time or an evening for nightclubbing.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank

P.S. I still like it here.

ck 250.00 11-8-65

Enclosure

FM:cm

Supporting Organizations:

Americans for Democratic Action, Campus Division
American Friends Service Committee, College Section
American Youth Hostels
Association of International Relations Clubs
B'nai B'rith Young Adults
Collegiate Council for the United Nations
Cooperative League of the U.S.A., Student Div.
Encampment for Citizenship
4-H Clubs and Young Men's & Young Women's Programs
Lisle Fellowship, Inc.
National American Indian Youth Committee of Arrow, Inc.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Youth Division
National Catholic Youth Organizations Federation
National Federation of Catholic College Students
National Jewish Welfare Board
National Newman Club Federation
National Student Christian Federation
National Student Council of the Young Men's Christian Association
National Young Men's Christian Association Young Adult Council
Students for a Democratic Society
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
Student Religious Liberals
United Christian Youth Movement
United World Federalists, Student Division
United States National Student Association
United States Student Press Association
Workmen's Circle
Young Christian Students
Young Christian Workers
Young Democratic Clubs of America
Young Women's Christian Association of the United States of America

January 5, 1966

Mr. Frank Millspaugh
National Director
Books for Equal Education
236 East 46th Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Frank:

Congratulations on the Field grant. You will pull this program off yet.

Happy New Year!

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

BOOKS FOR EQUAL EDUCATION

236 EAST 46th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017 • 687-3676 • CABLE, YACWAY

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4 January 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This is to acknowledge, with our gratitude, the receipt of the check for $5000.00 for 1966 and the letter granting a further $5000.00 for 1967 for Books for Equal Education. As per your request, a copy of our press release concerning this grant will be sent to your office, as will copies of all subsequent press releases and reports on the project.

Once again, our sincere thanks for your interest and assistance.

Yours truly,

Frank Millspaugh

Frank Millspaugh
National Director

Supporting Organizations:

Americans for Democratic Action, Campus Division
American Friends Service Committee, College Section
American Youth Hostels
Association of International Relations Clubs
B'nai B'rith Young Adults
Collegiate Council for the United Nations
Cooperative League of the U.S.A., Student Div.
Encampment for Citizenship
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Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
Student Religious Liberals
United Christian Youth Movement
United World Federalists, Student Division
United States National Student Association
United States Student Press Association
Workmen's Circle
Young Christian Students
Young Christian Workers
Young Democratic Clubs of America
Young Women's Christian Association of the United States of America

Rec'd 2/2/66

Books for Equal Educ

MJ-file

28 January 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

During our conversation on November 15, you raised a question as to whether the Higher Education Act of 1965 might contain benefits which would obviate the necessity for continuing the Books for Equal Education program, at least insorfar as that program has applied to southern colleges and universities.

At that time, I responded that I was under the impression that the Act did not effectively reduce the project's applicability to such institutions; further, that while BEE emphasized colleges and universities, it was not confined to them, and if their needs were otherwise met, it would simply permit us to deal more effectively with the other wide areas of need for books.

I have sincd had the occasion to examine the Act in greater detail Inlate discuss its benefits with officials in the Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and in the Office of Economic Opportunities.

The relevant sections of the Higher Education Act of 1965 are contained in Title II: "College Library Assistance and Library Training and Research," which provides $70 million in each of the fiscal years 1966, 1967, and 1968. Under this title, three kinds of grants, totalling $50 million per year, are available for library resources: basic, supplimental, and special purpose grants.

Basis grants: These, with supplemental grants, will comprise 85% of each annual appropriation. These grants will be avialbel to colleges and universities ona one to one matching basis with a maximum receivable amount of $5,000.00 per annum. The recipient institution must also maintain library expenditures on at least the level of previous years.

Supplemental grants: These are for especially needy colleges and universities. Funds for these grants are those left after all awards for basic grants are made. The maximum grant is $10.00 per full-time student.

Special purpose grants: These comprise 15% of the $50 million amount for library resources and are also for colleges and universities showing special library needs. Funds are matched on a three to one (federal to institution) basis and require maintenance of previous expenditures as in basic grants.

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

Application for grants may be made directly from the institution to the Commissioner of Education in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Eligibility is confined to accredited colleges and universities, except when it can be demonstrated that a library grant would enable the institution to be eligible for accreditation.

It is evident that there is little in this Act which will benefit the colleges and universities Books for Equal Education has been serving.

The requirement applying to basic and special purpose grants that the receiving institution maintain its previous level of library expenditure ignores the reality of these schools; They are already spending every cent they can on their libraries; there is no additional money with which to match federal funds. A really impoverished school cannot really get help under these provisions.

The principle weakness of the supplemental grant category is that it has no funds except what might (or might not) be left over from the appropriations for basic grants.

Were an impoverished southern Negro college not already disqualified under the specific requirements for the three categories of grants, the general eligibility requirements plug the hole. An unaccredited college almost never lacks <u>just</u> library facilities: therefore, it could not receive aid.

This title of the Act very clearly can benefit only those colleges and universities which are already accredited and which are affluent by the standards of the colleges with which BEE is concerned. BEE, onthe other hand, emphsizes assistance to institutions which are not accredited. We do this in the full knowledge that such institutions are deficient in several areas, and we attempt to help alleviate pressure in one area so extra funds will be freed for use in correcting other deficiencies.

Finally, there is the critical matter of money. Although, the Act calls for $50 million per year for the library resources grants, no appropriation has as yet been made; nor is it all probable that appropriations for the next two years will approach the amount authorized by the Act. President Johnson's proposed budget requests only $10 million for 1966 and $25 million for 1967 to implement these sections of the Act. This makes it extremely unlikely that there will be funds remaining from basic grants to assist the neediest institutions even if they are accredited.

The poor get poorer.

Regards,

Frank A. Millspaugh
National Director

FAM/cem

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

529-8611

July 8, 1966

Southern Bell Tel. & Tel. Co.
51 Ivy Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Attention: Mrs. Owens

Gentlemen:

The enclosed copy of Mr. Edwyn Lewis's letter to you dated June 6 is sent at the request of the BOOKS FOR EQUAL EDUCATION project. We were advised today by BEE that you have not received this communication.

I am sending this copy of Mr. Lewis's letter in his absence from the office. He will return next Monday, so if you have any further questions regarding this matter please communicate with him direct.

Sincerely,

Joan C. Browning
Administrative Secretary

JB

cc: BEE

See "Books for Equal Education"

June 6, 1966

49 Auburn Ave NE
Att. Paxton 149

Southern Bell Telephone & Telegraph Co.
51 Ivy Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Attention: Mrs. Owens

Gentlemen:

This will advise you that we will guarantee the phone charges for BOOKS FOR EQUAL EDUCATION, 416 Marietta Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia.

Sincerely,

Edwyn Lewis, Jr.
Executive Assistant

EL/km

DID. 13/7/00 - JB

Paul:

The BEE boy called this morning to say that the letter to the Tel. company had not been received by them. (them is the phone company)

Here is a xerox copy of Ed's letter; also, here is the letterI wrote before thinking that maybe someone in authority here should do it. Will you do whatever needs to be done from here?

Joan Browning

Good Pleasurdis
P P

ED LEWIS:

This is all for you!
J. B.

August 23, 1966

Miss Cornelia E. McNamara
National Director
Books for Equal Education
236 East 46th Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Connie:

Please forgive me this delay in answering your inquiry but I have been on vacation. Unfortunately, I don't have any suggestions about the young man who needs a scholarship. We get a great many such appeals and just aren't able to respond to them and I know of no one who can, particularly in quick order.

Delighted to note Tomato is doing well and do hope that he and you will be able to drop by soon.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

BOOKS FOR EQUAL EDUCATION

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3

9 August 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul,

I am contacting several people regarding the enclosed for suggestions as to where money could possibly be obtained for this student. Do you have any suggestions that I could forward to Millsaps?

The kitty, now named Tomato, is doing well but I feel he would rather live in the country. Or perhaps he would rather ride about the country on the train. He may wish to become an "On the Road" cat, and so, he may drop by and see you.

Hope to be able to write lengthy BEE letter, or plans for the future, but it would not be propitious at present.

I remain,

Sincerely yours,

Cornelia E. McNamara

Cornelia E. McNamara
National Director

CEM:VN

Supporting Organizations:

Americans for Democratic Action, Campus Division
American Friends Service Committee, College Section
American Youth Hostels
Association of International Relations Clubs
B'nai B'rith Young Adults
Collegiate Council for the United Nations
Cooperative League of the U.S.A., Student Div.
Encampment for Citizenship
4-H Clubs and Young Men's & Young Women's Programs
Lisle Fellowship, Inc.
National American Indian Youth Committee of Arrow, Inc.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Youth Division
National Catholic Youth Organizations Federation
National Federation of Catholic College Students
National Jewish Welfare Board
National Newman Club Federation
National Student Christian Federation
National Student Council of the Young Men's Christian Association
National Young Men's Christian Association Young Adult Council
Students for a Democratic Society
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
Student Religious Liberals
United Christian Youth Movement
United World Federalists, Student Division
United States National Student Association
United States Student Press Association
Workmen's Circle
Young Christian Students
Young Christian Workers
Young Democratic Clubs of America
Young Women's Christian Association of the United States of America

MILLSAPS COLLEGE
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI 39210

August 1, 1966

Miss Connie McNamara
United States Youth Council
236 East 46th Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Miss McNamara:

Mr. Clark E. Drummond of the Collegiate Council for the United Nations has suggested that I contact you about a matter which was referred to him by Mr. Clark Eichelberger. Mr. Drummond tells me that he had already spoken to you about the need we have here at Millsaps to obtain a scholarship for a bright young student to attend the Drew Semester on the United Nations. Although Millsaps has provided this young man with some financial assistance and although Drew has promised some financial assistance, still there is not enough available for him to attend the expensive semester at this fine Northern college.

Do you know of any foundations which might be willing to support our project of getting a scholarship in the neighborhood of $750 to finance the attendance at the Drew Semester for our student? It is very important that we pursue this matter as quickly as possible, for a decision must be made within the next few weeks. If there is any information you would like for me to send you about the student who has expressed the interest and desire of attending the Drew Semester on the United Nations, please don't hesitate to write me or call me for whatever facts you may need.

Anything you can do to assist us in this matter will be greatly appreciated.

Yours truly,

John Quincy Adams

John Quincy Adams
Chairman

JQA/ks

Form O-899—50000542—MAP.

MEMORANDUM

TO:	FROM:	DATE:
Mrs. Jesse Daniel Ames	Frank Dick	Oct. 19-1943
	SUBJECT: Meeting: Inter-Racial Committee - Lakeland, Fla.	

you might be interested in the attached mimeographed sheet which was distributed in a meeting of the newly organized Inter-Racial Committee in Lakeland, Florida which I attended. Most of the proposals that might be considered progressive were voted down - but at least they have made a start.

Best wishes

Frank Dick

Regional Office -
Boy Scouts of America

March 16, 1944

Mr. Frank Dix
Special Deputy Regional Executive
1115 C. and S. Bank Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dix:

I am sorry that I have been so busy that I have not yet been able to make any progress on the matter mentioned in your letter of March 2. However, I shall try to do something about this at my earliest opportunity. If you are in town next week I hope that we can have lunch together some day and go over the form letter which I shall draw up.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ/j

BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

HONORARY OFFICERS

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, HONORARY PRESIDENT
HERBERT HOOVER, HONORARY VICE PRESIDENT
JAMES E. WEST, CHIEF SCOUT

NATIONAL OFFICERS

WALTER W. HEAD, PRESIDENT, ST. LOUIS, MO.
JOHN SHERMAN HOYT, VICE PRESIDENT, DARIEN, CONN.
THEODORE ROOSEVELT, VICE PRESIDENT, OYSTER BAY, N. Y.
FRANK G. HOOVER, VICE PRESIDENT, NO. CANTON, O.
REGINALD H. PARSONS, VICE PRESIDENT, SEATTLE, WASH.
AMORY HOUGHTON, VICE PRESIDENT, CORNING, N. Y.
LEWIS GAWTRY, TREASURER
ELBERT K. FRETWELL, CHIEF SCOUT EXECUTIVE
GEORGE J. FISHER, DEPUTY CHIEF SCOUT EXECUTIVE

DIVISIONAL COMMITTEE

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INCORPORATED FEBRUARY 8, 1910

CHARTERED BY CONGRESS JUNE 15, 1916

NATIONAL OFFICE
2 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y.

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REGION SIX

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W. A. DOBSON, REGIONAL EXECUTIVE
HERBERT STUCKEY, DEPUTY REGIONAL EXECUTIVE
GILBERT BUSH, DEPUTY REGIONAL EXECUTIVE
FRANK DIX, SPECIAL DEPUTY REGIONAL EXECUTIVE

March 2, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I am writing to confirm our conversation concerning the publication of a folder or pamphlet of testimonials for Scouting among Negroes. I, of course, fully recognize the load you are carrying as you attempt to get settled and started in your new work, but I am anxious, before summer comes, to get such a pamphlet out.

At your earliest convenience I would like for you to compile a list of key Southern Negroes and whites representing business, educational, professional, religious,and civic interests who might be asked for a testimonial. If you would be so kind as to draw up a sort of form letter requesting brief testimonials from these people our office would, of course, take care of the clerical work involved. It seems to me that it would be much stronger if this request went out under your letterhead and over your signature.

Your help in this matter will be greatly appreciated.

Please do not hesitate to call on me at any time if I can be of service to you in your new job or in a personal way.

Sincerely yours,
BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

Frank Dix

Frank Dix
Special Deputy Regional Executive

FD:j

THE SCOUT OATH

On My Honor I will do my best:

1. To do my duty to God and my country, and to obey the Scout Law;
2. To help other people at all times;
3. To keep myself physically strong, mentally awake, and morally straight.

THE SCOUT LAW

1. A SCOUT IS TRUSTWORTHY
A scout's honor is to be trusted. If he were to violate his honor by telling a lie, or by cheating, or by not doing exactly a given task, when trusted on his honor, he may be directed to hand over his scout badge.

2. A SCOUT IS LOYAL
He is loyal to all-to whom loyalty is due: his scout leader, his home, and parents and country.

3. A SCOUT IS HELPFUL
He must be prepared at any time to save life, help injured persons, and share the home duties. He must do at least one good turn to somebody every day.

4. A SCOUT IS FRIENDLY
He is a friend to all and a brother to every other scout.

5. A SCOUT IS COURTEOUS
He is polite to all, especially to women, children, old people, and the weak and helpless. He must not take pay for being helpful or courteous.

6. A SCOUT IS KIND
He is a friend to animals. He will not kill nor hurt any living creature needlessly, but will strive to save and protect all harmless life.

7. A SCOUT IS OBEDIENT
He obeys his parents, scoutmaster, patrol leader, and all other duly constituted authorities.

8. A SCOUT IS CHEERFUL
He smiles whenever he can. His obedience to orders is prompt and cheery. He never shirks nor grumbles at hardships.

9. A SCOUT IS THRIFTY
He does not wantonly destroy property. He works faithfully, wastes nothing, and makes the best use of his opportunities. He saves his money so that he may pay his own way, be generous to those in need, and helpful to worthy objects. He may work for pay but must not receive tips for courtesies or good turns.

10. A SCOUT IS BRAVE
He has the courage to face danger in spite of fear and to stand up for the right against the coaxings of friends or the jeers or threats of enemies, and defeat does not down him.

11. A SCOUT IS CLEAN
He keeps clean in body and thought, stands for clean speech, clean sport, clean habits, and travels with a clean crowd.

12. A SCOUT IS REVERENT
He is reverent toward God. He is faithful in his religious duties, and respects the convictions of others in matters of custom and religion.

Tentative draft
March 25, 1944

Dear ————:

In keeping with the aims of the Southern Regional Council, namely, to promote the social, civic, and economic welfare of all the people of the South, we are exploring ways and means of enlarging the opportunities of Negro boys to participate in the activities of the Boy Scouts of America. There are __ Negro Boy Scout troops in the Southeast, and there should be many more. In fact, if Negro boys were organized to the same extent as white boys, there would be ____ Negro Scout troops in the Southeast.

We realize that much needs to be done in an educational way before sound progress in Scouting for Negro boys can be made. Negro community leaders need to be informed as to the values of Scouting and awakened to the realization that Scouting is available to all boys; and white people need to be aroused from attitudes of indifference and stirred to a greater sense of their responsibility for the welfare of all the youths in their communities.

In cooperation with the Atlanta Regional Office of the Boy Scouts of America, we hope to assemble material for the publication of a small pamphlet which might be useful in this educational program. It would contain testimonials and opinions of persons of influence who have been in position to observe the values accruing from Scouting and who have definite convictions as to the importance of a wider participation of Negro boys in Scouting.

Would you be willing to write a brief testimonial or statement of opinion which could be published over your name. If so, please send it to me as soon as possible. We shall be very grateful for your help in promoting this worthy cause.

This letter is going to a small selected group. If you think of other persons in your state who, in your opinion, should be consulted, will you please give us their names?

Hoping to hear from you soon, and with appreciation for your cooperation, I am

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

May 5, 1944

Mr. Frank Dix
Special Deputy Regional Executive
Boy Scouts of America
Suite 1115
Citizens and Southern National Bank Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dix:

Thank you for your letter of May 4 and for the revised draft of the letter which I am to send out. I shall get to work on this right away.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

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FRANK DIX, SPECIAL DEPUTY REGIONAL EXECUTIVE

May 4, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

The Region Six Inter-racial Committee of the Boy Scouts of America is grateful to you for your willingness to give leadership in the development of a pamphlet of testimonials concerning our Program. We have made a few slight changes in the tentative draft of the letter requesting these testimonials, and return a revised copy herewith for your approval.

The members of the Committee felt that they were not qualified to suggest names of outstanding Negro leaders to whom letters should be sent. They felt it would be well for you to write such men as C. C. Spaulding, Bishop Melton, and others, and ask their advice concerning this matter. Will you be willing to do this, and go right ahead and get the letter out?

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,
BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

Frank Dix

FRANK DIX
Special Deputy Regional Executive

FD:j
Encl.

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

TELEPHONE 25319

The Journal and Guide

MEMBER OF AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

Published Weekly by
THE GUIDE PUBLISHING CO. INC.
711-723 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VA.

May 11, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I have had occasion during the past several years to observe the gradual growth but limited activities of the Boy Scouts of America as they have been extended to Negro boys. The impression I have gained is that the boys take to the movement with pride and enthusiasm, and that it has played an important part in character formation and in proper guidance.

The present need is for some expansion of the Boy Scout movement among Negro boys. It is almost pathetic to observe on the faces of youths who are not able because of the restricted membership to participate in the movement when there is a "turnout" on occasions of the existing troops.

There is no doubt that some expansion of the activities among Negro boys would play an important part in reducing juvenile delinquency, and in laying the fundamental basis for better citizenship among Negro youths.

Yours sincerely,

P. B. YOUNG, President and Publisher
THE JOURNAL AND GUIDE

PBY:LHL

May 12, 1944

Mr. Frank Dix
Boy Scouts of America
Suite 1115
Citizens and Southern National Bank Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dix:

Thank you for your letter of May 1 and the check for $4.00 to cover four subscriptions for our mailing list service. We are delighted to have these men on our list, and I hope that we can be mutually helpful.

We shall be glad to invite some of your outstanding members to become members of the Council. I am nominating the four men listed in your letter, and I shall be glad if you will suggest several others. We are working on a plan whereby certain members of our Council will be listed as official representatives of other organizations, and we hope to hold special strategy conferences for these representatives. I suggest, therefore, that your regional executive officer designate someone to serve as official representative on our Council.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

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FRANK DIX, SPECIAL DEPUTY REGIONAL EXECUTIVE

May 1, 1944

CK 14
5/2/44

Mr. Guy Johnson, Director
Southern Regional Council
Standard Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson;

At the meeting of our Regional Inter-racial Committee last week end, I told the members something of your work and plans. I only wish you might have sat with us and told your story in more detail.

These men are interested in the work of the Southern Regional Council and want to subscribe for the "Southern Frontier" and the clipping service. I am enclosing my check for $4.00 (Four Dollars) to cover subscriptions for the following:

Mailing list

Nelson Jackson, Jr., Tryon, N. C

J. J. Barnhardt, Cannon Mills, Kannapolis, N.C.

W. H. Barnhardt, Box 748, Charlotte, N. C.

W. A. Merritt, 626 N. Main St., Greenville, NC

I will appreciate it if you will send these men copies of the last issue of the "Southern Frontier".

It would please me very much if there could be some formal and official connection between this committee and your organization. Please let me know if there is a possibility of an outstanding member of our committee becoming a member of the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

Frank Dix

M. L. 5/7 6/3/44

* This letter was sent to all persons listed on attached sheet.

May 17, 1944

Mr. Eugene L. Graves
248 Tazewell Street
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Graves:

In keeping with the aims of the Southern Regional Council, namely, to promote the social, civic, and economic welfare of all the people of the South, we are exploring ways and means of enlarging the opportunities of Negro boys to participate in the activities of the Boy Scouts of America. There are now 16,165 Negro boys in 824 Scout Troops and Packs in the Southeast (Region Six of the Boy Scouts of America embraces North and South Carolina, Georgia and Florida) and there should be many more. In fact, if Negro boys were organized to the same extent as white boys there would be 35,948 of them in 1,584 Troops and Packs.

We realize that much needs to be done in an educational way before this objective can be reached. Negro community leaders need to be informed as to the values of Scouting and awakened to the realization that Scouting is available to all boys; and white people need to be aroused from an attitude of indifference and stirred to a greater sense of their responsibility for the welfare of all youths in their communities.

In cooperation with the Region Six Office of the Boy Scouts of America, we hope to assemble material for the publication of a small pamphlet which might be useful in this educational program. It would contain testimonials and opinions of persons of influence who have been in position to observe the values accruing from Scouting and who have definite convictions as to the importance of a wider participation of Negro boys in Scouting.

Would you be willing to write a brief testimonial or statement of opinion of 100 to 200 words, which could be published over your name? If so, please send it to me as soon as possible. We shall be very grateful for your help in promoting this worthy cause.

This letter is going to a small selected group. If you think of other persons in your state who, in your opinion, should be consulted, will you please give us their names?

Hoping to hear from you soon, and with appreciation for your cooperation, I am

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ/j

List of persons interested in Scouting -

Norfolk Va
Portsmouth Va
Elizabeth City, N.C.

Mr. Michael B. Waggenheim
National Bank of Commerce
Norfolk, Virginia

Mr. Lester Sherrick
511 Dickson Building
Norfolk, Virginia

Gov. Colgate W. Darden
Governor's Mansion
Richmond, Virginia

Mr. Frank W. Evans
Southern Bank of Norfolk
Norfolk, Virginia

Mr. E. W. Maupin
Portsmouth Lumber Company
Portsmouth, Virginia

Mr. Campbell Arnoux
W. T. A. R., Nat'l. Bank of Commerce
Norfolk, Virginia

Mr. B. A. McKinney
1024 Royster Building
Norfolk, Virginia

Mr. M. H. McArdle
228 Monticello Arcade
Norfolk, Virginia

Mr. L. J. Taylor
Royster Building
Norfolk, Virginia

Mr. F. U. Ross
V. E. P. Co.
Portsmouth, Va.

Mr. W. W. Stroud
Va. Beach Telephone Co.
Virginia Beach, Va.

Mr. R. D. Kramer
Ashe Street
Elizabeth City, N. C.

Mr. A. W. Hefren
Hertford, N. C.

Mr. John J. Shanaham
121 E. 28th St.
Norfolk, Virginia

Mr. Charles Johnston
214 Broad Street
Portsmouth, Virginia

Mr. J. T. Timmons
Monticello Hotel
Norfolk, Virginia

Mr. D. H. Goodman
600 Dickson Building
Norfolk, Virginia

Mr. A. B. Hill
603 Middle Street
Portsmouth, Va.

Mr. J. Holland Webster
Elizabeth City, N. C.

Mr. William M. Paxton
64 Commercial Place
Norfolk, Virginia

Mr. Frank W. Cox
Oceana, Virginia

Mr. M. Daily Walsh
800 Graydon Avenue
Norfolk, Virginia

Mr. Eugene L. Graves
248 Tazewell Street
Norfolk, Virginia

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker
School Board, Charlotte & Bank Sts.
Norfolk, Virginia

Rec'd
Mr. H. S. Hardcastle
272 E. 39th Street
Norfolk, Virginia

Mr. H. Travis Thompson
Boy Scouts of America
Monticello Arcade
Norfolk, Virginia

C. C. SPAULDING
PRESIDENT

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

May 18, 1944

Dr Guy B Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr Johnson:

Mr Spaulding has been in and out of the office so much that he has not had time to give your letter his personal attention. I am sending you the following names and he thinks that each of these persons would be glad to write a testimony concerning the value of SCOUTING:

Dr Jacob Billikopf, Securities Bank Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr Frank P Graham, Univ of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC

Mr P B Young, Journal & Guide, Norfolk, Virginia

Mr C A Barnett, Associated Negro Press, 3507 So Parkway, Chicago, Illinois.

With best wishes,

Very truly yours,

E S Berry

(Mrs) E S Berry
Secretary to Mr C C Spaulding

b

This letter was sent to all persons listed in Mr. Willcoxon's letter.

May 19, 1944

Mrs. Neil Callahan
Chambers Street
Vicksburg, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Callahan:

In keeping with the aims of the Southern Regional Council, namely to promote the social, civic, and economic welfare of all the people of the South, we are exploring ways and means of enlarging the opportunities of Negro boys to participate in the activities of the Boy Scouts of America. There are now 16, 165 Negro boys in 824 Scout Troops and Packs in the Southeast (Region Six of the Boy Scouts embraces North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida) and there should be many more. In fact, if Negro boys were organized to the same extent as white boys there would be 35,948 of them in 1,584 Troops and Packs.

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Hoping to hear from you soon, and with appreciation for your cooperation, I am

Cordially yours,

GBJ:m

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

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S. P. WARE
FRANK D. WOOD

W. A. DOBSON, REGIONAL EXECUTIVE
HERBERT STUCKEY, DEPUTY REGIONAL EXECUTIVE
GILBERT BUSH, DEPUTY REGIONAL EXECUTIVE
FRANK DIX, SPECIAL DEPUTY REGIONAL EXECUTIVE

June 15, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you for your good letter and I trust that it is not complicating your plans too much in the suggestion that we have two representatives of our Regional Scouting on your Council.

If convenient I think your suggestion is excellent that we list Mr. Nelson Jackson, Jr., of Tryon, N. C., as our representative, and Mr. L. E. Mansfield of Atlanta as correspondent.

Thanking you for your interest and cooperation, I am

Most cordially yours,
BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

W A Dobson

W. A. Dobson
Regional Executive

P.S. I shall pass along your suggestion about possible Negro Scouters to be members of the Council, to Frank Dix, and after we discuss it we will make further recommendation to you.

WAD.R

June 12, 1944

Mr. W. A. Dobson
Regional Executive
Boy Scouts of America
Suite 1115
Citizens and Southern National Bank Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dobson:

Thank you for your letter of June 1. I am sorry that there has been an unavoidable delay in my reply.

We shall be glad to have two representatives of the Boy Scouts on our Council. The only reason I suggested one representative was that this simplifies official correspondence and other contacts. Perhaps you would designate one of the men as correspondent.

We want Mr. Mansfield also, if he is interested in being a member of our Council. In fact, we would take quite a number of Scout executives, including Negro Scouters, if you would like to recommend them, because we want to coordinate with as many constructive movements as possible. Of course, we want you and Frank Dix if you are interested in becoming members.

With best wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

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DIVISIONAL COMMITTEE

MARSHALL FIELD, CHAIRMAN
FRANK G. HOOVER, VICE CHAIRMAN

ARTHUR A. SCHUCK, DIRECTOR

INCORPORATED
FEBRUARY 8, 1910

CHARTERED BY CONGRESS
JUNE 15, 1916

NATIONAL OFFICE
2 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y.

DIVISION OF OPERATIONS
REGION SIX

FLORIDA
GEORGIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA

OFFICE
SUITE 1115 CITIZENS & SOUTHERN NAT'L. BK. BLDG.
ATLANTA, GA.

TELEPHONE MAIN 0332

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W. A. MERRITT
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HERBERT STUCKEY, DEPUTY REGIONAL EXECUTIVE
GILBERT BUSH, DEPUTY REGIONAL EXECUTIVE
FRANK DIX, SPECIAL DEPUTY REGIONAL EXECUTIVE

June 1, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Mr. Dix has turned over to me your letter of May 12 suggesting that we designate some one as a representative of the Boy Scouts on your Council.

Mr. Dix and I wonder if it would be possible for us to have two representatives.

The reason for this is that from the point of view of prestige and position it would be very desirable that Mr. Nelson Jackson, Jr., Tryon, N. C., or Mr. J. J. Barnhardt, Kannapolis, N. C., represent us on your Council. At the same time, it would be fine if we could have a member of our Committee, Mr. L. E. Mansfield, International Paper Company, Rhodes-Haverty Building, Atlanta, Ga., on this Council, inasmuch as he probably would be available for meetings more, especially if they were held in Atlanta.

I suppose you will write direct to Mr. Jackson inviting him to serve as representing the Boy Scouts. If Mr. Jackson should decline, we would suggest Mr. Barnhardt; then if we get one of them we would like to have Mr. Mansfield in addition, if it is not asking too much of you.

With the best of good wishes, I am

Most cordially yours,
BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

W A Dobson

W. A. DOBSON
Regional Executive

WAD:j

P.S. You might suggest to Mr. Jackson that I thought he was the logical man to serve on this Council, inasmuch as he had suggested some one in Atlanta.

L. JEROME TAYLOR
The Travelers

THE TRAVELERS INSURANCE COMPANY
THE TRAVELERS INDEMNITY COMPANY
HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT

803 ROYSTER BUILDING
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA, 10

June 20, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

At a recent Court of Honor, the President of the Court, a retired Vice-Admiral, made a comment that sticks in my mind. He said that boys need men, men of character, in their guidance and development. Our schools are largely staffed with women teachers, and with due respect for their devotion to duty and competence, still he said boys need the influence of the right kind of men. Scouting is a man's field--a challenge to men--an opportunity to make a real contribution to the world of tomorrow.

What boy does not admire the ideals of the Corps of West Point? Examine them and you will find them interwoven with the fundamentals of the Scout Oath and Law.

In my considered judgment, there is no finer training for our leaders of tomorrow, be they in the Armed Services, in industry, or in the professions, than that offered by Scouting.

Cordially yours,

L. Jerome Taylor
Chairman Norfolk District
Tidewater Council

Boys are the most important raw material of the world. They will soon be men. What these men are and what they contribute to their country and the world largely depends on what they learn during their boyhood days.

The program of the Boy Scouts of America is one that can and does help boys of every color, race, or creed, rich or poor. The records made by men who were Scouts clearly demonstrates this fact.

From my personal experience in Scouting, I believe that it is most desirable and important to have the Scout program reach as many Negro boys as possible. The more Negro Scouts we can have and have immediately, the less serious will be some of our future problems. From Negro Scouts of today will come their leaders of the future. The Scout program will help make them better and more understanding leaders. It will be well worth the combined effort of all interested in Scouting to do everything possible to extend the Scouting Program to all our Negro Boys.

Chas. W. Johnston

Chas. W. Johnston

Portsmouth, Va.
June 8, 1944.

June 7, 1944

"Now about a testimonial for the value of Negro Boy Scouts. I would be glad to sign my name to anything you might write for me but I have no personal testimonial to make regarding it other than to know they are most valuable and a very definite alternative for juvenile delinquency, about which we hear so much and do so little.

I think this much of the Boy Scout movement that after receiving your letter I took the liberty of contacting the Boy Scout office here in Jackson and getting a speaker for the recent Annual Conference of Negro Women of which Mrs. George Love of Leland is director. Our scout executive here has an assistant who is a Negro and so he came and made an appeal to the women to have a troop in their church or community if there was not one there already. As those attending the Conference are some of the finest school teachers, church and community leaders in the state, I feel sure there will be some more troops established because we did have this presented to them.

If you can make a suitable statement out of those facts and if they will be at al helpful in your proposed pamphlet on the subject of more Negro Boy Scout Troops in the south, you are more than welcome to use it. "

(Mrs. C.C)Helene G. Alford
632 Chickasaw Avenue
Jackson 30, Mississippi

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PORTSMOUTH, VA.

May 26th, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 16th instant, asking for a brief statement as to the value of Scouting to Negro boys has been received.

In our Council the total 12 year old boy population is ~~13,197~~ 3,197. Included in this number of 12 year old boys are 1,220 Colored boys. Believing that it would take at least 5 Troops per hundred 12 year old boys to meet the immediate needs of youth for Scouting, we are now engaged in an effort to develop 99 Troops for White Scouts and 61 Troops for Colored Scouts, making a total of 160 Troops for the Council. As we approach the goal we will set our sights higher.

I believe in Scout training for our Colored youth as I do for our White youth because of its helpfulness in developing boys to take their places as citizens of the community. It has been my observation that boys and young men who have had Scout training are not the ones who get into trouble and end up in our public institutions.

(Continued)

We, as Scouters and as patriotic citizens, owe it to every boy to give him all possible opportunities for good citizenship.

I wish you success in your undertaking.

Yours very truly,

E. W. Maupin, Jr.

E. W. Maupin, Jr.
Vice President
Tidewater Council
Boy Scouts of America

EWM:G

MICHAEL B. WAGENHEIM, CHAIRMAN FRANK E. ROGERS, VICE-CHAIRMAN CHAS. V. COOKE, AUDITOR LEAH C. HALLER, CLERK

OFFICES
School Board of the City of Norfolk, Virginia
SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION BUILDING
NORFOLK 10, VIRGINIA

J. J. BREWBAKER
ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT

LUCY S. SAUNDERS
DIRECTOR ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

E. S. BRINKLEY
DIVISION SUPERINTENDENT

May 24, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I am enclosing a statement of my opinion relative to Scouting. I am glad to give the statement as I feel the benefits derived from the Scouting Program are numerous.

You will note that I have signed the statement "Assistant Superintendent, Norfolk City Public Schools," and "Chairman, Leadership Training Committee, Boy Scouts of America." You may use either or both of these titles in any way you wish.

Very truly yours,

J. J. Brewbaker
Assistant Superintendent

JJB:HL
Enc.

MICHAEL B. WAGENHEIM, CHAIRMAN FRANK E. ROGERS, VICE-CHAIRMAN CHAS. V. COOKE, AUDITOR LEAH C. HALLER, CLERK

OFFICES
School Board of the City of Norfolk, Virginia
SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION BUILDING
NORFOLK 10, VIRGINIA

J. J. BREWBAKER
ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT

LUCY S. SAUNDERS
DIRECTOR ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

E. S. BRINKLEY
DIVISION SUPERINTENDENT

May 24, 1944

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

Scouting offers interesting activities and provides the best type of training to all boys of every race. Regardless of race, color, or creed, the Scouting Program, under the leadership of a well-trained, conscientious scoutmaster, affords the boy the highest type of citizenship training and physical development.

Educationally speaking, Scouting employs the best and latest methods. Some of our most modern public schools are using similar procedures in their activity programs. Boy Scouts "stand out" in any group and are "prepared" for any emergency.

I feel that the Negro boys should have unlimited opportunities to participate in the activities of the Boy Scouts of America, and to benefit from the training that the program offers.

J. J. Brewbaker

J. J. Brewbaker
Assistant Superintendent
Norfolk City Public Schools
Chairman,
Leadership Training Committee
Tidewater Council
Boy Scouts of America

Mr. Dick

PAXTON COMPANY

PAINTS

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64-66 COMMERCIAL PLACE

NORFOLK 10, VA.

TELEPHONES
22381-22382

May 23, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

This will acknowledge your letter of May 17, and I am only too glad to make a statement concerning the value of the Boy Scout program to the youth of our Country.

Having been connected with Scouting for many years in various capacities, the period on which I look with the greatest pride is that when I served as Scoutmaster. Then, as an adult, I began to put aside the curtains of middle age which shuts off our view of youth too often and began again to get the boy viewpoint. His many perplexing problems are more than multiplied in these trying days.

We in the South have been blessed in many ways, and must not forget that from our region came many of the men who made it the great land it has become. Only by providing equal opportunity to all our youth can we measure up to the thinking of our forefathers.

This Country is dedicated to the principle of equality of opportunity, and the opportunity of Scouting should be provided for every twelve year old boy in America.

I might suggest that you write our Governor, the Honorable Colgate W. Darden, Jr., in Richmond, concerning your efforts as he is a past president of our local Boy Scout Council.

If I can be of any further assistance to you, do not hesitate to call on me.

Sincerely yours,

Wm. McC. Paxton

Wm. McC. Paxton

WMP:hha

T. R. PRESTON, PRESIDENT
CHAS. WHEDBEE, SECRETARY

A. W. HEFREN, TREAS. & GEN. MGR.
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HERTFORD, N.C.

May 23, 1944.

Mr. Guy B. Johnson,
Executive Director,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Johnson:-

I have your letter of May 16th, and assure you I am glad to cooperate in any movement for the uplift and betterment of the Negro race, and I feel that wonderful results could be obtained through the Boy Scout Movement.

I have been connected with Boy Scouts for more than ten years, and have observed the great results obtained. My own interest has been especially with the "forgotten boy" and for this reason I wish more Negro Boys could be organized into Scout troops, and the matter is so important it well deserves the greatest cooperation between community leaders of both races.

Negro leaders should be informed as to the value of scouting, and awakened to the fact that scouting is available to all boys, and the white people should be aroused as to their responsibility for the welfare of the youths of the Negro Race.

With very best wishes, I am,

Yours very truly,

A. W. Hefren

ALEXANDER FITZ-HUGH, PRESIDENT
BEN T. FITZ-HUGH VICE-PRESIDENT
W. H. FITZ-HUGH, JR., VICE-PRESIDENT JACKSON, MISS.
W. G. BEERS, SECRETARY

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LOCATIONS:
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VICKSBURG, MISSISSIPPI

May 23, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Johnson:

WE GIVE NO WARRANTY, EXPRESS OR IMPLIED, AS TO PURITY, DESCRIPTION, QUALITY, PRODUCTIVENESS OR ANY OTHER MATTER OF ANY SEED WE SELL, AND WILL NOT BE IN ANY WAY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CROP.

In reply to your letter of May 19th.

I think the Boy Scout Troops would be advantageous for the Negro boys. The late lamented Blake W. Godfrey, when he was State Secretary of the YMCA in Mississippi organized clubs for the Negro boys which were known as Luxis Clubs, corresponding to the Hi-Y Clubs for the white boys. These have been carried on successfully and helpfully. The practises and principles inculcated in the Boy Scout code should be helpful and constructive to all youth.

Yours sincerely

Alexander Fitz Hugh

ALEXANDER FITZ HUGH

For Frank Dix

WTAR

OFFICES & STUDIOS ★ NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE BUILDING ★ PHONE 25671
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

May 22, 1944 Zone 10

Dear Mr. Johnson:

We believe in Tidewater Council that we are in a better position now than any time in the past to make progress in the Scouting program among Negro boys. Mr. Fred D. Maise, our first full time Negro Field Scout Executive, came with us last December and has now developed Divisional Committees to serve all Districts of this Council having brought into the Movement the most prominent men in each community, all of whom are apparently inspired to go forward. One evidence of their enthusiasm lies in the fact that a University of Scouting has just been completed in which 60 certificates were issued to those completing one of the three courses offered.

As Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Council I am now engaged in clearing the way for the financing of a proposed permanent camp and we look forward to the establishment of such a camp within the next year.

I look upon Scouting as a means of bringing to the Negro boys of our Council the character building and citizenship training ingredients which will stand these youngsters in good stead as they develop into the backbone of our future citizenry.

Cordially yours,

Campbell Arnoux

Campbell Arnoux
Chairman, Finance Committee
Boy Scouts of America
Tidewater Council

A:W

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Exe. Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
RICHMOND 12.

COLGATE W. DARDEN, JR.
GOVERNOR

May 20, 1944.

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
710 Standard Building,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 16th. Nothing would please me more than to write the testimonial which is desired, because I am deeply interested in the Boy Scouts, having been President of the Tidewater Council in Norfolk for some years. However, since Region Six does not embrace Virginia, I doubt the advisability of using a communication from me.

I think statements drawn from citizens, both in and out of private life within the District, would be far more effective, and I make the suggestion for whatever it may be worth.

I hope that the campaign will be a success.

Sincerely,

Colgate Darden Jr.

CWD/W

John Hancock
Mutual
Life Insurance Company

HOME OFFICE
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

GUY W. COX, President

J. J. LETERMAN, General Agent
LESTER S. SHERRICK
Chartered Life Underwriter
Suite 511 Dickson Building, 236 Granby Street
Phone 24759 NORFOLK, VA.

May 19, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I have your letter of May 16th and am very pleased to enclose a sincere statement that you are at liberty to use as you see fit.

With every good wish for the success of your organization in its undertaking, I remain

Yours very truly,

Lester S. Sherrick

Lester S. Sherrick

LSS:aar
enc. 1

John Hancock
Mutual
Life Insurance Company

HOME OFFICE
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

GUY W. COX, President

J. J. LETERMAN, General Agent
LESTER S. SHERRICK
Chartered Life Underwriter
Suite 511 Dickson Building, 236 Granby Street
Phone 24759 NORFOLK, VA.

The purposes of the Boy Scouts of America are many fold, but may be summed up into the general classification of Character Building and Citizenship Training.

As an active Scouter of many years standing, I have watched the development of boys, both Negro and White, who have been fortunate enough to have availed themselves of the program offered by the Boy Scouts. I do not hesitate to say that the Negro boy makes more of his opportunity than the White boy, and that the ultimate result of the Scouting experience of the Negro boy is that he is far better equipped to take his place as an outstanding American Citizen, than the boy who has not enjoyed the privileges of Scouting.

It is my sincere hope that the whole family of Scouting will be extended to the Negro boy on an ever increasing scale for the future goodwill and welfare of both Negro and White Citizenry.

Princess Anne County Schools

OFFICE OF SUPERINTENDENT

Princess Anne, Virginia

May 19, 1944

It is a pleasure to commend the organization of Boy Scouts of America and to praise its accomplishment as a citizenship training and character building agency.

Several years ago I had a small part in helping to organize the Princess Anne District of Boy Scouts of America. Since this modest beginning I have been associated with the work of the District Committee and have looked forward to the time when every boy of this County might have the opportunity to participate in scouting. The growth has been marked but due to no lack of interest on the part of boys to be served this worthwhile organization is still not serving all of the boys who should be reached.

A beginning has been made in the area of extending scouting to the Colored youth of the County and it is hoped that the leadership and interest of the Colored population may soon be available in a larger way and thus insure this part of our future citizenry an opportunity to profit from this most worthwhile effective training.

Signed: F. W. Cox

F. W. Cox, Division Superintendent
of Schools
Princess Anne County, Virginia
Former Chairman Princess Anne
District Tidewater Council
Boy Scouts of America

BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA
TIDEWATER COUNCIL

Headquarters: 220 MONTICELLO ARCADE, NORFOLK 10, VA.

May 18, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sir:

I have your letter of May 16 and am glad to advise of the splendid progress being made in this Council in reaching Negro boys in Scouting.

I have been vitally interested in this work since its inception in this Council in 1928 and have served on the Inter-Racial Committee practically continiously since that date. You may be interested in the following table showing the number of Troops and the number of Scouts in the Colored Division at the end of each year for a period of 9 years:

Year	Troops	Scouts	
1935	13	200	
1936	14	260	
1937	9	181	
1938	12	267	
1939	19	355	
1940	23	434	
1941	17	319	
1942	15	337	
1943	21	558	
May 1, 1944	26	760	2 Packs, 27 Cubs

There are 1220 Negro boys who become 12 years old each year in this Council and we hope ultimately to have 5 Troops per 100 12 year old boys or 61 Troops in the Council. Incidentally, the territory of this Council includes 7 North Carolina counties, plus the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth in Virginia and the Virginia counties of Norfolk and Princess Anne.

Fred D. Maise, our Colored Field Scout Executive, was employed late in 1943 - being the first full time Colored man we have had on the Executive Staff here. Through his efforts and those of the volunteers associated with him I believe that this Council will make an outstanding record in the progress of its Negro work.

I certainly feel that Scouting as a supplementary program to the Church, the home and school can render a greater service than any other agency in filling the great need for character building and citizenship training among our Negro youth.

Yours sincerely,
BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA
TIDEWATER COUNCIL
MH McArdle
M.H. McArdle
Scout Commissioner

HTT/MHM:aw

BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

HONORARY OFFICERS

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, HONORARY PRESIDENT
HERBERT HOOVER, HONORARY VICE PRESIDENT
JAMES E. WEST, CHIEF SCOUT

NATIONAL OFFICERS

WALTER W. HEAD, PRESIDENT, ST. LOUIS, MO.
JOHN SHERMAN HOYT, VICE PRESIDENT, DARIEN, CONN.
THEODORE ROOSEVELT, VICE PRESIDENT, OYSTER BAY, N. Y.
FRANK G. HOOVER, VICE PRESIDENT, NO. CANTON, O.
REGINALD H. PARSONS, VICE PRESIDENT, SEATTLE, WASH.
AMORY HOUGHTON, VICE PRESIDENT, CORNING, N. Y.
LEWIS GAWTRY, TREASURER
ELBERT K. FRETWELL, CHIEF SCOUT EXECUTIVE
GEORGE J. FISHER, DEPUTY CHIEF SCOUT EXECUTIVE

DIVISIONAL COMMITTEE

MARSHALL FIELD, CHAIRMAN
FRANK G. HOOVER, VICE CHAIRMAN

ARTHUR A. SCHUCK, DIRECTOR

INCORPORATED
FEBRUARY 8, 1910

CHARTERED BY CONGRESS
JUNE 15, 1916

NATIONAL OFFICE
2 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y.

DIVISION OF OPERATIONS
REGION SIX

FLORIDA
GEORGIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA

OFFICE
SUITE 1115 CITIZENS & SOUTHERN NAT'L. BK. BLDG.
ATLANTA, GA.

TELEPHONE MAIN 0332

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S. P. WARE
FRANK D. WOOD

W. A. DOBSON, REGIONAL EXECUTIVE
HERBERT STUCKEY, DEPUTY REGIONAL EXECUTIVE
GILBERT BUSH, DEPUTY REGIONAL EXECUTIVE
FRANK DIX, SPECIAL DEPUTY REGIONAL EXECUTIVE

August 4, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I have read with interest and satisfaction your reply to Miss Lillian Smith and Mr. J. Saunders Redding as reprinted from THE COMMON GROUND.

I commend you for the stand you take, for your attitude toward many racial problems, and for your philosophy of "taking the foothills first".

Very cordially yours,
BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

W. A. Dobson

W. A. DOBSON
Regional Executive

WAD:j

scouts

August 10, 1944

Mr. H. Travis Thompson
Scout Executive
Boy Scouts of America
Tidewater Council
220 Monticello Arcade
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Thompson:

Thank you for your good letter of August 8. The Southern Regional Council is glad to cooperate in every way it can in the Scouting movement.

I certainly want to look in on the institute for Scout leaders here in Atlanta next week. I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you there.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

COLGATE W. DARDEN, JR., Honorary President E. W. MAUPIN, Jr., President. FRANK W. EVANS, CAMPBELL ARNOUX, FRANK W. COX, Vice-Presidents
B. A. McKINNEY, Treasurer. M. H. McARDLE, Commissioner.

BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

TIDEWATER COUNCIL

Chartered September 21, 1911 (No. 596) Incorporated August 11, 1928

SCOUT EXECUTIVE
H. TRAVIS THOMPSON
ASSISTANT SCOUT EXECUTIVES
HERBERT J. WILKINS
NORMAN M. SCHLEGEL
FIELD SCOUT EXECUTIVES
ROBERT M. GRAVES
FRED D. MAISE

HEADQUARTERS
220 MONTICELLO ARCADE
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA
TELEPHONE 44349

DISTRICT CHAIRMEN:
EAST ALBEMARLE
R. D. KRAMER
WEST ALBEMARLE
RICHARD N. HINES
NORFOLK
L. JEROME TAYLOR
PORTSMOUTH
FORREST U. ROSS
PRINCESS ANNE
W. W. STROUD
CHAIRMAN, DIVISION VII
O. F. WOODLEY

Aug. 8, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

It is certainly good to know of the interest being manifested in Scouting by the Southern Regional Council through your interest and guidance.

The greatest strides are now being made in Tidewater Council since the inception of Scouting for Negro boys in the Council in 1928 because our leaders, both White and Colored, more than ever before have come to recognize the Movement as a basis for proper citizenship training for all boys.

This intense desire to bring better opportunties to our youth resulted in the employment of Fred Maise as full time Field Scout Executive. His work and that of the volunteer leaders under his guidance are showing splendid results in number of boys reached and in the character development of boys enrolled as Cubs and Scouts. As a further manifestation of the upswing of interest in Scouting here, this Council is enrolling 10 men in the institute for Scout leaders being conducted in Atlanta next week.

I trust that you will be able to look in on that institute and we would like to have you meet some of the men from Tidewater who will be in attendance.

Your very truly,
BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA
TIDEWATER COUNCIL
H. T. Thompson
H. Travis Thompson
Scout Executive

HTT/aw

MEMBER NORFOLK AND PORTSMOUTH COMMUNITY FUNDS AND ELIZABETH CITY YOUTH FUND

~~State officials~~
Boy Scouts

November 20, 1944

The Honorable Ellis Arnall
The Governor of Georgia
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Governor Arnall:

I want to thank you for your splendid statement concerning the value of Scouting and the importance of making Scouting available to Negro boys. Your statement will be very helpful.

Let me say also that when I heard you speak at the Oglethorpe dinner last week, I wanted to shout for joy. It was the most objective and constructive talk that I have ever heard from a state official. I hope that Georgia and the South can have the benefit of your leadership for many years, because it is men like you who can do most to redeem "politics" and set the South on the short road to social progress.

I hope to have the privilege of meeting you soon and telling you something about the work of the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Office of the Governor
Atlanta

ELLIS ARNALL
GOVERNOR

GRACE CANNINGTON
SECRETARY

November 9, 1944

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Gentlemen:

The problem of training citizenship exists for every class and race in our country. That we have a very real need for such training has been amply evidenced in recent years.

The efforts of the Southern Regional Council to promote the organization of more Scout Troops and Packs among the Negro boys of the Southeastern states is an invaluable contribution.

Scouting should be available to every boy. Citizens of both races in Georgia and the Southeast ought to be aware of the opportunities for significant development of the individual through scouting, and should lend their very fullest cooperation to your organization's very fine efforts.

With all good wishes, I am

Very truly yours,

Ellis Arnall

Ellis Arnall,
Governor.

ea/mwg

November 8, 1944

Boy Scouts

Mr. Millard Caldwell
Caldwell and Parker
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Caldwell:

Thank you for your letter of November 7. For your information I am enclosing some excerpts from letters which we have received relative to the question of extending Scouting facilities among Negro boys. These excerpts will serve to illustrate the sort of thing which we had in mind.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j
Enclosure

for excerpt statement

"It is a pleasure to say a few words regarding the facilities of Scouting among Negro boys. I have taken occasion to make some inquiries regarding what has been going on among Negro Scouts in this vicinity. Their outstanding accomplishment has been the shipping their own car of wastepaper and continued efforts on scrap salvage. They are operating here under excellent leadership. The County Agent, Mr. Neeley, is very interested in them and there is a good committee of Negro leaders. White people may be aroused to help stimulate this movement. The chief handicap seems to be a lack of adequate facilities here. There is no place where the Negro boys can swim and qualify for First Class."

John J. Tigert, President, University of Florida.

****

"Scouting offers interesting activities and provides the best type of training to all boys of every race. Regardless of race, color, or creed, the Scouting Program, under the leadership of a well-trained, conscientious scoutmaster, affords the boy the highest type of citizenship training and physical development....I feel that the Negro boys should have unlimited opportunities to participate in the activities of the Boy Scouts of America, and to benefit from the training that the program offers."

J. J. Brewbaker, Assistant Superintendent,
Norfolk City Public Schools, Norfolk Va.

****

"From my personal experience in Scouting, I believe that it is most desirable and important to have the Scout program reach as many Negro boys as possible. The more Negro Scouts we can have and have immediately, the less serious will be some of our future problems. From Negro Scouts of today will come their leaders of the future. The Scout program will help make them better and more understanding leaders.It will be well worth the combined effort of all interested in Scouting to do everything possible to extend the Scouting Program to all our Negro Boys."

Charles W. Johnston, Manager Virginia Smelting Co.

****

"As an active Scouter of many years standing, I have watched the development of boys, both Negro and White, who have been fortunate enought to have availed themselves of the program offered by the Boy Scouts. I do not hesitate to say...that the ultimate result of the Scouting experience of the Negro boy is that he is far better equipped to take his place as an outstanding American Citizen, than the boy who has not enjoyed the privileges of Scouting."

Lester S. Sherrick, John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Co.

****

LAW OFFICES
CALDWELL AND PARKER
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

MILLARD F. CALDWELL
JULIUS F. PARKER

LEO L. FOSTER

November 7, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Your letter of October 26 has been read with much interest.

It has been my observation that the more the problem is agitated the more difficult it becomes. I think it best that I be better informed before I make a statement for publication.

Sincerely,

Millard Caldwell

MC:CFH

October 26

Prospective Boy Scout Testimonial Writers

FLORIDA

Governor Spessard L. Holland, ~~Bartow,~~ Tallahassee, Florida
Dean R. C. Beaty, Gainesville, Fla., U of Fla
Dean Walter J. Matherly, Gainesville, Fla., U. of Fla.
Rt. Rev. John D. Wing (Bishop) - Orlando, Fla. - 130 N. Main Street
Mr. Francis R. Bridges, Jr., Tallahassee, Fla. P.O. Box 1107
Bishop John Gowdy, Winter Park, Fla. 379 Victoria Ave.
Mr. Millard Caldwell, Gov.- Elect, Tallahassee
Dr. John J. Tigert, Gainesville, Fla., ~~1200 C. Boulevard~~, Pres. U of Fla
Richard W. Massey, Financier, Miami Beach (Methodist, Trustee for Inst. for Deaf and Blind)
Judge John W. Holland, Miami, Fla., Federal Bldg.

GEORGIA

Mr. Ralph McGill, Editor, Atlanta Constitution
Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Atlanta, Wesley Mem. Bldg.
Dr. J. McDowell Richards, Decatur, Ga.
Mr. Cason J. Callaway, Blue Springs Farms, Hamilton, Ga.
James Hyde Porter, (Mfgr) Macon, Ga.
Governor Ellis G. Arnall - The Hon. Ellis Arnall - Univ. of Ga.
Bishop Gerald P. O'Hara
Dr. Harmon W. Caldwell, Athens - Pres. of U. of Ga.
Mr. Preston S. Arkwright, ATLAnta, Electric Building
Judge E. Marvin Underwood
2216 POL. Dept. 6

NORTH CAROLINA

Gove. Melville Broughton
Bishop Clare Purcell
Mr. James G. Hanes, (Hosiery Mfgr), Winston-Salem
Jonathan Daniels, Raleigh
Bishop Edwin A. Penick
Dr. Frank P. Graham
Dr. James E. Shepard
Judge Robert W. Winston, Durham
Mr. Gurney P. Hood, Raleigh
Mr. John H. Wheeler, Durham

SOUTH CAROLINA

Mr. R. B. Herbert, Columbia
Rt. Rev. John J. Gravatt, Columbia
Dr. Patterson Wardlaw, Columbia
Justice James F. Byrnes, Spartanburg
Pres. Henry N. Snyder, Spartanburg
Mr. Fitz Hugh McMaster, Columbia
Mr. A. T. Jamison, Greenwood
Dean Francis W. Bradley, U. of S. C.
Mr. George A. Buchanan, Editor Columbia Record
Bishop W. T. Watkins, Columbia

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REGINALD H. PARSONS, VICE PRESIDENT, SEATTLE, WASH.
AMORY HOUGHTON, VICE PRESIDENT, CORNING, N. Y.
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GEORGE J. FISHER, DEPUTY CHIEF SCOUT EXECUTIVE

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FRANK G. HOOVER, VICE CHAIRMAN

ARTHUR A. SCHUCK, DIRECTOR

INCORPORATED
FEBRUARY 8, 1910

CHARTERED BY CONGRESS
JUNE 15, 1916

NATIONAL OFFICE
2 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y.

DIVISION OF OPERATIONS
REGION SIX

FLORIDA
GEORGIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA

OFFICE
SUITE 1115 CITIZENS & SOUTHERN NAT'L. BK. BLDG.
ATLANTA, GA.

~~TELEPHONE MAIN 0832~~

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HERBERT STUCKEY, DEPUTY REGIONAL EXECUTIVE
GILBERT BUSH, DEPUTY REGIONAL EXECUTIVE
FRANK DIX, SPECIAL DEPUTY REGIONAL EXECUTIVE

October 9, 1944

Ga. 4423

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I had hoped to get over to see you to discuss further the possible development of our little booklet on Scouting testimonials, but have been so tied up during my few days in town that I have been unable to do so.

I am going to have the opportunity to discuss a lot of matters with our Home Office staff when I go to New York on November 7. I wonder if you will be able to make another effort to get some testimonials from prominent citizens not now related to the Scout Program in North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida before that time? Your help in this connection will certainly be appreciated.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,
BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

Frank Dix

FRANK DIX
Deputy Regional Executive

FD:j

January 8, 1945

Mr. Frank Dix, Deputy Regional Executive
Boy Scouts of America
Suite 1115 Citizens & Southern Nat'l Bank Bldg.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dix:

We have received your letter of January 2 concerning the nomination of members for the Southern Regional Council. Since Dr. Johnson is to be out of the office all of today, and since he was anxious for you to have his reply, he has asked me to write to you, and to tell you that we are inviting all of those people on the list which you enclosed, to become members of the Southern Regional Council, and that we are asking them to nominate other people for membership.

Thank you very much for your cooperation. We, too, hope that you will be able to attend the open meetings in 1945, and we appreciate your interest in the Bulletin and the Frontier.

Cordially yours,

(MRS. PHILIP C. JAY)

BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

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GEORGE J. FISHER, NATIONAL SCOUT COMMISSIONER
THOMAS J. WATSON, INTERNATIONAL COMMISSIONER

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JOHN SHERMAN HOYT, VICE PRESIDENT, DARIEN, CONN.
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REGINALD H. PARSONS, VICE PRESIDENT, SEATTLE, WASH.
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LEWIS GAWTRY, TREASURER
ELBERT K. FRETWELL, CHIEF SCOUT EXECUTIVE

INCORPORATED
FEBRUARY 8, 1910

CHARTERED BY CONGRESS
JUNE 15, 1916

NATIONAL OFFICE
2 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

REGION SIX

FLORIDA
GEORGIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA

OFFICE
SUITE 1115 CITIZENS & SOUTHERN NAT'L. BK. BLDG.
ATLANTA 3, GA.

TELEPHONE JACKSON 4423

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R. C. LONG
L. E. MANSFIELD
C. G. MC GEHEE
W. F. MEDEARIS
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HERBERT STUCKEY, DEPUTY REGIONAL EXECUTIVE
GILBERT BUSH, DEPUTY REGIONAL EXECUTIVE
FRANK DIX, DEPUTY REGIONAL EXECUTIVE

January 2, 1945
(dictated December 29, 1944)

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

In line with our conversation yesterday concerning the nomination of members for the Southern Regional Council, we are enclosing a list of our Scout Executives in the states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, along with their addresses.

It was our suggestion that you write each of these Executives, suggesting that they nominate an outstanding volunteer in their respective Councils for membership on the Southern Regional Council. If you care to have them nominate more than one man each you may so indicate in your letter.

I have been reading with a great deal of interest the bulletins from your office, my copy of THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER, as well as the newspaper account of the activity of the Southern Regional Council. I regret that my work has been such that it has been impossible for me to attend any of the open meetings. I hope this will not be true in 1945, but, regardless, hope you will call on us if we can be of service.

Best wishes of the season.

Sincerely,
BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

FRANK DIX
Deputy Regional Executive

FD:j
Encl.

"BE PREPARED"

"DO A GOOD TURN DAILY"

May 9, 1945

Mr. Stanley A. Harris
Boy Scouts of America
2 Park Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Harris:

At the request of Mr. Kendall Weisiger, we are sending you herewith a copy of his pamphlet, BACKGROUND FOR BROTHERHOOD.

We are enclosing, also, our pamphlet entitled THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, ITS ORIGIN AND PURPOSE with a leaflet which describes the program adopted for 1945. We should be delighted to have you become a member of the Council - a regular member if we can list you as a resident of North Carolina, which I seem to remember used to be your home, and an Associate if your legal residence is outside the Council's area, as described on Page 5 of our pamphlet. If you feel that you can accept membership, won't you please return the enclosed card authorizing us to enroll you?

We are very happy to have as a member of our Council Mr. Frank Dix, who has aided us in securing the membership of a number of other Boy Scout executives in this area. We hope that this relationship will prove to be mutually helpful.

I remember with pleasure your occasional visits a good many years ago to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, with which I was associated, and I hope that you will come to see us the next time you are in Atlanta.

If we can be of assistance to you in any way, please let us know.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay
Secretary-Treasurer

November 27, 1945

Mr. Frank Dix
Deputy Regional Executive
Boy Scouts of America
1115 Citizens and Southern Natl. Bk. Bldg.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Frank:

Thanks very much for your kind note about the annual meeting of the Council. I was glad that you were able to attend. I thought that on the whole it was quite a good meeting.

I appreciate your sentiments with regard to resolutions that might have been offered. As you might have guessed, there was some politicing going on behind the scenes by a little clique which was anything but appreciative of the efforts of certain people on the staff. Such things are annoying, but they do not bother us very much. The only thing I really regret is that the Board meeting which was held just after the member meeting neglected to make any expression of appreciation to the retiring President, Dr. Howard W. Odum.

Very best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

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JAMES E. WEST, CHIEF SCOUT
GEORGE J. FISHER, NATIONAL SCOUT COMMISSIONER
THOMAS J. WATSON, INTERNATIONAL COMMISSIONER

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AMORY HOUGHTON, VICE PRESIDENT, CORNING, N. Y.
LEWIS GAWTRY, TREASURER
ELBERT K. FRETWELL, CHIEF SCOUT EXECUTIVE
PLINY H. POWERS, DEPUTY CHIEF SCOUT EXECUTIVE

COMMITTEE ON FIELD OPERATIONS

FRANK G. HOOVER, CHAIRMAN
PLINY H. POWERS, DIRECTOR

INCORPORATED
FEBRUARY 8, 1910

CHARTERED BY CONGRESS
JUNE 15, 1916

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REGION SIX

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OFFICE
SUITE 1115
CITIZENS & SOUTHERN NAT'L. BK. BLDG.
ATLANTA 3, GA.

TELEPHONE JACKSON 4423

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FRANK DIX, DEPUTY REGIONAL EXECUTIVE

November 17, 1945

RECEIVED
NOV 19 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Guy:

I enjoyed attending the Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council and appreciated the opportunity of getting a further insight into the job you are doing.

It seemed to me that when resolutions were being offered toward the close of the meeting, a resolution of thanks and appreciation to you and your Staff should have been presented. Certainly, we know a little bit about what is involved in the job you are doing and what it has taken to have made the progress to date.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,
BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

Frank Dix

FRANK DIX
Deputy Regional Executive

FD:j

D. V. JEMISON, B. D., D. D.
President, National Baptist Convention, U. S. A., Inc.

Bishop W. A. FOUNTAIN, SR.
Senior Bishop, A.M.E. Church

C. C. SPAULDING
President, North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co.

DEVELOPS LOYAL CITIZENS

"This is to certify that I have seen the Boy Scout Movement for the past 15 years or more and it pleases me to say that the Boy Scouts achieve methods that help to develop them into loyal and patriotic citizens for their country.

There should be an interest aroused to get the organization organized in each city; it would help us to have more law-abiding citizens."

D. V. Jemison
President, National Baptist Convention, U. S. A., Inc.

BUILDS CHARACTER

"The Boy Scouts of America is not an end in itself, but a means to an end in character building, undergirding the home, school and church. It emphasizes that no boy can grow into the best citizenship without recognizing his obligation to God and his country. Scouting is the church at work in the community life, thus producing trained men for leadership in the church and nation."

William Alfred Fountain, Sr.
Senior Bishop, A. M. E. Church

"NO FINER PROGRAM"

"If our boys are to have a well-rounded life and a sound philosophy to guide them in the future, it is vitally necessary for them to have the training provided by Scouting and to practice the Scout Oath. Scouting maintains that no boy can grow into the best kind of citizen without recognizing his obligation to God. Certainly there is no finer program in existence for the youth of our nation than the Program of the Boy Scouts of America.

"Look around for Scouts — they need your assistance and encouragement.

"Please lend your influence and aid to the Boy Scouts in your community."

C. C. Spaulding
President, North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co.

Mr. Guy Johnson

BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

Region Six

1945
CONFERENCES
FOR TRAINING TRAINERS

Due to Regulations of the Office of Defense Transportation the 1945 Conference will be held on State rather than Regional basis. Therefore these Conferences are being held in lieu of the long established "Atlanta School."

Select the Conference you can most conveniently attend

BETHUNE-COOKMAN COLLEGE
Daytona Beach, Florida
August 2-3-4-5

GEORGIA STATE COLLEGE
Savannah, Georgia
August 9-10-11-12

ALLEN UNVERSITY
Columbia, S. C.
August 23-24-25-26

A. & T. COLLEGE
Greensboro, N. C.
Sept. 27-28-29-30

REGISTER NOW
with
BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA
REGION SIX OFFICE
1115 C & S Bank Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

SCOUT HOMER KNIGHT——TROOP 11
BRUNSWICK, GEORGIA
Recipient of Lewis H. Beck Medal for Saving Life

The purpose of these Conferences i
local associates in how to organiz
SCOUT TROOPS . . . CUB

WHO SHOULD ATTEND: Divisional
members o
Executives;
these Comm

Time of Opening and Closing

Each State Conference will officially open with the evening meal on the Thursday of the date indicated. Scouters are urged to arrive by 4 p. m. so they may register, be assigned to rooms, organize Patrols and Troops prior to opening dinner. In each state there will be a meeting of the State Committee, faculty, and staff at 4:00 p. m.

The Conferences will close at 4:00 p. m. on Sunday.

COST: The cost for each Conference is given below

COURSES	WHO SHOULD ATTEND	BETHUNE-COOKMAN DAYTONA BEACH, F DATE: Aug. 2-3- COST: $6.00
How to Organize Troops, Packs and Senior Units	Chairmen and members of Divisional Organization and Extension Committees and Potential Chairmen and members	DR. STANLEY A. National Directo Inter-racial Servi REV. HUGH F. BROC Divisional Chairm Ft. Pierce, Florid
How to Conduct Training for Troop and Pack Leaders	Chairmen and members of Divisional Leadership and Training Committees and Potential Chairmen and members	HERBERT STUC Deputy Regional Exe O. W. NEAL Divisional Chairm Gainesville, Flori
How Commissioners Can Serve Units and Institutions	Divisional and Neighborhood Commissioners and Potential Divisional and Neighborhood Commissioners	A. J. TAYLO Assistant to Direc Inter-racial Servi ED. T. GRAHA Divisional Commissi South Florida Cou
The Year Round Job of the Camping and Activities and Health and Safety Committees	Chairmen and members of Divisional Camping and Activities and Health and Safety Committees Potential Chairmen and members	GILBERT BUS Deputy Regional Exe DR. J. H. DYE Divisional Chairm Health and Safety Con Gulf Stream Cou

is to train men in how to train their
ize, supervise, administer and operate
PACKS . . . SENIOR UNITS

l Chairmen and Commissioners; Chairmen and
of all Divisional Operating Committees; Field
es; and potential Chairmen and members of
mmittees; prospective Field Executives.

The Program

In each Conference the opening session will be devoted to orientation—the fundamentals of the Boy Scouts of America—illustrated with slides. This will be followed by a general discussion and dramatization of the Divisional Committee. All Scouters will participate in these two sessions. Then the Conference will divide into four groups as indicated below—each man going into the group related to his responsibility back home. *Divisional Chairmen, Finance Chairmen,* and *Advancement Chairmen* and members of their Committees will select the group of greatest interest to them. The groups will come together on the last day to discuss *Advancement* and to participate in general round table discussion.

LOCATION • FACULTY • DATES • COST

AN COLLEGE H, FLORIDA 2-3-4-5 .00	GEORGIA STATE COLLEGE SAVANNAH, GEORGIA DATE: Aug. 9-10-11-12 COST: $8.25	ALLEN UNIVERSITY COLUMBIA, S. C. DATE: Aug. 23-24-25-26 COST: $8.00	A. & T. COLLEGE GREENSBORO, N. C. DATE: Sept. 27-28-29-30 COST: $7.50
A. HARRIS ector ervice OCKINGTON irman lorida	DR. STANLEY A. HARRIS National Director Inter-racial Service S. F. SELLERS Divisional Chairman Atlanta Area Council	FRANK DIX Deputy Regional Executive Volunteer leader to be announced	DR. STANLEY A. HARRIS National Director Inter-racial Service E. M. MITCHELL Divisional Chairman Old Hickory Council
TUCKEY Executive ALY irman lorida	HERBERT STUCKEY Deputy Regional Executive JOHN P. WHITTAKER Council Divisional Chairman, Atlanta Area	HARRY K. EBY National Director Volunteer Training A. J. CLEMENT, JR. Divisional Chairman Coastal Carolina Council	HERBERT STUCKEY Deputy Regional Executive H. C. GORE Divisional Chairman Burlington, N. C.
LOR irector ervice HAM missioner Council	A. J. TAYLOR Assistant to Director Inter-racial Service JAKE A. HENDERSON Divisional Commissioner Atlanta Area Council	HARRY NAGEL Assistant National Director Division of Personnel R. W. McGIRT Divisional Chairman Rock Hill, S. C.	A. J. TAYLOR Assistant to Director Inter-racial Service DR. W. M. HAMPTON Divisional Chairman Greensboro Area Council
BUSH Executive DYETT airman Committee, Council	GILBERT BUSH Deputy Regional Executive J. S. DELAWARE Divisional Chairman Savannah, Ga.	Leaders to be announced	GILBERT BUSH Deputy Regional Executive S. F. DUNCAN Divisional Chairman Cherokee Council

What to Bring: Clothing and personal effects—uniform if you have one; whatever literature you have on your duties; exhibits on Scouting your Council has developed.

Special Features: Each Conference will be addressed on the opening night by a prominent speaker.

The singing is always a fine feature of these Conferences—soloists—quartets—song leaders—"be prepared."

The traditional "big ideas" will be presented each morning at breakfast.

Staff: These four state Conferences will be under the general direction of Regional Executive W. A. Dobson, with Deputy Regional Executive Frank Dix in direct charge. Dr. Stanley A. Harris, National Director of Inter-racial Scouting, is the Chief Adviser. Harry K. Eby, National Director of Volunteer Training, is the Educational Adviser and will participate in some of the Conferences, as will Harry Nagel, Assistant National Director of Personnel. A. J. Taylor, Assistant to Dr. Harris, will be in charge of one of the courses. Deputy Regional Executives Herbert Stuckey and Gilbert Bush will participate in all Conferences except one.

Each State Committee is responsible for physical arrangements and general leadership of the respective State Conferences.

The Committee listed below, functioning on a Regional basis, is responsible for the plan and operation of the various State Conferences:

COMMITTEE IN CHARGE OF GENERAL ARRANGEMENTS

E. M. Mitchell, Winston-Salem, N. C. . . . . North Carolina Chairman
Dr. Robert P. Daniel, Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C.

A. J. Clement, Jr., Charleston, S. C. . . . . South Carolina Chairman
R. W. McGirt, Rock Hill, S. C.

Jake A. Henderson, Atlanta, Ga.
J. S. Delaware, Savannah, Ga. } . . . . . Co-Chairmen for Georgia
S. G. Sellers, Atlanta, Ga.

Dr. J. H. Dyett, West Palm Beach, Fla. . . . . Florida Chairman
Edward T. Graham, Miami, Fla.

RECEIVED
JAN 8 1946
Southern Regional Council

COPY

January 7, 1946

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Trigg:

I had hoped, before leaving town on this two weeks' trip, to have the opportunity of greeting you and welcoming you to your new opportunity and responsibility. I do look forward to getting acquainted with you and to discussing ways and means whereby we may be mutually helpful.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,
BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

FRANK DIX
Deputy Regional Executive

FD:j

CC: Dr. Guy B. Johnson

January 10, 1946

Boy Scouts

Mr. Frank Dix
Deputy Regional Executive
Boy Scouts of America
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dix:

I thank you very much for your letter of January 7 and its cordial welcome.

I have been interested in the Scout movement for many years, and look forward with pleasure to the opportunity of discussing it with you.

With kindest good wishes, I am

Very cordially yours,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:jm

BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

HONORARY OFFICERS

HARRY S. TRUMAN, HONORARY PRESIDENT
HERBERT HOOVER, HONORARY VICE PRESIDENT
JAMES E. WEST, CHIEF SCOUT
GEORGE J. FISHER, NATIONAL SCOUT COMMISSIONER
THOMAS J. WATSON, INTERNATIONAL COMMISSIONER

NATIONAL OFFICERS

WALTER W. HEAD, PRESIDENT, ST. LOUIS, MO.
JOHN SHERMAN HOYT, VICE PRESIDENT, DARIEN, CONN.
FRANK G. HOOVER, VICE PRESIDENT, NO. CANTON, O.
REGINALD H. PARSONS, VICE PRESIDENT, SEATTLE, WASH.
AMORY HOUGHTON, VICE PRESIDENT, CORNING, N. Y.
LEWIS GAWTRY, TREASURER
ELBERT K. FRETWELL, CHIEF SCOUT EXECUTIVE
PLINY H. POWERS, DEPUTY CHIEF SCOUT EXECUTIVE

COMMITTEE ON FIELD OPERATIONS

FRANK G. HOOVER, CHAIRMAN
PLINY H. POWERS, DIRECTOR

INCORPORATED
FEBRUARY 8, 1910

CHARTERED BY CONGRESS
JUNE 15, 1916

NATIONAL OFFICE
2 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

REGION SIX

FLORIDA
GEORGIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA

OFFICE
SUITE 1115
CITIZENS & SOUTHERN NAT'L. BK. BLDG.
ATLANTA 3, GA.

TELEPHONE JACKSON 4423

REGIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

NELL R. WILKINSON, HONORARY CHAIRMAN
PAUL W. SCHENCK, HONORARY CHAIRMAN
C. L. EMERSON, CHAIRMAN

IVAN ALLEN, JR.
W. S. ALLEN
HAMILTON C. ARNALL
W. N. BANKS
J. J. BARNHARDT
W. H. BARNHARDT
JOE L. BLYTHE
CARL BROREIN
HERMAN CONE
W. D. ELLIS
MOSE W. GORDON
JOHN M. HAMRICK
R. D. HARVEY
A. W. HIGGINS
I. PAUL INGLE
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GEORGE E. JUDD
W. B. KIKER
ROBERT KLOEPPEL
GEORGE H. LANIER
GEORGE E. LEWIS
R. C. LONG
L. E. MANSFIELD
W. F. MEDEARIS
W. A. MERRITT
ALF R. NIELSEN
ABIT NIX
ELFRED S. PAPY
J. E. PRESTON
W. T. RAINEY
H. SMITH RICHARDSON
LUCIUS S. RUDER
LOUIS N. SHAHAN, JR.
JOHN SIMMONS
H. JERMAIN SLOCUM
MCGREGOR SMITH
HARRY STRACHAN
ROBERT STRICKLAND
E. J. THORNHILL
HERMAN L. TURNER
AUGUST VAN EEPOEL, JR.
W. J. VEREEN
S. P. WARE
FRANK D. WOOD

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HERBERT STUCKEY, DEPUTY REGIONAL EXECUTIVE
GILBERT BUSH, DEPUTY REGIONAL EXECUTIVE
FRANK DIX, DEPUTY REGIONAL EXECUTIVE

January 7, 1946

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Trigg:

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Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,
BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

Frank Dix

FRANK DIX
Deputy Regional Executive

FD:j

CC: Dr. Guy B. Johnson

October 4, 1946

Mr. Frank Dix, Deputy Regional Executive
Boy Scouts of America
Suite 940 Citizens & Southern Bank Bldg.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Frank:

Thank you for your letter of October 2. As far as I know now, I expect to be here on November 22 and 23. I am looking forward with pleasure to seeing you and Mr. Leslie Stratton, your National Director of Public Relations. If by any chance I find that I have to be away, I hope that you will come on anyway and visit with the other members of our staff.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

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REGINALD H. PARSONS, VICE PRESIDENT, SEATTLE, WASH.
FRANCIS W. HATCH, VICE PRESIDENT, BOSTON, MASS.
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CHARTERED BY CONGRESS
JUNE 15, 1916

NATIONAL OFFICE
2 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

REGION SIX
FLORIDA — NORTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA — SOUTH CAROLINA
SUITE 940
CITIZENS & SOUTHERN NAT'L. BK. BLDG.
ATLANTA 3, GA.
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W. J. VEREEN
P. T. WATSON
E. K. WILLIS
FRANK D. WOOD

October 2, 1946

RECEIVED
OCT 3 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Guy:

Mr. Leslie Stratton, our National Director of Public Relations, will be in Atlanta the afternoon of the 22nd of November and the morning of the 23rd.

We expect to get in from Jacksonville in the early afternoon on the 22nd and would like very much to come by and see you and others in your office whom you might suggest.

We are attempting to arrange an appointment with Mr. C. A. Scott at 4:00 P.M. on the 22nd and other than that we have no other commitments.

Will you please let me know whether it will be convenient for us to see you during this period?

Sincerely yours,
BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

Frank

FRANK DIX
Deputy Regional Executive

FD/ef

March 10, 1947

Mr. Frank Dix
Boy Scouts of America
Suite 940
Citizens & Southern Nat'l Bk. Bldg.,
Atlanta, Georgia
Dear Mr. Dix:

Your letter of March 5 announcing the meeting date for the Atlanta School Committee is received.

I shall reserve April 12, and look forward with pleasure to the sessions.

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Direct

HLT:k

BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

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JOHN M. SCHIFF, VICE PRESIDENT, OYSTER BAY, N. Y.
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ELBERT K. FRETWELL, CHIEF SCOUT EXECUTIVE
PLINY H. POWERS, DEPUTY CHIEF SCOUT EXECUTIVE

COMMITTEE ON FIELD OPERATIONS

FRANK G. HOOVER, CHAIRMAN
PLINY H. POWERS, DIRECTOR

INCORPORATED FEBRUARY 8, 1910

CHARTERED BY CONGRESS JUNE 15, 1916

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NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

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P. T. WATSON
E. K. WILLIS
FRANK D. WOOD

MARCH 5, 1947

DR. H. L. TRIGG
32 C. STREET
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

DEAR DR. TRIGG:

THE DELAY IN GETTING THIS LETTER TO YOU WAS CAUSED BY THE DELAY IN ENLISTING THE NEW AND ADDITIONAL MEMBERS OF OUR ATLANTA SCHOOL COMMITTEE. YOU WILL NOTE A FEW CHANGES IN MEMBERSHIP IN KEEPING WITH THE POLICY TO BRING IN NEW BLOOD EACH YEAR.

BECAUSE DURING PAST YEARS THERE HAS BEEN MUCH DIFFICULTY IN SECURING ACCOMMODATION FOR OUR "SCHOOL", I HAVE TAKEN THE LIBERTY OF GETTING TENTATIVE AGREEMENT ON THE PART OF MORRIS BROWN COLLEGE TO LET US COME BACK THERE DURING THE WEEK OF AUGUST 10. PLEASE DO NOT LET THIS KEEP ANY OF US FROM SEEKING TO FIND AN EVEN MORE DESIRABLE LOCATION.

NOW, THE "COMMITTEE" WILL HOLD ITS MEETING ON SATURDAY APRIL 12 AT MORRIS BROWN COLLEGE, ATLANTA. WE WILL CONVENE PROMPTLY AT 10:00 A.M. AND ADJOURN NOT LATER THAN 5:00 P.M. WE WILL LUNCH TOGETHER ON THE CAMPUS.

IT IS VITALLY IMPORTANT THAT EACH MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE ATTEND FOR THE FULL TIME. YOUR EXPENSES TO AND FROM ATLANTA AND NECESSARY EXPENSES INCURRED WHILE HERE WILL BE BORNE BY THE REGIONAL OFFICE.

PLEASE DRAW A CIRCLE AROUND THIS DATE AND WRITE ME THAT YOU WILL BE PRESENT. BETWEEN NOW AND THE MEETING PLEASE GIVE AS MUCH THOUGHT AS POSSIBLE TO PROGRAM AND PLANS FOR THE 1947 SCHOOL AND OF COURSE ALSO TO WAYS AND MEANS OF GETTING BEST ATTENDANCE OF BEST MEN. FEEL FREE TO WRITE YOUR SUGGESTIONS NOW.

SINCERELY,
BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

Frank Dix

FRANK DIX
DEPUTY REGIONAL EXECUTIVE

FD/s

-1-

Boy Scouts of Am

February 25, 1948

Mr. W. A. Dobson, Regional Executive
Boy Scouts of America
Suite 940
Citizens and Southern National Bank Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dobson:

Thank you for your letter of February 24.

Our Meeting on Human and Civil Rights in the South was planned long before Mr. Truman's message to the Congress containing his ten-point civil rights program. Our meeting is in no sense political, and neither the Council nor the various groups of church women who played a leading part in organizing the meeting have any intention of advocating any particular legislative program on civil rights.

Our position is pretty well set out in the foreword to the digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, a copy of which I attach. We are anxious that the South shall know the contents of the Report and thereafter anxious that the South shall make up its own mind as to what will strengthen the rights of the individual in the South.

The Southern Regional Council is an entirely non-political organization.

We are happy that Mr. Dix of your staff will be at the meeting on the twenty-seventh and shall be very glad indeed if you can come also.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure

BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

HONORARY OFFICERS

HARRY S. TRUMAN, HONORARY PRESIDENT
HERBERT HOOVER, HONORARY VICE PRESIDENT
WALTER W. HEAD, HONORARY VICE PRESIDENT
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O. B. GORMAN, DEPUTY REGIONAL EXECUTIVE

February 24, 1948

REGIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

MELL R. WILKINSON, HONORARY CHAIRMAN
PAUL W. SCHENCK, HONORARY CHAIRMAN
C. L. EMERSON, HONORARY CHAIRMAN
H. SMITH RICHARDSON, CHAIRMAN

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P. T. WATSON
E. K. WILLIS
FRANK D. WOOD

RECEIVED
FEB 26 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am looking forward to the privilege of meeting you personally. I knew Dr. Johnson well and favorably when he was occupying your present position.

Dr. Mitchell, I have just received a letter from a Mrs. M. E. Tilly relative to a Meeting on Human and Civil Rights in Atlanta and she states that the co-sponsors of this meeting on February 27 include the Southern Regional Council.

Now it is my understanding that the Southern Regional Council is absolutely non-political and that it has expressed itself as feeling that the best solution to inter-racial problems is to be made by leading Whites and Negroes who live together in the South. If my understanding is correct, I congratulate you upon that policy.

If I understand this letter of Mrs. Tilly, it seems to me that you are co-sponsoring a meeting that will develop into work shops that could well be interpreted as approving and promoting the President's so-called Civil Rights Program.

If this is true, then I will have to advise our Scout Leaders to steer

clear of this meeting.

Please understand me, sir. I am frequently misunderstood. This is not a question as to what I feel personally. The Boy Scouts of America are honor bound to be absolutely non-political on any issue. In this particular one I am sure you can appreciate that I have just as much responsibility to extend the Scouting Program to the sons of Talmadge followers as I have to the sons of White men who are cordial, friendly and helpful to the Negro cause and the sons of the Negro himself. There is but one way I can do this, sir, and that is to steer clear of all issues. As an individual, I freely say that the Negro has many injustices. I hope and believe they will be corrected, but that is not the job and objective of the Boy Scouts of America. We are obligated to extend Scouting to all boys and right at this particular moment in our history, I see no way that we can do that except to proceed in accordance with Southern customs and traditions.

I am assigning Mr. Dix of my Staff to attend the Meeting on the 27th.

At your convenience I would like to have the privilege of sitting down and talking with you further about the extent to which the Boy Scouts of America can participate in the aims and objectives of your organization composed of Southern White men and Southern Negroes.

Very cordially yours,
BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

W A Dobson

W. A. DOBSON
Regional Executive

WAD/ef

NATIONAL COUNCIL

BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

REGION SIX

NORTH CAROLINA • SOUTH CAROLINA

GEORGIA • FLORIDA

FRANK DIX
SPECIAL DEPUTY
REGIONAL SCOUT EXECUTIVE

1115 CITIZENS & SOUTHERN NATL. BANK BLDG.
REGIONAL OFFICE
ATLANTA, GA.

BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

2 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK

LESLIE C. STRATTON
NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Interracial Program and Objectives.

Programs:

1. A mass meeting to be held once a year at Mayhall Auditorium, or the Community Auditorium.

2. Interracial clinic for young people
   (a) Select clinic leaders.
   (b) Select date, time, and place.
   (c) Announce subject for discussion.

3. A paper should be read at our monthly meeting on the subjects pertaining to interracial matters with no less than 500 words. At the end of the year these paper shall be bounded, and distributed by the commission.

4. A speaker shall be invited by the Chairman from time to time to speak to the commission. Speaker shall be limited to twenty minutes.

Objectives.

1. Economic and Industrial factors:
   (a) Plan for setting up wartime employment clinic.
   (b) Eastablish a working relationship with businesses in your community so that they will know of your interest, and willingness to help adjust interracial problems when they arise.
   (c) Cutting down on worker's absenteeism.
   (d) Cutting down on workers turnover.

2. Equality before the law which assures us justice without prejudice, regardless of race or color- as far as human beings can obtain justice.

3. Immediately, study causes and remove irritants where ever they are found. However, be aware of false rumors.

4. Plan for rehabilitation of soldiers after the war:
   (a) Reverting themselves back into the economic, social, and spiritual life.

5. Educational Program:
   (a) Promote educational publicity through the press.
   (b) Encouragement of equal educational opportunity.
   (c) More adequate school facilities.

   School:
   (a) Through lectures, getting the program across to the people.
   (b) Interracial discussions.
   (c) Attractive posters on interracial subjects.
   (d) Promote race relations in colleges so the young people will have a better understanding when they are confronted with interracial problems.

   Churches:
   (a) Sermons on interracial subjects.
   (b) Church programs, to raise morale and efficiency to the people.
   (c) Announcements.
   (d) Cooperating with lay-members.

   Social Agencies:
   (a) Conferances with heads of social agencies.
   (b) Such conferances can stimulate a definite program.

6. Work with the city officials to secure both protection and better facilities in neglected areas.

7. Health Program:
   (a) To assist the already existing Health Agencies in fostering [illegible] their program.

Rev John R Brokhoff
Atlanta

January 14, '53

Dear Mr. Brokhoff,

We were greatly pleased that Mr. Harold Lette did today order 750 copies of the Schools and the Courts, for the Board of Social Missions, which they will send out to ministers in areas where school segregation is currently the law. We shipped them out today.

Warm thanks to you for your help.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

RECEIVED
JAN 5
Southern Regional Council

722 College Street
Bedford, Virginia
January 2, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive-Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your letter of December 31 regarding the Jesse Dukes case. I would not have bothered you had I known that you would have to make extensive inquiries regarding him.

Those who wrote the pamphlet which was distributed by the Committee of 100 seemed convinced that Jesse Dukes did not steal the five automobiles as charged. Moreover, they gave his age at the time of arrest as twelve rather than eighteen. It was not made clear in the pamphlet, however, whether or not they had any information other than the statements of the prisoner.

It will be interesting to see how this case is disposed of. I may write to the Committee of 100 in a few months to see what was accomplished.

Best wishes for a pleasant and satisfying year in 1954.

Sincerely yours,

Jesse P. Burton

Jesse P. Burton

March 15, 1954

Mrs. J. D. Bragg
3666 Montana
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Mrs. Bragg:

I save time all around by sending a copy of this letter to Mrs. Tillman, in Tennessee.

We would consider it a great matter if you would plan with yourself a best use toward this general end of what time you (a busy person!) may be able to squeeze in. I thought perhaps a tour of various Conference presidents. Could you take on part of Texas; say three or four of the Conferences? That would get each of the visited Conference presidents closely informed, and under real stimulus to do things on her own. Or it could be Oklahoma, or northern Louisiana.

Please ponder the whole rich opportunity, and try your best to fit in a useful plan. We all know the tremendous encouragement that visits by you in this interest would bring.

Call us here if we can add more facts or clearances of "territory".

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

cc. Mrs. James S. Crate
Mrs. Thelma Stevens

Memo . . . FROM

HELEN BULLARD

WA. 3594

June 29, 1954

Dear George:

I thought you might like to have an extra copy of this.* A friend of mine sent it to me from New York. Naturally I am very proud.

I am trying to locate you some extra copies of the Courier and I think I can get them for you in a day or so. In the meantime we are watching the papers for any comment.

Regards,

helen -

RECEIVED
JUL 1 1954
Southern Regional Council

* "The man Talmadge Feared" by Ted Poston

April 21, 1955

Mr. and Mrs. A. L. Brody
5463 Cornell Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear The Brodys:

How very nice of you. Money we never have enough of, and there is always the problem of raising what foundations make you put together in order to get the next giftie. And your check is a much appreciated assist.

I am remembering what a good time we had and how nice it was of you to appear at the later Chicago gathering.

Things are getting a little more agitated hereabouts, but I still think we will all come through pleasantly in the end.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl - Official receipt SRC.

MRS. A. L. BRODY
5463 CORNELL AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

April 19, 1955

APR 21 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

This is something I've been intending to do ever since you were here more than a month ago. Procrastination is apparently a good old northern custom.

Anyway, here I am at long last to tell you how much Al and I enjoyed meeting and hearing you. We were especially appreciative of your talking at the Unitarian Church — & are still hearing favorable comments from friends who were there. We were tickled that we had you to ourselves for a while that afternoon. We're impressed with the job you and your Council are doing — & the way you're going about it. And the enclosed check from Al & me is a small contribution toward helping along.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Babette Brody

1,00 cl
pha

helen bullard **walnut 3594**

September 27, 1955

Dear Harold:

I didn't know whether or not you had seen a copy of the attached and I thought you might find it interesting...(I use the word loosely). It was very nice to see you and Jane and Mr. Reporter. I think I have already told you this but the repetition is for emphasis. Please come to see me.

Cordially,

Helen Bullard

CHARLES A. RAWSON & ASSOCIATES
302 WHITEHEAD BUILDING, ATLANTA, GA.

December 9, 1955

Miss Helen Bullard
Charles Rosson and Associates
Whitehead Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Helen:

Thanks for your several recent mailings. I have passed on the dope about the clipping service to the Georgia Committee, with the recommendation that they subscribe if it is at all possible financially. I hope the Tennessee Council will take advantage of it too.

Believe it or not, the extra copies of the Augusta Courier are extremely helpful to us. If it isn't too much trouble, please keep them coming.

I was glad to see the story about Hartsfield's survey of recreation in the south. In the end that will do some good.

Warm regards as always.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

April 19, 1956

Miss Vanessa Brown
144 Baroda Drive
Los Angeles 24, California

Dear Miss Brown:

I appreciate your burning up long distance money. Next time you are on this side of the world, I will hope for better luck toward meeting with you.

I send, separately, the issues of our magazine for the last ten months or so.

I am clean out of my best pamphlet, called Answers for Action, that tells what to do about the schools. There's just not another one here. It has a lovely map in the back which explains a lot. Generally speaking, what the map shows is that in the Appalachian mountains, and in the Ozark-Ouachita plateau, and in Oklahoma, and West Texas, and South Texas, and Kentucky, and in the Eastern two-thirds of Tennessee, and in parts of Florida, opening the schools would be pretty easy. And it shows that in the old Plantation Belt in South Carolina, Southeastern Virginia, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Bottom Land Arkansas, it is going to be tough. One key to the present problem is that in most Southern states the State Legislature is stacked with a tortured over-representation of the very plantation areas most anxious to kick up a fuss. So that what the politicians say is representative of our electorates as stacked (particularly in areas in which Negroes cannot vote); but is not necessarily the voice of the people in these states.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Under separate cover:
New South, Apr.'55- Apr. '56
Changing Patterns in the New South
SRC grey leaflet

April 8, 1957

Professor G. McLeod Bryan
Department of Philosophy
Washington University
Saint Louis, Mo.

Dear Mac:

I have been hearing indirectly of your good work in your new location. It was very pleasant to hear from you directly.

I hope the material that John Constable has sent you will be of help in preparing your chapter ~~from~~ for Haddam House. Let us know if we can supply further information.

Your good wishes mean a lot to us as we try to make the best contribution possible in this time of crisis. I know you will be making your own contribution also, and I'm looking forward to many occasions on which we will work together.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:mm

- 1 -

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . JOHN CONSTABLE . . . .

4/4/57

HCF:

Have answered the gentleman as attached. Thot you might like to answer as to the oats (and age).

April 4, 1957

Mr. G. McLeod Bryan
Washington University
Saint Louis, Mo.

Dear Mr. Bryan:

Mr. Fleming has asked me to send you some material concerning "pressures in the South in employment." Enclosed, are brief resumes of some such cases in 1955-56 as published in various newspapers.

I do not know exactly what other materials you could use, but if you will write me in greater detail concerning the Project, we might be able to help.

Sincerely yours,

John Constable,
Director of Information

JC:cj

enclosures:

JC + FI -
What can we give him?
HCF

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

SAINT LOUIS

Mar. 29, 1957

RECEIVED APR 1 1957

DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

Dear Harold,

Know you must be feeling your oats (and your age) now that you have the full responsibility in the absence ofthe Old Sage. Best wishes to you in your more necessary office than ever in these days of crisis.

You can assist me inasmuch as I'm being asked by Haddam House to write the white-southerner chapter in their "tract for the times" (on integration). Among the things they want from me is the account of all openings and pressure for job opportunities in the south (such as what occurred in Jackson, Miss. only this week). Give me all the published dope you have, and possible sources, and any letter information you have have time to send. You know about what they'll want in a single chapter in which there is other data too: mostly outstanding figures and trends and sensational cases.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Mac Bryan

G. McLeod Bryan
Visiting Professor (on leave
spring term from Wake Forest)

P.S. Please give my regards to Dr Wells and others

Burdett

May 7, 1957

Mrs. Arthur Burdett
2485 Alton Road, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Burdett:

Mrs. Fred Patterson requested that we send you several items regarding Koinonia Farm in Sumter County. We are sending you the following items under separate cover:

"Full Text of Sumter County Grand Jury Presentments on Koinonia"

"Statement of Koinonia Farm in Response to Sumter County Grand Jury Presentments"

"Dare They Witness? The Story of Koinonia Farms."

Reprints of editorials from the Atlanta Constitution and the Macon News

"28 Pastors Ask: End Violence at Koinonia."

I trust that these materials will be of use to you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV:mm

Brooks

June 11, 1957

Mr. Alexander Brooks
345 East 81st Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Alex:

How good it was to hear from you again and to learn of the terrific offer from Rutgers School of Law. I think you are ideally suited for academic life. You have a sharp and inquisitive mind and you like people. The combination, I believe, is a prerequisite for good teaching.

I can well understand that the Congress accepted their loss with a stoical upper lip. It's not easy to lose a promising executive just as you feel you are getting hold of him.

I, too, am sorry that you will not be coming through Atlanta fairly often as you had previously planned. When next I head for New York I will let you know well in advance and I will expect to be treated to that "99 to 1 martini."

I have passed the good news around the Council, and all here express their good wishes and congratulations.

Best personal regards.

Warmly,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

July 15, 1957

Dr. Warren Breed, Associate Professor
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Newcomb College
Tulane University
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Dr. Breed:

Thank you for your letter of July 10, 1957, and the copy of your manuscript. We like the idea especially the list of facts which you suggest would be included in newspaper coverage. We find newspapers in the South run hot and cold on the subject and few are consistently impartial. I do think your inclusion of the Columbus Ledger is good. Two others which would fit in the category as you list are the Birmingham News and the Nashville Tennessean.

Again thanks for letting us see your manuscript.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

B'ham ???
N'ville Tenn'a ?

NEWCOMB COLLEGE
Tulane University
NEW ORLEANS 18, LA.

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

July 10, 1957

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Gentlemen

I am inclosing a draft of an article which has been tentatively accepted by Editor and Publisher. I am writing it with Prof Roy E Carter of the University of North Carolina. It should be around 1500 words.

Would you be so kind as to read it and give me the benefit of your knowledge and thought as to its potential effectiveness or lack of same?

Basically, we are trying to (1) plead for better news (not editorial) coverage of the issue; (2) create a "reference group" of good papers which have done so and have not been punished too severely, which might become a model for others; and (3) give some reasons why all of this should be done.

I think the reference group idea is a good one. The citations, of course, must be correct, to forestall the paper concerned from objecting; and the papers mentioned should have a positive, rather than negative, prestige in the south. You might check me on some of the papers given (although I'm pretty clear on the Louisiana ones); for instance, I'm not sure at all about the Columbus Ledger, altho you printed a nice editorial from it in New South. Would you think the Birmingham papers worthy of inclusion? Others?

The paragraph on the "how" is a crucial and difficult one. I've played it down. What do you think?

Do you think southern newsmen will get a little nudge from such an article, or do you think it might boomerang? I'm not too concerned with the bitter-enders, but with the open-minded ones.

In other words, I can use all the ideas and criticism you can give.

Sincerely

Warren Breed

Warren Breed
Associate Professor

FOR EDITOR AND PUBLISHER

What is the job of the newspaperman in reporting the great problem of desegregation? Newsmen agree that generally their big job is to give the people the facts so that they can decide on issues.

Extremists have been dominating public discussion in the south. It is almost as if the Vardamans and the William L. Garrisons were on the scene once again.

Yet what is needed to meet the problem, first of all, is a sane discussion of the issues, the facts, and the alternatives. Such well-known papers as the Atlanta Constitution, the Charlotte Observer, the Chattanooga Times, the Columbus Ledger, the Louisville Courier-Journal, the Arkansas Gazette in Little Rock, and many others, have been making this point.

The newspapers can do much to bring a peaceful, honorable resolution to the problem. Solid, low-key information, rather than heated indignation, can be a real community service.

It is not surprising that "border" cities like St. Louis, Louisville, Baltimore, and Washington D.C. (one might even include Kansas City) have so far done a good job in a peaceful desegregation of the schools. For those cities are informed by good newspapers, papers on various "ten-best" lists which have frequently won honors for sound reporting.

No sane person expected southern papers to hail the Supreme Court decision with joy. Yet most newspapermen would still expect good news coverage from all quarters. News is news, North or South.

In Beaumont, Texas, to take an example, the state college desegregated in September 1956 by court order, and students, some Negro, registered for classes. The Beaumont Enterprise (which had criticised the 1954 Supreme Court decision) included this information in its stories, but not in inflammatory headlines. The second week of school, pickets became violent and disorderly, threatening life and property. City officials did nothing until Robert W. Akers, the editor, published an editorial, asking in effect, Who is running our city--the legally constituted authorities or a strong-arm throng? Within 12 hours picket violence was stopped, and order returned to the city.

Many papers are likewise doing a sound, quiet reporting job and editorializing for law and order and responsibility. Not only those mentioned already, and "famous" ones like The Greenville Delta Democrat Times, but the Clarksdale (Miss.) Press Register, which did an objective job on the Emmett Till case, the Montgomery Advertiser on the bus boycott, the Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette for its state coverage, the Lake Charles American Press, and many others. The Rock Hill (S.C.) Evening Herald did a series on local Klan activities, and the Hagerstown (Md.) Morning Herald presented its readers with an objective survey of the results of a year of desegregation. During the crisis in Clinton, Tenn., Horace V. Wells and his Courier-News kept the citizens informed with a series of stories about background and developments.

It is also significant that desegregation was the focus of the recent Sigma Delta Chi awards, and southern newspapermen stood out: Grover Hall of the Montgomery Advertiser; Alfred Kuettner,

bureau manager for the UP in Atlanta; Sylvan Meyer of the Gainesville (Ga.) Daily Times; Life; and Bem Price of the AP's Washington bureau.

Three premises underly this article: we are for good reporting, not for speedy desegregation; we are for good reporting in the north, which also has its race problems, as well as the south; and we are for good reporting, and are less concerned with the editorial page, which is the individual editor's concern. And good reporting always recognizes the facts behind the issue.

What are the facts? We do not know them all, and could not get them in the available space even if we did. It does seem, however, that one set--the pro-segregation facts--are monopolizing newspaper discussion in the south.

Segregation has facts on its side, assuredly. Federal pressure is one, and we believe that local self-determination is the key to the issue, short of another Civil War. The schools are local institutions, and should remain locally run, as long as they respect and follow the law. Another argument is the better preparation, from birth, of white children; many Negro schools are in truth inferior, and Negro children have not enjoyed the benefits of educated parents. Other pro-segregation arguments are well-known.

It is precisely these arguments that dominate public discussion of the issue. Our point is that citizens deserve not one side, but all sides, so that they may democratically pursue the problem.

What are some of the other facts? What do they promise for the south? We shall attempt to outline some of these.

<u>Law and order</u>. This is first and foremost. American life is based on the supremacy of law. Law means the protection of the rights of all, their life, liberty and property.

Spiritual faith. That man shall live his God and his neighbor is the basic creed of Christianity. Christian theologians--the Reinhold Niebuhrs and the Billy Grahams and many others--tell us that the Bible holds no brief for segregation, regardless of the opinions of lesser interpreters of the Scriptures.

Economic facts. We learn that race policies hurt the southerner in his pocketbook. Manufacturers think twice before moving into certain communities; they want peace, good schools, responsible government and dignity for their employees, as well as a good labor force. School bonds go wanting for the same reason. The cost of maintaining two school systems is a tax burden. Kanawha County in West Virginia, for example, reported an estimated saving of $250,000 in one year of de segregation, for a budget of $11 million, with more savings promised. Similarly, is is reported that Negroes have tripled their earning power since the start of World War II, and now represent a $15 billion market. The gain to newspapers alone, in terms of circulation and advertising impact, can be expected to follow a more enlightened news policy. Boycotts, as seen in several cities, are wasteful, as witness Orangeburg S.C., the bus company and downtown merchants in Montgomery, and even the New Orleans Pelicans ball club. The boycott hurts both ways. And when violence comes, not only property but life is in peril.

It will be recalled that once the Lucy case started, the Tuscaloosa News turned in a straight, responsible account in both news and editorials; there was too much at stake for any other policy. It was not unexpected that Buford Boone won the Pulitzer prize for this service.

Political facts. Negro registration has gained from 151,000 in the south (11 states) in 1940 to 1,200,000 in 1956. This is an increase of from 3 per cent of the potential Negro vote to 25 per cent.

Bloc voting is considered undesirable; a fair discussion of important issues will discourage it Here again the job of the newspaper is apparent. Also, some persons attempting to lead on either side are doing so for selfish, rather than civic, purposes.

International facts. The one "Big stick" used by Cummunists that we are hard put to answer is the fact of racial discrimination. Moscow pumps this argument into dozens of countries we are trying to work with. Their arguments are greatly distorted: one report in India claimed 526 lynchings in 1954! Our chance for better world relations is to solve our problems first; no lynchings or unpunished brutality, fewer and more isolated racist speeches by politicians, and genuine concern and effort toward our ideals.

These arguments seem to us to be important, but if not, there is also the fact of conscience, if we do less than we know we should; and also, the fact of changing times.

The south today has changed from the time of Plessy v. Ferguson. To Franklin Roosevelt, the South was "America's Number One Economic Problem". Today, in many respects, the South, to paraphrase Professor Noland, is turning out to be "America's Number One Opportunity". Increase in southern employment in mechanical and manufacturing industries has been higher in the South than for the nation as a whole for several decades. The efficiency and productivity of southern labor is high, sometimes higher than in the north. The South is urbanizing, and schools and law enforcement are improving. Northern industrialists and executives find the South much like the north (although not so cold).

Every year college professors in the South find fewer freshmen

who believe that the Negro is innately inferior, biologically and intellectually. Public schools in the South have apparently accepted the findings of biologists, anthropologists and psychologists. The young are more disturbed than prejudiced, and want guidance. Here again the press has a job.

How do southern adults feel? No one will deny that most are for segregation. National opinion polls verify this. The polls also show, however, two more things: that the south is not a monolithic entity, but contains various attitudes, and the younger and better educated people are the least extreme segregationists. Only 33 per cent, for instance, told the Gallup poll they thought desegregation would never come. And while only 5 per cent of these white southerners with only a grammar school education favored desegregation, 28 per cent of those who had gone to college favored it. The rest are somewhere in between, but every city has people of good will who would help with the problem, if they are given the chance.

We can say little about the "how" of the matter. In general, we are urging good news practice as applied to this one field, and local conditions vary. A few suggestions, however, can be made. Careful checks can uncover untruths and irresponsible statements; more checking can reveal the background and the "why" of a story or statement; news which might trigger violence can be handled carefully (as done by the Chicago City News Bureau); pictures of whites and Negroes conferring can depict the extent of change in the community, etc. One example of checking and backgrounding was turned in by the weekly Colfax (La.) Chronicle, which printed the story of an attempt to purge Negroes from registration

rolls, thus nipping the disenfranchisement move.

Social scientists who study the vague realm called "public opinion" focus on the "quality" of public opinion. In a totalitarian country like Russia public opinion's quality is bad. In a democracy, it is far better. To make public opinion stronger, the press can be in the forefront. Is it not possible to be a good southerner and a good newspaperman at the same time? It must be: we have mentioned some already, and it is perhaps fitting to end by citing another group--those Southern reporters and editors who have made Southern School News a sound, low-key source of information for this profound problem.

July 22, 1957

Mr. John Bruton, Attorney
Harris-Upham Company
1209 Barringer Building
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Bruton:

Our conversation Friday was all too short, and I regret that it could not have been longer. You may be interested in the report which gives the latest and authoritative figures on the voting of Negroes in the South.

Sincerely,

C. H. Parrish

CHP:lcc

October 28, 1957

Mr. Alexander Brooks
Associate Professor of Law
Rutgers University
53 Washington Street
Newark 2, New Jersey

Dear Alex:

Good to hear from you. Enclosed is a copy of the voting report which the Times very obligingly gave front page publicity to.

Thanks for the foundation suggestion. As it happens, Frank Loescher put us onto this one a couple of years ago, and they have given us two grants of $5,000. There seems to be a good chance that they will renew once again in the coming year. But, as you know, our fund-raising problems never end. If any other likely sources occur to you, I'll be everlastingly grateful to you for passing them along.

I know you are approaching your teaching duties with all the zest and ability that you customarily apply to your work. I will expect you to be a full professor in no time at all. Let us know anytime we can supply information that will help you.

Best regards from all of us here.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure: Voting Survey

RECEIVED OCT 24 1957

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY
The State University of New Jersey
SCHOOL OF LAW

53 WASHINGTON STREET
NEWARK 2, NEW JERSEY

October 22, 1957

Dear Harold:

Have just read of your new report on Negro voting in the New York Times, and wonder if you could spare a copy for me?

All goes well. I am working like the proverbial dog, but enjoying myself enormously. How are matters with you? I hope the fund raising goes well.

Incidentally, I might recommend to you that you look into the Christopher Reynolds Foundation, set up by Libby Holman. It isn't a large one, but they are interested in civil rights, and might give you a few thousand dollars. I don't have a foundation book around, but will be glad to get any further info on it that you need. They gave money, as I understand it, to Rev King to make a trip to India.

Give my best to Fred and everyone else.

Cordially,

Alex.

Alexander Brooks
Associate Professor of Law

October 31, 1957

Miss J. Margaret Carter
Broadcasting and Film Commission
220 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Miss Carter:

Enclosed you will find an 8 x 10 glossy of George Mitchell as requested by your wire of this date.

There is no charge for this service. If it is possible to do so however, we would appreciate having the photograph returned since this is the only print we have of Dr. Mitchell in our files.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure: 1

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at (551) of destination

NA74

55 OCT 31 PM 12 14

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL INC=
WESLEY MEMORIAL BLDG ATLA=

URGENTLY REQUIRE PHOTOGRAPH GEORGE MITCHELL TO PUBLICIZE FILM FACE OF THE SOUTH IF YOU CAN SUPPLY EIGHT BY TEN GLOSSY PLEASE SEND WITH INVOICE VIA AIR MAIL=

J MARGARET CARTER BROADCASTING AND FILM COMMISSION 220 FIFTH AVE NEW YORK CITY=

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$ S E

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 (4-55)

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

January 16, 1958

Mr. R. Wallace Brewster
Pennsylvania State College
State College, Pennsylvania

Dr. Mitchell retired and in Scotland. Search of our files fails to locate any reference to speech.

John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1958 JAN 16 AM 8 57

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
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AA04 PA086 SSA070 =

:A P LLA207 NL PD=STATECOLLEGE PENN 15=

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN AVE ATLANTA GA=

APPRECIATE WIRE COLLECT GIVING CITATION TO YOUR REMARKS ON NEGRO POLITICAL ADVANCES 1938 TO 1953 ENDING WITH "A CLEAR-EYED FAITH IN THE DEMOCRATIC PURPOSE OF AMERICA" RECALL IT IN LATE 1953 NEW YORK TIMES=

R WALLACE BREWSTER.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

August 21, 1959

Miss Sherrill Brown
Eastman,
Georgia

Dear Sherrill:

It was pleasant hearing from you this morning. Indeed, I did remember the name and was looking forward to hearing from you.

I am sending you, under separate cover, an assorted package of materials from the Council. I will be pleased to hear your reaction to these materials.

Best wishes for your new project at Eastman, and I also would like to hear, from time to time, how the new work is coming.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/mf

September 11, 1959

Mr. C. P. Brannin Corresp Gen "B"
5614 Ridgedale
Dallas 6, Texas

Dear Mr. Brannin:

We were glad to have your letter of September 3. You should have received by now a copy of Intimidation, Reprisal, and Violence and a film bibliography which explains how "The Face of the South" can be obtained.

As to your further query, we have been following fairly closely the current legal efforts to close Highlander Folk School. These efforts are clearly motivated by segregationist intolerance, and the charges are trumped-up. As you probably know, a committee of the Tennessee Legislature recently tried to find "proof" of Communist influence at Highlander, completely without success. In view of that, and in view of the fact that after investigation the Internal Revenue Service restored Highlander's tax-exemption, it is reasonable to assume that such charges have been found to be without substance.

I haven't myself participated in Highlander's program of resident workshops, seminars, and so on, and thus am unable to give you any informed evaluation of its program effectiveness.

Incidentally, the publicity which listed me as a speaker at the Methodist meeting in Dallas was in error. However, I should like to visit Dallas eventually, and in such an event will hope to meet you.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Please send me a copy of
"Intimidation, Reprisal & Violence
in the South's Racial Crisis"

C. P. BRANNIN
5614 RIDGEDALE
DALLAS 6, TEXAS

Dallas Chapter

AMERICANS for DEMOCRATIC ACTION

POST OFFICE BOX 12113 — DALLAS 25, TEXAS

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46

(over)

Mostly letterhead

9/3/59

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Friends:-

Will you please advise me as to procedure in securing the film "Face of the South". There are several groups here - Unitarian - A.D.A. Young Dems. N.A.A.C.P. who might be interested in using it.

Note the name of Harold Fleming of your organization as a speaker at the recent conference of Methodists on Human Relations. I should like to have met him.

We used to have George Mitchell of the S.R.C. here as a speaker occasionally.

Sincerely yours
Carl Brannin

C. P. BRANNIN
5614 RIDGEDALE
DALLAS 6, TEXAS

P.S. We enjoyed Thurgood Marshall's annihilation of the "gentleman from Mississippi" last night.

Is there a Dallas letter

I have a form letter from Highlander Folk School re the latest attack. Is the school doing a worth while constructive piece of work without "front attachments"?

Please answer.

Earl Brannin

NORTH TEXAS COMMITTEE
For ROOSEVELT DAY
P. O. Box 12113
DALLAS 25, TEXAS
46

C. P. BRANNIN
5614 RIDGEDALE
DALLAS 6, TEXAS

DALLAS, TEX. 10
SEP 3
6 30 PM
1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn ave
Atlanta, Ga.

August 14, 1959

Mr. Edward L. Katzenbach, Jr.
Brandeis University
Waltham 54, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Katzenbach:

The invitation extended in your letter of August 10 is most welcome and appreciated, and I only wish it were possible for me to accept. Unfortunately, at this time I see no prospect of my being in or near New York on September 16.

We are very much interested in the Florina Lasker Fellows Program in Civil Liberties and Civil Rights. I hope you will keep us on your mailing list for further materials on the program which may be distributed. Perhaps I will later have an opportunity to meet you and become more familiar with the methods and progress of the program.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY
WALTHAM 54, MASSACHUSETTS

RECEIVED AUG 12 1959

August 10, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

You are most cordially invited to attend a luncheon to be held at the Hotel Astor, New York City, on September 16th at 12:30 p.m., to discuss the Florina Lasker Fellows Program in Civil Liberties and Civil Rights at Brandeis University. The purpose of this luncheon is to familiarize those who, like yourself, have a special interest in civil liberties and civil rights, with what we are doing in this area here at Brandeis. As you know, the Program has only been in existence during the course of this past year and in reviewing our experiences with you, you may have suggestions as to the structure of the Program. We hope also that you may be able to recommend persons whom you believe would benefit by participating in the Lasker Program.

I sincerely hope that you can join us on the 16th of September. I look forward to hearing from you.

Very truly yours,

Edward L. Katzenbach, Jr.

Edward L. Katzenbach, Jr.
Curator

ELK/df

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY
WALTHAM 54, MASSACHUSETTS

RECEIVED NOV 2 1959

October 29, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you very much for your letter in support of the application submitted by Lewis H. Deer for admission to Brandeis University's graduate program in Civil Liberties and Civil Rights. It will be placed in the candidate's file and made available to the members of the Selection Committee.

We are always grateful for any pertinent material regarding the character, personality, and purpose of the applicant. This information, of course, is treated as confidential.

Your cooperation in this matter has indeed been appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Edward L. Katzenbach, Jr.
df

Edward L. Katzenbach, Jr.
Director

ELK/df

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY
Waltham 54, Massachusetts

File

The Florina Lasker Fellows Program:

Civil Liberties and Civil Rights

THE FLORINA LASKER FELLOWS IN CIVIL LIBERTIES AND CIVIL RIGHTS WERE ESTABLISHED BY Mrs. Etta Rosensohn and Miss Loula Lasker of New York from the estate of their sister, Miss Florina Lasker. This memorial grant was assigned in recognition of "a great and continuing need in our American social scene for more effective and scientific handling of problems of civil liberties and civil rights." Its basic philosophy lies in the conviction that "while the legal aspects of problems of civil liberties and civil rights have in recent years received considerable attention, it is now necessary to buttress activity within these fields by training individuals to function more effectively in the social, economic, political, educational, and communal areas."

THE FLORINA LASKER FELLOWS IN CIVIL LIBERTIES AND CIVIL RIGHTS WILL BE SELECTED FROM AMONG men and women whose professional careers are directly or indirectly connected with the preservation of civil liberties and civil rights. Those whose lives are being devoted to the protection of our precious heritage will be given an opportunity to add depth and background for their future work. A Fellow will decide upon a program, in consultation with the Brandeis University Faculty, best suited to his or her own particular needs. Free of the usual academic requirements the Fellow will be left to read, to listen, to talk, and to write on those aspects of a given problem area in which he, himself, feels he can best broaden his intellectual horizons.

SIX FLORINA LASKER FELLOWS IN CIVIL LIBERTIES AND CIVIL RIGHTS WILL BE CHOSEN EACH YEAR on the basis of applications. To be eligible, applicants must have had two years experience either directly or indirectly engaged in the fields of civil rights and civil liberties, e.g., community relations councils, federal, state, and municipal agencies devoted to their protection, inter-group agencies, etc., or be constantly indirectly engaged in these problems by virtue of geographic location, or other circumstances. This latter group might include state and municipal police, labor officials, group

workers, clergy, educators, city planners and managers, journalists, etc. In addition to experience the applicants must secure consent from their employers for a leave of absence for approximately fourteen (14) weeks during Brandeis University's Spring Term.

APPLICATIONS will be received by the Director, Florina Lasker Fellows in Civil Liberties and Civil Rights, Brandeis University, Waltham 54, Massachusetts, until December 1 of this year for the term opening in February. Application forms may be obtained from the above address. Applicants will be selected by a committee appointed annually by the President of Brandeis University specifically for this purpose.

FLORINA LASKER FELLOWS IN CIVIL LIBERTIES AND CIVIL RIGHTS ARE PRESUMED TO BE intellectually mature and professionally qualified. At Brandeis the Fellow will broaden his perspectives and widen his background knowledge through the study of anthropology, economics, history, politics, constitutional law, psychology, and sociology. All courses in the University, undergraduate and graduate, will be open to the Florina Lasker Fellow. The Brandeis faculty will welcome the opportunity to direct his reading, to broaden his thinking.

THE FLORINA LASKER FELLOWS IN CIVIL LIBERTIES AND CIVIL RIGHTS WILL ALSO BE GIVEN a seminar of their own to which Brandeis University will bring, as intellectual resources, the foremost leaders in the field, together with participating Brandeis faculty. The Fellows will thus be able to discuss a given aspect of the field with the person who knows it most intimately.

THE STIPEND, which the Florina Lasker Fellow in Civil Liberties and Civil Rights will receive for the fourteen weeks' term, is $2,000.00, tax exempt. The amount of the stipend has been determined on the basis of a survey indicating that it is reasonable to assume that the applicants' parent organization will, in many instances, supplement this amount in whole or in part, or, will make vacation time available.

BREWSTER METHODIST HOSPITAL

1640 JEFFERSON STREET
JACKSONVILLE 9, FLORIDA

JACK H. WHITTINGTON,
ADMINISTRATOR

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Rec'd 4/18/60

April 15, 1960

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you so very much for your splendid letter of March 31, 1960. We are deeply grateful for your interest and the fine courtesy which at times you have shown by writing a letter.

You will be interested to know, that we are corresponding now with the names and addresses of foundations interested in contributing to hospitals.

We will also take your suggestion relative to Dr. Albert Dent, and will contact him.

Yours sincerely,

Jack H. Whittington

Jack H. Whittington
Administrator

JHW/arc

March 31, 1960

Mr. Jack H. Whittington, Administrator
Brewster Methodist Hospital
1640 Jefferson Street
Jacksonville 9, Florida

Dear Mr. Whittington:

In reference to your letter of February 26 to Mr. Dabbs concerning assistance to the Brewster Methodist Hospital, the following suggestions may be of some help.

(1) Dr. Albert W. Dent, President of Dillard University, New Orleans, and a member of our board, was for some years a distinguished hospital administrator and President of the National Conference of Hospital Administrators. It is possible that Dr. Dent could offer helpful suggestions in the difficult area of fund-raising.

(2) The American Foundation Information Service (527 Madison Avenue, New York 22) offers a Foundation Selection Service. Under this service they will, for a fee, determine the names and addresses of all foundations interested in contributing to your kind of need. On request, they will inform you before a commitment is made of the amount of the fee in your particular instance.

I trust these suggestions will be of some value to you in your work.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf

BREWSTER METHODIST HOSPITAL

1640 JEFFERSON STREET
JACKSONVILLE 9, FLORIDA

JACK H. WHITTINGTON,
ADMINISTRATOR

MEDICAL STAFF
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SECRETARY

February 26, 1960

Mr. James McBride Dabbs
President, The Southern Regional Council
250 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Many of us, of course, know of your tremendous interest in helping projects conducted in the interest of colored people. Since 1901, Methodist women have been underwriting a hospital here in Jacksonville for colored people. The enclosed brochure tells considerable of the story. In this day, when community relations appear to be somewhat more tense than normally, we are having a most difficult time procuring the necessary funds to continue this great work. Because of your interest and your wide contacts, we thought you might know of someone who would consider helping us. If you could provide the names of such people, we would be most glad to send them literature relative to the hospital, and your kindness would be ever so much appreciated.

Incidentally, I have just read your late book, "The Southern Heritage" and found it highly interesting. Dr. D. W. Weatherford whom you mention in the book was one of my teachers for two years while I was in school at Nashville. Dr. Weatherford unquestionably made a great impression on me with his scholarly approach to this whole big racial question.

It will be fine if we may hear from you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Jack H. Whittington

Jack H. Whittington
Administrator

JHW/h
Enclosure

UNDER AUSPICES OF
WOMAN'S DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE OF THE
BOARD OF MISSIONS OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

March 11, 1960

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Thanks for the kind words about our recent releases, and congratulations on the South Carolina Council's fine performance.

The Brewster Hospital letter finds me completely blank. I just don't know the kind of philanthropists who help hospitals, even those for Negroes. I'm circulating the letter to others here who may have an idea; if so, I will pass it on.

I, too, was queried for the C. S. Monitor's roundup. If this keeps up, we'll have a corner on the mass media.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

March 8, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

The enclosed letter is self-explanatory, except for the facts, set forth in the brochure which came with the letter, that this hospital is trying to expand its facilities, an expansion that seems necessary in the light of the entire situation. I have written to Mr. Whittington, expressing my regrets that I have no information that would help him. I told him, however, that I would pass the question on to you, and that I knew you would help him if you could.

Please call Les Dunbar and tell him I have heard from Sam Laird, and that it looks now as if I shan't need any further information for the talks I am to make for Laird.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs,
President

P.S. At the request of Christian Science Sanatorium I am wiring tonight 250 words on situation, for Thursday's paper.

THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION

HEAD OFFICE: BROADCASTING HOUSE, LONDON, W.1

TELEVISION STUDIOS, LIME GROVE, LONDON, W.12

TELEGRAMS & CABLES: BROADCASTS, LONDON, TELEX * INTERNATIONAL TELEX 22182

TELEPHONE: SHEPHERDS BUSH 1244

22nd June 1960

Dear Mr. Fleming,

Many thanks for the documents you sent me, but I am afraid I have sad news. For a number of highly complicated reasons, stemming mainly from the developing situation in the Far East, I shall be unable to film the story in July as planned. I hope, however, that it may be possible to do it some time later in the year. I will certainly be getting in touch with you again and would be very grateful if in the meantime you could put me on your mailing list so that I can keep in touch with the situation.

Yours sincerely,

David Webster

(David J. Webster)
"Panorama"

Harold C. Fleming, Esq.,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3,
Georgia,
U.S.A.

DJW/PJB

244-31 137th Road
Rosedale, Queens 22
New York, New York
August 20, 1960

Dr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am well pleased with the results of my Atlanta trip. The brief contact with your police people was encouraging; the problem which the proposed Institute may get to consider seems a great deal more real, and you and the members of your staff were more gracious and more helpful than I had hoped for - and I hope big. Thanks very much. I shall keep you informed and I look forward to seeing you again.

Sincerely,

Bill Brown

William P. Brown

October 3, 1960

Mr. Frederick D. Browne, II
Box 603
Providence 12, Rhode Island

Dear Mr. Browne:

We are placing you on our mailing list to receive our material, as requested in your letter of September 29.

If we can be of additional help, pldase let us know.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Luel E. Cummings
Secretary to Mr. Constable

flec

Frederick D. Browne, II
Box 603
Providence 12, Rhode Island

MAnning-1-4288

September 29th, 1960

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

I am a graduate student at Brown University, and my home is in Atlanta. The newspapers in this area do not give any significant attention to news about the South. I have a subscription to New South, and I would like to receive any other literature that the Council releases that is of general interest.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Respectfully yours,

Frederick D. Browne II

Frederick D. Browne, II

Harold :

W.Q.X.I. phoned, (Bob Brisendine) would like a statement on the Macmillan piece, for release on the radio.. We said we would phone him... Cedar 3 4644

Time: 1:30 P.M.

Gave him statement 11/21/60

~~Mrs. Fleming phoned.. Gary in operating.. will be back in room, at earliest ..4 :00 P.M.~~

Abram, Morris B.

94. W. Paces Ferry Rd.
N.W.

R. P.

March 23, 1961

Dr. John J. Brooks
President
International Schools Foundation
147 East 50th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Dr. Brooks:

I am one of your former pupils whose memory needs no prodding at all. I have recalled clearly and often your fine tutelage at Bass, and no less so our dramatic efforts over WATL -- which you might well prefer to forget!

As a matter of fact, your letter anticipated one I have long intended to write. Having read about your achievements at the New Lincoln School and more recently through the International Schools Foundation, I discovered that we had mutual acquaintances -- for one, Vernon Eagle, who speaks of you in admiring terms and promised to relay a word of greeting from me.

After so many years (fourteen) with the Southern Regional Council, I am about to launch out in a new direction, or at least in a new location. With the sponsorship and financial support of the Taconic Foundation, I am undertaking

the establishment and direction of a new independent agency in Washington -- sort of a private block-house on the New Frontier. The Potamac Institute, as it will probably be called, will sponsor studies, hold conferences, provide informational and consultative services -- in short, do all the usual things. The aim will be to advance sound human relations policies in government and influential private quarters.

In any case, this change will take me to New York more frequently and will put me within easy range of your Washington office. When I am settled, I will write again in the hope that we can get together for a long deferred reunion. Meanwhile, warm regards and good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLS FOUNDATION

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Director, Washington Office

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PLAZA 1-6530
NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

WASHINGTON OFFICE
2000 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
ADAMS 2-3545
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

February 27, 1961

RECEIVED
MAR 2 1961

Mr. Harold Curtis Fleming
Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

A few days ago I returned from my third trip around the world, in support of the program of my new organization, to find your name and face smiling at me from a page of the New York Times.

One of the crosses that I have had to bear all these years is the fact that I almost invariably remember my students, but they -- perhaps for Freudian reasons -- have managed to forget me.

I remember you very pleasantly and quite clearly as an outstanding member of a good class at Bass Junior High School and as one of the students who seemed to respond somewhat when I discussed questions of human relationships and the special nature, in the south, of problems which are unhappily universal.

You might be interested to know that shortly after I left Bass I went to Evanston, Illinois to secure my doctorate and to teach in a local school and while there, formed one of the first Negro-white communities to open eating and hotel facilities to negroes in that area. Three years later I returned to head a couple of departments at Oglethorpe University, where I managed to combine the Negro students of Spellman and the University with those of my own classes at Oglethrope.

Following this, I became the founding director of the New Lincoln School in New York City, which still holds as a basic purpose an active role as an inter-racial institution. I continued in that post for eleven years, until I resigned two years ago to head up my present organization.

During those intense eleven years, one of my more interesting activities was to serve as educational consultant for the NAACP and as a witness at the famous Farmville trial in Virginia, which was held in Richmond. I believe some of my testimony in that case was used by Thurgood Marshall in his brief before the Supreme Court.

I am delighted to learn of your work and your success, and to extend to you, over the years, the still-embering warmth of an earlier relationship.

Cordially,

John J. Brooks

John J. Brooks
President

JJB:ddw

P.S. I am enclosing a recent picture taken of myself with the thought that it may stir some vestigial memory.

John W Brooks

October 30, 1961

Mr. Kermit C. Morrissey, Director
Florina Lasker Program in Civil
Liberties and Civil Rights
Brandeis University
Waltham 54, Massachusetts

Dear Kermit:

Forgive me if my earlier letter sounded inconsiderate either of the importance of the Lasker Program or of the persons who have been its Fellows. What you are doing is of great value, as is attested by the quality of your past Fellows.

I suppose it is the old trouble; those of us working down here often doubt the world could get along without us (when the true fact is that our absence would mean only that someone else would be answering the mail). Your friendly statement that you would be delighted to get an application from me fills me with desires you could hardly guess at. What I would like to do now, more than anything else, is get off and read about fifty books that I know I should have read but haven't. One of these years I may knock on your door.

I have given thought to possible candidates, more than I did before. I tell you frankly that I have not only considered quality but my own informed guess regarding availability and particular need of your program. This is not meant, at all, as an apology for these people mentioned below: all that I have done is to have chosen, among a number of qualified persons, some whom I suspect could especially benefit.

1. William Higgs. 707 N. Congress St. Jackson, Miss. Bill, a native of Mississippi, of "good" family, graduated a year or so ago from Harvard Law. He plunged back home and into every fight he could lay his hands on, including

To: Kermit C. Morrissey
October 30, 1961

a suit to enjoin further contributions of public monies to the Citizens Council. He has become a familiar figure around the Justice Department and other Washington offices. He is a deceptively mild, thoroughly determined man, and I am sure he is in the fight for the long haul. I doubt that Bill has any law practice, and I think it would do him (and Mississippi) a lot of good to get away for a while and to perfect his strategic sense. There aren't many Bill Higgs in Mississippi.

2. Reverend Major Jones, 601 East Ninth Street Chattanooga, Tennessee.

A native of Atlanta, graduate of Morehouse, Ph.D. from Boston University. Major has become perhaps the leading figure in the Negro movement in Chattanooga; close to Martin King, he is one of the band of Negro ministers who are now at the spearhead of things down here. I have information, which may or may not be accurate but is at any rate confidential, that Major and his church might like a rest from each other. This man is going to play critical roles; he is an asset, therefore, and because he is a sort of unworldly type committed to worldly tasks he would especially profit from what you can offer.

3. Professor Daniel Thompson, Department of Sociology, Dillard University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Dan is a "leader" in the Negro community of New Orleans, and active in the civil rights struggle. You have to understand that statement in light of the dreary fact that New Orleans' Negroes, while not exactly faction ridden, are disorganized and, compared say to Atlanta or Nashville, dormant. He probably has readier access to liberal whites than any other local Negro. Dan has just sent off to the publishers a study (financed by Ford) of the New Orleans "power structure", as it concerns racial relations, on which he has worked for several years. He might now welcome a change.

To: Kermit C. Morrissey
October 30, 1961

4. Bruce Galphin, Atlanta Constitution
Bruce has been working the race relations and civil rights beat for the Constitution for about a year; recently, has been given also a weekly column on the editorial page. He has been getting stuff published in the Nation (see a recent article on the political future of M. L. King). Bruce is good enough to deserve special nurture. It would be especially useful to him because he has no academic background to help him in interpreting events (was a physics and math major in college, from which he graduated about 1954).

5. Professor Kenneth Morland, Department of Sociology, Randolph-Macon Woman's College.
A good man, competent scholar, dedicated to civil rights, an officer of Virginia Council on Human Relations, frequently used by us in our consultant service program (i.e., sent into places to lead workshops, or confer as an "expert" with officials, etc.)

I hope this may give you some glimmers of avarice. All our best to you and Evelyn.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

Encs: Annealing of the South
Thompson's Case for Integration
Morland's Report on Texas Cities.

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY
WALTHAM 54, MASSACHUSETTS

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

September 6, 1961

Dear Leslie:

Your letter arrived on the day following the New York Times evaluation of the desegregation of the schools in Atlanta, Dallas, etc. It reminded me that I had not heard from you and your letter the next day was very welcome to me.

Your assumption about the difficulty of getting capable people is true only in part, and we are making every effort possible to squeeze out four months of their time for a general refresher in an atmosphere physically removed, but psychically sensitive to events in the real world. I enclose a brochure which lists the previous Fellows and I think you would agree that we have been reasonably successful up to this point.

May I suggest that I would be more than delighted to receive your application, but if that is not feasible due to the pressure of very important events, then you might suggest another individual or individuals who could benefit from the Lasker Program. Such individuals might include people now working actively on the local scene; a school official or committee member; a legal counsel to local or state legislative bodies. Your priveleges of communication extend to my tenure in connection with this Program, and our selections are usually made in late November or December for a period of attendance starting February 1 through the month of May.

Brandeis is a magnificent site for the initiation of a civil liberties and civil rights program, and I anticipate the day when it will be a national center of information, study and research in this vital area. I am delighted to know that you are functioning where you are, and that your calm hand and influence are to work in a most difficult situation.

Ev sends her best regards to you and your family, and I hope that we may meet again very soon.

With every best wish,

Sincerely,

Kermit

Kermit C. Morrissey, Director
Florina Lasker Program in Civil
Liberties and Civil Rights

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

KCM/dd
Enc. 2

I have been Exec. Asst. to the President since Sept, 1960 — and I find it the most hospitable setting I have ever encountered.

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY
WALTHAM 54, MASSACHUSETTS

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Flor

November 6, 1961

Dear Leslie;

I appreciate the time which you have taken, and I have sent a letter and explanatory material to the individuals you suggested. These are the people we tried to reach from this end, in order to lend support in the form of stimulating experiences to their efforts. The semester is a respite in one sense, inasmuch as the heat is one step removed, and there are a few brief weeks for needed reflection. If time should ever permit, Brandeis University offers an ideal setting for the "reading of 50 books." It is only a moment removed from a great metropolitan center, yet there is sufficient isolation from the noise without, to preserve the sanctity of solitude.

In addition, this University provides a most catholic hospitality for both the intellectual and the activist. I cannot recommend it too highly, and I can only hope that you will be able to join us in the very near future. My very warmest regards to you and your family.

Sincerely,

Kermit

Kermit C. Morrissey
Director
Florina Lasker Program
in Civil Liberties and
Civil Rights

KCM/epk

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

P.S. We have finally been successful in adoption, and the little boy joined us about a year ago. He is now 21 months old and begs description!

PRV for info

MMB - file

FEDERAL COURT LITIGATION

GOVERNMENTAL AND POLITICAL LAW

WILLIAM L. HIGGS
ATTORNEY
707 N. CONGRESS
JACKSON 2, MISSISSIPPI
FL 3-4155

December 11, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

This is just a brief note to thank you for suggesting my name to Mr. Morrissey as one who might be interested in applying for a Florina Lasker Fellowship. I have done so.

Things are moving so fast here in Mississippi that any greater length of time out of the State would be impossible. However, the one semester fellowship would be very fine.

Your publications that I have been receiving are very helpful.

I trust you are well and doing fine and I look forward to seeing you again soon.

Thanks again.

Yours,

Bill

WLH:lh

Boston University

CHARLES RIVER CAMPUS • 154 BAY STATE ROAD • BOSTON 15, MASSACHUSETTS

KENMORE 6-9047

AFRICAN STUDIES PROGRAM
Office of the Director

file

February 4, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street , N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you very much for your letter of January 28, in response to my letter of January 23. I have had to change my plans and will not be able to visit Atlanta. I greatly appreciate your help. Incidentally, I know Dr. Mays and many of the people at Atlanta University and Morehouse.

I hope that it will be possible to meet you at a later date, either in Atlanta or in Boston.

Sincerely,

Wm O Brown

William O. Brown

jk

MA
VI
MI - file "Bry" "Bu" Gen. corresp.

LANE BRYANT ANNUAL AWARDS

For Volunteer Service to the Community

465 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

Marc 10 1964

Dear Friend:

Thank you for your nomination for the 1963 Lane Bryant Annual Awards for volunteer community service.

Your nomination will be sent to the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University for screening and research after March 15, 1964, the closing date for Awards entries. After this intensive screening process, semi-finalists will then be judged by members of the 1963 Awards Committee.

Announcements of the recipients for the Lane Bryant Annual Awards for work performed during 1963 will be made early in December 1964.

Sincerely,

Jerome E. Klein

Jerome E. Klein
Director

cj-28

NOMINEE Aaron Henry

1963 AWARDS COMMITTEE: ADOLF A. BERLE, *Former Assistant Secretary of State* ~ FELISA R. GAUTIER, *Mayoress of San Juan, Puerto Rico,* ~ J. PETER GRACE, *President W. R. Grace & Co.* ~ DR. JAMES M. HESTER, *President, New York University* ~ NORMAN THOMAS, *Writer and Lecturer*
Committee Advisor: DR. ROBERT K. MERTON, *Associate Director, Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University*
Staff: JEROME E. KLEIN, *Director* ~ CORINNE LATTA, *Assistant Director* ~ CELIA JACOBS, *Manager.*

AWARDS COMMITTEE MEMBERS 1948-1962

Walter H. Annenberg
Dr. Carl Binger
Sarah G. Blanding
Frances P. Bolton
Lee H. Bristol
Mrs. J. L. Blair Buck
Pearl S. Buck
Dr. Ralph J. Bunche
Erwin D. Canham
Emanuel Celler
Bennett Cerf
Mary Ellen Chase
Cyrus S. Ching
Margaret Clapp
Dr. Everett R. Clinchy
Jacqueline Cochran
George V. Denny, Jr.
Paul H. Douglas
William O. Douglas
John E. Drewry
A. Biddle Duke
Irwin Edman
Marion B. Folsom
Dr. George H. Gallup
Barry Goldwater
Joseph C. Grew
Alfred M. Gruenther
Oscar Hammerstein, 2nd
Rufus Carrolton Harris
H. J. Heinz II
Christian A. Herter
Oveta Culp Hobby
Mildred McAfee Horton
Mrs. Hiram Cole Houghton
Dr. Bryn Hovde
Hubert H. Humphrey
Jacob K. Javits
Robert L. Johnson
Kenneth B. Keating
Estes Kefauver
John F. Kennedy
Dr. Russell Kirk
William F. Knowland
Dr. Mary Fisher Langmuir
Dr. John A. Lapp
Mrs. Albert D. Lasker
James A. Linen
Mrs. Oswald B. Lord
Mark A. McCloskey
Margaret Mead
Helen Menken
Dr. Karl Menninger
Robert B. Meyner
James A. Michener
Marianne Moore
deLesseps S. Morrison
Charles Munch
James F. Oates, Jr.
Basil O'Connor
J. C. Penney
Professor Walter Piston
Dr. Daniel A. Poling
Orville Prescott
Mrs. Ivy Baker Priest
Clarence B. Randall
Mrs. Ogden Reid
Richard Rodgers
Mrs. Mary G. Roebling
Ruth Bryan Rohde
George Romney
Howard A. Rusk, M. D.
David Sarnoff
John J. Sparkman
Frank Stanton
William E. Stevenson
Mrs. Arthur Hays Sulzberger
Stuart Symington
Dr. Harold Taylor
Thomas J. Watson, Jr.
Joseph N. Welch
John Hay Whitney
Henry M. Wriston

RECIPIENTS OF AWARDS 1948-1962

1948 —— Citizens Schools Committee, Chicago, Illinois
1949 —— The League of Woman Voters, Des Moines, Iowa
1950 —— The Catholic Interracial Council, Wilmington, Delaware
1951 —— The Milwaukee County Association for Retarded Children, Milwaukee, Wisconsin
1952—*Individual*— Harry Clinton Eva, The Bronx, New York
Group —— City Manager Advocates, Brookfield, Illinois
1953—*Individual*— Joseph J. Yancey, Jr., New York, N.Y.
Group —— Los Angeles Tenth District California Congress of Parents and Teachers, Inc. Los Angeles, California
1954—*Individual*— Mrs. Charles Keller, Jr., New Orleans, Louisiana
Group —— Virginia Council on Health and Medical Care, Richmond, Virginia
1955—*Individual*— Mrs. William Burns, New Haven, Connecticut
Group —— United Church Women of Atlanta, Georgia
1956—*Individual*— Danny Kaye, Beverly Hills, California
Group —— The Allegheny Conference on Community Development, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
1957—*Individual*— Rev. W. L. Buffington, Augusta, Georgia
Group —— Clarksburg Non-Partisan Association, Clarksburg, West Virginia
1958—*Individual*— Mrs. Jessie Hughes, St. Louis, Missouri
Group —— Chagrin Falls Park Community Center, Chagrin Falls, Ohio
1959—*Individual*— Harry A. Gregg, Greenfield, New Hampshire
Group —— Progress Village, Inc., Tampa, Florida
1960—*Individual*— Dr. Jessie Royer Greaves, Paoli, Pennsylvania
Group —— Citizens' Committee of the North End, Hartford, Connecticut
1961—*Individual*— Mrs. Lester G. Auberlin, Detroit, Michigan
Group —— Henry Street Settlement, New York, N. Y.
1962—*Individual*— Mrs. Mariá Isabel de Atiles Moreu, San Juan, Puerto Rico
Group —— The American Field Service, New York, N. Y.

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL

November 25, 1964

Reverend Baxton Bryant
Route 1, 562
Cedar Hill, Texas

Dear Baxton:

Enclosed is your travel reimbursement and another check in the amount of $250.00 for moving expenses.

As to the latter, I don't know what understanding Paul or the people in Tennessee may have with themselves or with you. At the time of your call Paul had, as I subsequently discovered, already left town. I therefore, was not able to talk with him and did not have time to call Tennessee. I mention this because I do not under any circumstances make a decision regarding state councils without consulting with Paul. You need the money however, and so I am sending the check. But you ought to consider the nature of some sort of advance for the time being. Next week I will talk this up with Paul and he can clear it up from there, and will be in touch with you.

Have a good move. We are all eager for you to get to Tennessee, and I was delighted that you could be at our meeting. Best wishes and good luck in everything.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

ENCLOSURES
Two Checks: (1) $250.00 - Moving Expense
(2) 134.93 - Travel reimbursement

cc: Will Campbell

January 13, 1965

Mr. Kenneth I. Brown
718 Audubon Drive
St. Louis, Missiouri

Dear Mr. Brown:

I have given a great deal of thought to your recent letter, in which you requested my suggestions of persons who ought to be considered for the presidency of Tougaloo College. I noted, also, your very kind inquiry as to whether I, myself, might be interested in being considered. I am deeply grateful to you for asking. I do not rule out the possibility that I may at sometime be interested in a post of college or university administration, but I am not yet prepared to leave my present assignment nor do I think that I would be qualified for the particular demands of Tougaloo.

I believe you have an unenviable job, none than is usually the case for a group selecting a college president. Tougaloo is a unique college. From it must come, if from anywhere, new and high standards of education for the residents of Mississippi. It hopefully must provide a center of influence and guidance radiating through both the Negro and white populations of the State, and a stablizing force for the sound advancement of Mississippi Negroes. I believe that in selecting a college president, you select a state leader; and because that state is Mississippi, you will select someone who will be in a position through his widsom and imagination to influence the region and the nation.

I believe you are wise, therefore, to set your sights as high as indicated by the qualifications you outlined in your letter to me. I do feel strongly, however, that Mississippi will greatly benefit if you are able to persuade a Negro, with the qualifications you outlined, to accept the appointment.

I say this because I believe that one of the acute problems in the state is the thinness of first-rate Negro leaders. This has a double effect. On one hand the Negro community of Mississippi is deprived of the kind of leadership which the Negro colleges of Atlanta, Tennessee, Tuskegee, Virginia, etc., have been furnishing to their states. On the other hand, the white population of Mississippi has not had sufficient opportunity to learn to work with able Negro leaders.

As I said, I have thought a great deal about your inquiry, and that is why I have taken several weeks to respond. My thoughts have come back repeatedly to two men whom I believe are fully worthy of your serious consideration.

Tilman C. Cothran is Professor of Sociology and Chairman of the Department at Atlanta University and editor of Phylon. As you know, his is a distinguished chair. Dr. Cothran previously, to my knowledge, taught at Arkansas AM&N. He is a man of, I think, 40 or 45 years of age. He has the qualities of scholarship and also the qualities of community leadership that fit him ideally for a position of educational statesmanship - and that will be the role of a Tougaloo president. Dr. Cothran has recently been working with me in the evaluation of the Summer Teaching Project which originated at Yale and provided summer instructors for 13 Negro colleges of the South last year; I have had through his association an opportunity to increase my admiration for his grasp of educational values.

I have understood that Dr. Cothran will be appointed deputy director of the Atlanta-Fulton County Economic Authority, and that he will continue to teach at Atlanta University. This indicates the status that the man has become to have locally; I do not think it should stop him from responding to a larger challenge.

Mr. M. Carl Holman, a native of Mississippi, is Director of Information for the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, a position he has held for about two years and in which he has thoroughly distinguished himself. I happen to know that for sometime the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has sought him, and that a White House appointment has also been

discussed with him. Prior to joining the Commission, Mr. Holman was for a number of years on the faculty of Clark College where he taught literature and writing. He is a man in his early 40's, I believe, and has high leadership qualities.

Mr. Holman is an unusually versatile person. His training at Yale and his teaching at Clark was both in humanites. I know of few persons, however, with keener understanding of political processes. When he was in Atlanta, he was the work horse of the Negro community, quietly performing numerous tasks, including the original editorship of the Atlanta Inquirer, while continuing to fulfill his duties at Clark.

Both of these men have genuine stature. I recommend them to you very strongly.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

Read 12/23/64

N. B. In reply, please use my home address:
718 Audubon Drive, St. Louis, MO. 63105

THE DANFORTH FOUNDATION

607 NORTH GRAND BOULEVARD
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI 63103

Carl Holman

AMD

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Ga.

My dear Mr. Dunbar,

The Trustees of Tougaloo College are searching for the strongest available leader to become president of the College. Tougaloo, as you know, is a predominantly Negro college of approximately 500 students, just outside of Jackson, Mississippi, fully accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools.

Last spring, Brown University and Tougaloo entered into a cooperative agreement, whereby Brown has pledged its educational and administrative resources toward an academic and financial development program which gives promise of assisting Tougaloo to become one of the strongest of the Southern colleges of liberal arts. At the November (1964) meeting of the Trustees it was reported that within this new partnership more than $600,000 has been contributed since last January to this development program, including gifts from several of the major educational foundations.

Tougaloo's immediate need is for a well-trained vigorous president. The Trustees are agreed that the new Tougaloo president shall be the strongest academic man available, regardless of color. They are seeking a man with the following qualifications: a man of sound academic training, preferably with a doctorate, who will support high academic standards; a man preferably with college administrative experience; a man between the age limits of thirty-five and fifty-five; a man sensitive to religious values on the college campus; a man preferably with experience within the situation of racial tension; and, most of all, a leader with initiative, imagination, patience, endurance, and wisdom.

The Selection Committee is prepared to offer a salary ranging from $18,000 to $20,000 plus housing in a new presidential home completed in 1963.

If you know of men fitting this description who might be attracted by the challenge of a difficult and yet a most exciting opportunity, will you pass your recommendations on to me, and I in turn will prepare them for the Selection Committee. In sending me names, please give the full name and address, present position, academic training and experience, approximate age, and evidences of leadership you recognize in him for such a post as the presidency of Tougaloo.

We shall greatly appreciate your cooperation in this important appointment.

Faithfully yours,

Kenneth I. Brown

Kenneth I. Brown
Executive Director, retired
Member, Executive Committee, Tougaloo College

P.S. Would you, yourself, have interest in a post of this sort? Let me enclose a Vita form , in case you have.

KIB:bam

TOUGALOO COLLEGE
Selection Committee

CANDIDATE LIST

NAME OF CANDIDATE: RECOMMENDED BY:

ADDRESS: Office Office Phone:

Residence Residence Phone:

PRESENT POSITION:
(with title)

* * * * * * * * * *

DATE AND PLACE OF BIRTH: CHURCH MEMBERSHIP:

MARITAL STATUS: Married - Yes____ No____ CHILDREN; AGES:

ACADEMIC TRAINING AND DEGREES:

ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE WITH DATES:

NON-ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE WITH DATES:

EXPERIENCES IN AREAS OF RACIAL TENSION:

REFERENCES: 1. checked:

2. checked:

3. checked:

* * * * * * * * * *

ASSIGNED FOR INTERVIEW TO:

CORRESPONDENCE:

COMMENTS ON OTHER SIDE

February 22, 1965

The Reverend A. McKay Brabham, Jr.
South Carolina Methodist Advocate
P. O. Box 857
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear McKay:

Good to hear from you. Do you ever get to Atlanta? If so, I hope that you will come by.

I have not been back to Aiken for some time. From the occasional news I hear, I gather that it has changed, mostly in the direction of becoming quieter than when you and I were there.

I think we would like to enter an exchange subscription for the South Carolina Methodist Advocate, and am asking our people to take care of it on this end.

Best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

January 17, 1966

Mr. James C. Brewer
732 Yale Avenue
Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

Dear Jim:

To our dismay, we have discovered a letter from you dated November 4, with no indication that we responded to your request.

In addition to our most sincere apologies we are sending the report on "Southern Justice" and several other recent publications. You will be added to our mailing list.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Atlanta, Georgia
March 2, 1966

WHAT: A Community-Neighborhood Meeting

WHEN: March 9, 1966

TIME: 8:00 p.m.

PLACE: Auditorium
Margaret Mitchell School

WOULD YOU LIKE TO GET BETTER ACQUAINTED WITH YOUR NEIGHBORS?

WOULD YOU LIKE TO HEAR DISCUSSED SOME PROBLEMS WE HAVE IN COMMON?

Last week a small group of residents of the Margaret Mitchell-Moores Mill Road areas got together to discuss the possible desirability of organizing a neighborhood civic club.

No action was taken, no officers were elected or discussed.. but it was decided that there was sufficient interest to call another meeting at any early date; to enlarge the area represented by including all residents in the Margaret Mitchell School area.

Arrangements were then made, as indicated at the top of this sheet, to hold such a meeting. You are, therefore, invited to join us on this occasion, one or preferably both adult members of all families.

One of the matters to be discussed is the possible rezoning of Moores Mill Road in the area past the bridge.

We hope to see you there!

Harold B. Friedman
Harold B. Friedman
2690 Margaret Mitchell Dr., N.W.
Representing Margaret Mitchell Dr. Residents

Joe B. Browder
Joe B. Browder
1441 Moores Mill Road, N.W.
Representing Moores Mill Road Residents

answered
3-4-66

file
Br. - gen.

May 20, 1966

Mr. Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director
Brotherhood-In-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue (at 14th Street)
New York, New York 10018

Dear Norm:

I deeply regret that it was simply impossible for me to attend your Dedication Dinner last week. I hope it was a good and successful occasion and am sure that both were the case.

Why don't you break down and come down here and visit us sometime. We would welcome the opportunity to have you meet the staff, get to know the Council better and I would certainly welcome the opportunity for us to talk at some length.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Dedication Dinner—May 16, 1966—Americana Hotel

BROTHERHOOD·IN·ACTION, INC.

560 Seventh Avenue (at Fortieth Street) New York, New York 10018

LW 4-0350

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SAMUEL D. LEIDESDORF

Executive Director
NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

Recd 5/12/66

May 11, 1966

5

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Please excuse the informality, but this seems to be the only way I can tell you that we look forward to having you as our guest at the Dedication Dinner of Brotherhood-In-Action on May 16th at the Americana Hotel.

When you arrive, please check in at the registration table and there will be a dinner ticket for you.

All good regards.

Cordially yours,

Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director

NHP:jc
Enc.
P.S. The dinner is black tie

Brotherhood-In-Action

requests the pleasure of your company at its

Dedication Dinner

in honor of

The Ecumenical Council Vatican II

His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman

Brotherhood Awards to

The Hon. Arthur J. Goldberg
Hon. Thurgood Marshall
Hon. Charles H. Tuttle
Irving Geist
Albert A. List

Monday evening, the sixteenth of May
nineteen hundred and sixty-six
at six o'clock

Imperial Ballroom
Americana Hotel
52nd Street East of Seventh Avenue
New York City

R.S.V.P. Black Tie

Honoring

THE ECUMENICAL COUNCIL VATICAN II

and

FRANCIS CARDINAL SPELLMAN

for their historic contribution towards religious freedom, inter-religious understanding, love, and regard for all mankind; for the clarion declarations of the Council which "opens the door" toward new vistas of genuine brotherhood throughout the world.

Brotherhood Awards to:

THE HONORABLE ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG, Ambassador to the United Nations, former Justice of the United States Supreme Court, for his magnificent contribution to the cause of peace with justice for all mankind.

HONORABLE THURGOOD MARSHALL, Solicitor General of the United States, former Justice of the Circuit Court of Appeals, for his tireless contribution in the cause of civil rights and the enhancement of human dignity.

HONORABLE CHARLES H. TUTTLE, former United States Attorney, general counsel to the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., for his lifetime of dedication and service to the promotion of brotherhood among all men.

ALBERT A. LIST, for imaginative support in the fields of art and education; for steadfast devotion to all causes which enrich man's life through deeper understanding of academic, cultural and spiritual values.

IRVING GEIST, founder of the Four Chaplains Memorial, one of the founding fathers of Brotherhood-In-Action, for pioneering in rehabilitation facilities for war veterans and the physically handicapped.

...ABOUT BROTHERHOOD-IN-ACTION

MORE THAN TWENTY YEARS ago a small group of individuals representing a cross-section of civic leadership began a studied search for a new dimension in genuine brotherhood. Out of this process there emerged a concept of a new facility which would provide a center for a broad assault on the problems of prejudice. Brotherhood-In-Action's Human Relations Conference Center and Training Facility is the fulfillment of this idea.

IN LITTLE MORE THAN A YEAR since this Human Relations Center opened its doors, 43,337 persons have participated in a variety of local and national programs and conferences at BIA. Our staff is increasingly involved in serving organizations in developing new approaches in human relations and the "War on Poverty."

NEARLY 160 ORGANIZATIONS have sponsored 389 major programs and projects at and with Brotherhood-In-Action during this time. BIA has served as a catalyst with these groups in developing cooperative programs.

LOCATED at Seventh Avenue and 40th Street in New York City, the Center contains a large theater-auditorium, space for a human relations library, multi-purpose conference areas, seminar and meeting rooms, a radio-television studio, exhibit halls, an audio-visual laboratory and other specialized facilities. The building concept is designed to ensure the most effective conditions for discussions aimed at resolving intergroup tensions. These facilities and professional guidance are available to organizations working in the field of human relations and urban affairs.

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(Board Chairman,
(New York University Medical Center)

File "Pr" gen.

June 26, 1967

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
825 - 6th Street, S. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Wiley:

file c w/P.A

Many thanks for your thoughtfulness in sending me the Pine Bluff editorial. At least it's a little encouraging when some smaller Southern newspapers begin to think out loud that way.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File
Dr. Bragg

May 8, 1968

Mr. Davis Bragg
Curtis, Duncan & Bragg Law Offices
216 East Avenue, B
Killeen, Texas 76541

Dear Mr. Bragg:

In response to your letter of April 29th, I am enclosing several documents which I believe will answer your questions. Among the items enclosed is a list of the members of the Council, and you will note those who are businessmen.

Actually, the Council was formed in 1944, and one of its founders, Dr. Howard Odum, of the University of North Carolina, was particularly anxious that it be a private agency for regional development.

The historical pamphlet will indicate to you those people who signed the first statements that were the forerunners to the formation of the Council.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

LAW OFFICES OF
CURTIS, DUNCAN & BRAGG
216 EAST AVE. B
KILLEEN, TEXAS
ZIP CODE 76541
TELEPHONE ME 4-4413

LEE CURTIS
BELTON, TEXAS
CHURCHELL W. DUNCAN, JR.
DAVIS BRAGG

April 29, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

It was not until I read Chap. 3 of the revised edition of Social Change And Prejudice last week that I had much understanding of the theory that appeal to self-interest was the most effective method to combat prejudice.

With that thought in mind, I seem to recall that you stated at the conference in Austin last month that the Southern Regional Council was formed by southern business leaders after the Little Rock mess. Whether or not my recollection is correct, I would appreciate any information that you could give me regarding the business connections of the founders and of the present directors of your organization.

I have found it effective with some business people and leaders to mention that Karl Marx predicted that capitalism would be unable to adjust to the effects of automation and that revolution would necessarily result (a quotation I believe I read in Michael Harrington's book The Accidental Century, or some similar title).

Any information that you could give me in regard to the above would be appreciated.

Yours very truly,

Davis Bragg

Davis Bragg

db/wt

cc: Rev. David Williams
504 Stewart
Killeen, Texas

cc: Prof. Joseph Witherspoon
University of Texas Law School
Austin, Texas

cc: Rev. David F. Harris
407 East Avenue D
Temple, Texas

cc: Mr. Sidney Stahl
Geary, Brice and Lewis
Attorneys at Law
2500 LTV Tower
Dallas, Texas

FOUNDATION FOR VOLUNTARY SERVICE
1 MITCHELL PLACE
(FIRST AVE. AT 49TH ST.)
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017
212 / 758-1670

file "Br gen"

29 May 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your note of May 24th. I will not be in New York on June 5 or 6, as I will be attending a conference in Detroit.

I do hope that we can get together some time in the near future.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Jim

James Brewer
Executive Director

JB/pkf

May 24, 1968

Mr. James C. Brewer
Executive Director
Foundation for Voluntary Service
1 Mitchell Place
First Avenue at 49th Street
New York, New York 10017

Phone 758-1670

Dear Jim:

I shall be in New York on June 5 and 6 and would enjoy the opportunity to drop by briefly, if you are available. I shall call your office on the morning of the 5th to see if this is possible.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

VOL. 42, NO. 12

The WITNESS

FOR CHRIST AND HIS CHURCH

FEBRUARY 17, 1955

Editorial and Publication Office, Eaton Road, Tunkhannock, Pa.

Story of the Week

Church Leader in Kentucky Indicted for Sedition

TELLS STORY OF WHAT HAPPENS WHEN CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLES ARE PUT TO WORK

By Anne Braden

★ One day last year, just as winter was turning to spring, a young man named Andrew Wade 4th came to see my husband, Carl, and me at our home in Louisville, Kentucky. He wanted us to do him a favor.

Andrew Wade is a Negro, a veteran of world war two. At the time he came to us, he was looking for a house to buy. He was married, had a two-year-old daughter and another child on the way.

He and his wife had looked all over the so-called Negro sections of Louisville, but they could find no house of the type they wanted—a modern house in the medium-price bracket. It was no wonder that they could not find it. In the past 10 years, there have been 18,000 new houses built for white people in Louisville but only 300 for Negroes.

And yet on the outskirts of town, there are hundreds of new little houses of the type the Wades wanted. They had tried to buy several of these, but each time they were turned away. The color of their skin was wrong. Louisville real estate men and bankers have an agreement that no Negroes shall buy in neighborhoods set up as "all-white."

So Wade came to us because we were white, because we were his friends, and because we had a reputation in Louisville for opposing segregation. He asked us if we would buy a house on the outskirts of town and transfer ownership to him.

My husband and I told him we would.

And that was the beginning of a series of events that seems like a horrible nightmare — a summer of terrorism against both the Wades and us, the bombing of Wade's home, indictment of Carl and me and five other white friends of Wade on charges of sedition, and finally a 15-year prison sentence and a $5,000 fine for Carl.

Considering all that has happened, many people have asked Carl and me why we said "yes" when Wade asked us to buy the house. Some people say we did an evil thing; others say we did a foolish thing. Why, they ask, did we do it?

That is a hard question to answer—because we never considered saying "no." It was as automatic and natural as breathing when we answered "yes.."

And yet in every decision we make in our lives, all that we are and all that we have ever been and all that we have ever known and seen and thought must come into focus, whether consciously or not. I have looked back and tried to analyze what came into focus when we made this decision.

I find that I have to go back to a little Episcopal Church in Anniston, Alabama, where I grew up and where I first learned the difference between right and wrong. I find myself remembering the simple teachings of Christ, as I learned them as a child.

"For I was hungered, and ye gave me no meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink . . . I was a stranger and ye took me not in . . . Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me. . . ."

That passage was one of the most profound influences of my childhood. It shaped much of my thinking then—and it does now.

I think basically it explains why I said "yes" to Wade. He needed a house, and we were the people who, because of the accident of having been born with white skin, could help him. If we had turned him away, we would have been as

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guilty as the real estate men and bankers who were refusing to let him buy a house for himself—perhaps more so, because we had every reason to know better. We would have been guilty in the way that Christ meant in the passage quoted above.

Our decision was automatic, I think, because doing or not doing is largely a matter of habit. Everyone has principles he believes in. In everyone's life, there come times when he must decide whether he will sit in his drawing room and hug his principles to his bosom or whether he will get out and do something about them. There comes the times when one must say "yes" or "no." Some people get in the habit of saying "yes." Others get in the habit of saying "no." Carl and I are in the habit of saying "yes."

We Say Yes

As I grew to adulthood, I unconsciously paraphrased the quotation from Christ that had affected me so as a child. Now it read: "If you see injustice anywhere and do nothing about it; if you see suffering anywhere and look the other way, you are guilty of the greatest sin and your soul is dead."

So, when a Negro died in Kentucky because a hospital refused him treatment and Carl and I were asked to help in a movement to open all hospitals in the state to Negroes—we said "yes." When we were asked to help in the movement to end segregation in Kentucky schools—we said "yes." When we were asked to protest against the execution of a Negro wrongly accused of rape in Mississippi—we said "yes." When we were asked to help in the efforts against segregation anywhere, we had the habit of saying "yes."

When the A-bomb threatened humanity and we had an opportunity to ask that it be outlawed—we said "yes." When the skies rained death on Korean children and we had an opportunity to speak out for peace—we said "yes."

When working men organized into unions to demand a better life and asked us to help in any way, we usually said "yes."

Naturally, such activities led us to joint or work with a number of organizations. Usually these organizations were under attack. A list of them reads like a recital of the attorney-general's list—the American Peace Crusade, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, the Civil Rights Congress, the Political Prisoners Relief Committee. We did not choose that it be that way. It is just a fact that many organizations working for civil rights and peace today end up on the attorney-general's list.

This never bothered us especially. We never considered that any of the organizations we joined or worked with were subversive. And we had the old-fashioned notion that what organizations one joins is a matter between himself, his own conscience and his God; and that, as American citizens, our opinions as to what was subversive and what wasn't were as valid as the attorney-general's.

Unforgivable Sin

But all these things rose up to hit us when we finally committed the unforgivable sin against the segregationists and sold a house in a white neighborhood to a Negro.

When we told Wade we would buy the house for him, we had no idea we were making the major decision of our lives. We really expected no trouble—or, at worst, verbal protests from a few neighbors that would die down in a few days. There had never been any race riots in Louisville, and in many neighborhoods Negroes and white people live side by side.

But we reckoned without two factors. One was that Wade was moving into a new neighborhood. The mixed sections in Louisville are all in old neighborhoods, where the white people are moving out and it seems profitable to some real estate men to sell to Negroes.

The second and more important factor was the timing. Wade moved into the house on May 15. On the following Monday, May 17, the historic Supreme Court decision ending segregation in the schools came down.

I think the die-hard segregationists thought we had laid down some kind of a gauntlet to them. Everyone knows that an end of segregation in the schools in the South will mean nothing as long as housing is segregated. The people who are determined to preserve segregation at any cost evidently decided that now was the time to teach a lesson to the Negro people and the white people who join with them to oppose segregation.

The reign of terror began. Rocks were thrown through Wade's window; a cross was burned on the lot next door; rifle shots were fired into his house. A mob visited our home and threatened us and our children if we did not get the Wades out of the house. The community newspaper where Wade had moved printed calls by a former Klansman for organization against him. The bank tried to foreclose on his mortgage. Hostile crowds gathered in the Wade neighborhood. Our telephone rang constantly with anonymous callers threatening to drag us out of our house and lynch us. This went on for about a month. It had quieted down some and most people thought everything was going to be all right when, just after midnight

on June 2, dynamite exploded under the Wade house. By the grace of God, the family was on a side porch and no one was hurt. But the house was half-destroyed.

Police officials told Wade and his friends the week after the explosion that they had a confession from the man who set the dynamite and there would soon be arrests. It is interesting, in view of what has happened since, that Wade and his friends did not want these people put in jail. Carl and Wade and I discussed it at length, and we agreed that jailing people was no solution to the problem of race prejudice and would just drive the bitterness deeper. We agreed that when the people were arrested Wade would ask that they be put under bond and remain free as long as no more violence took place at his house.

But all summer went by and no arrests were made. Practically every week, a committee of Wade's friends, called on public officials and demanded that something be done. Finally, under this constant pressure, the commonwealth's attorney of the county agreed to submit the matter to the September grand jury.

Communist Plot

Immediately, the grand jury investigation turned into an attack on the very people who had asked for it — Wade and his friends. The attack centered especially on us and other white friends of the Wades. The grand jury practically ignored the known Ku Klux Klan elements who had openly threatened the Wades and us. They ignored the confession that the police said they had two months before. Instead, the prosecution came up with the theory that maybe the purchase of the house and the bombing was all a "communist plot." The grand jury spent its time asking us and other friends of Wade what organizations we belonged to and what we read. Rumors began to fly that white people who had supported Wade would be charged with blowing up the house.

It was so fantastic we could not believe it. My mind went back to all the other times in history when scapegoats had been found—how Nero burned Rome and blamed the Christians for it; how Hitler burned the Reichstag and blamed the Communists. Now the segregationists were bombing a Negro's home and blaming the people fighting segregation. It was like a dream; it could not happen. But it did.

On October 1, the grand jury returned indictments. It charged Vernon Bown, a white truck driver, with blowing up Wade's house. Bown was one of the people who had risked his life to go and stay at the Wade house when Wade asked for volunteers to stay there with him after the first violence. He was out of town the week-end of the bombing.

The grand jury indicted Carl and me and three other white people who had supported Wade in one way or another under an old Kentucky sedition law, never before used. Later, another grand jury finished the job by indicting five of us on a charge of conspiring to blow up the house.

We were all placed in jail under $10,000 bond, and two of the defendants are still there, unable to make bond. While we were in jail, commonwealth's detectives raided our homes. Carl and I have a very large library, including books on every possible subject. The raiders picked out all of the books of a left-wing character and claimed that this proved we were communists.

The Trial

Carl was the first of those under indictment to come to trial. He was tried on the sedition charge. The case against him consisted chiefly of the testimony of nine professional ex-communist witnesses provided the local prosecution by the Velde committee. They did not claim to know Carl but they testified to the "guilt" of his books. There was no evidence to link Carl to the bombing. There was no evidence that he ever advocated violence in any form. Finally, the prosecution produced one Louisville witness who said she had known Carl as a Communist Party member. Carl denied it. But, as is usual in these times, the accuser was believed.

The prosecution told the jury the issue was communism, but everyone in Louisville knew what Carl's real "crime" was. The jury found him guilty and fixed his punishment at 15 years in prison and a $5,000 fine. He is appealing.

Carl is still in jail, under a $40,000 appeal bond. My trial is now set to come next, on February 28. We have demanded that the prosecution get to the crux of the matter and try the bombing charge against Bown. Bown has asked for a quick trial, because he believes this will expose the hoax and show how the red scare has been used to let the real bombers of Wade's house go free. But the prosecution insists on steering clear of the bombing issue.

If my case goes to trial on schedule, it will be almost a year to the day since Wade came to us and asked us to buy

the house. In recent weeks, as I have looked back over the past year, I have wondered if Carl and I said "yes" once too often. Did I take the teachings of Christ too seriously? Did I carry them too far?

Down deep in my heart I do not think so. Some people say we hurt race relations in Louisville. I hope that God will forgive us if that is so. But I do not think it is so. I think what followed our sale of the house merely uncovered the fact that there were no real race relations in Louisville. In any event, I know that, if I had it to do all over again, I would do exactly the same thing. I could not do anything else.

A Mother's Problem

And yet it raises a problem. I have two small children — a little boy three years old and a little girl two. Since our indictment they have been living with my parents in Alabama. But of course I hope that before too long we will win this fight and I will be able to raise my children myself.

What shall I teach them? Shall I teach them the same Christian principles I learned as a child? Shall I teach them that Christian principles are not to be wrapped in mothballs but are to be applied to life? And, if I do so teach them, must I feel that I am only preparing them to go to jail when they are grown?

It is a problem that all parents must face unless we can stop this present madness of our country before our children are much older.

I have wondered about these things. But I have said "yes" too long to say "no" now. This week when I visited Carl in prison, we decided to write a letter to our oldest child, Jimmy, explaining to him why we are away from him. He is too smart to be put off with excuses much longer. The story is told in terms of the Wades' little girl, Rosemary, who is just Jimmy's age and with whom he used to play. It reads like this:

"You probably remember Rosemary, one of the children you used to play with. Rosemary did not have a nice house to live in like Jimmy and his sister, Anita, had. Her mother and daddy tried to get her a house but they could not get it for her. So your mother and daddy helped Rosemary and her mother and daddy get a house. Your mother and daddy think that every little boy and girl should have a nice home like Jimmy and Anita have, and we know Jimmy wants Rosemary to have a nice house too.

"But some people got very mad at your mother and daddy because they helped Rosemary get that house. These people did not want Rosemary and her mother and daddy to live in that house. These people wanted somebody else to live in that house.

"There was a big argument about it, and some men put your daddy in a big building and kept him there. They did not hurt your daddy. They would just not let him out of this building. So he has to stay in the big building until the argument is over. Your mother is staying close by where she can take good care of your daddy.

"Daddy is warm and has plenty to eat, but he just can't get out to see Jimmy and Anita. Daddy and Mother love Jimmy and Anita very much. They want Jimmy and Anita to take good care of each other and love their grandmother and granddaddy. Someday Mother and Daddy will come and get Jimmy and Anita and they will all live together again. And Rosemary will have a nice home too."

I hope we are not asking too much of the little fellow to understand this. The words are simple but the concept is profound. Actually we are telling him something that to my mind is at the heart of Christian principles — that I cannot live comfortable with what I have as long as one of these, my brothers, is without.

But, most of all, I hope that by the time he grows up, applying this principle will not be so hard. Perhaps if enough of us stick by our principles now, the next generation will be able to live by them without making too many sacrifices.

To the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
421 Seventh Ave., New York 1, N. Y.

Enclosed please find $_____ as my contribution toward a fair trial for the Louisville Seven.

☐ I would like to be an Associate of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee ($3)

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone_____ State_____

15 Years In Prison:

Kentucky Rewards Its Good Samaritan

The Story of Carl Braden Who Dared to Help a Negro

33. But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was: and when he saw him, he had compassion on him.

34. And went to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him.

—St. Luke 10.33-34.

SENTENCED to 15 years under state sedition law is Carl Braden (dark glasses). He deeded house in white neighborhood to Andrew Wade IV, a Negro. Left to right: Louis Lusky, American Civil Liberties Union attorney who handles Braden's appeal; Braden; Robert Zollinger, Braden's trial attorney.

There are plenty of churches in the State of Kentucky and there is no reason to suppose that Kentucky pastors have failed to inform their flocks of the words of Jesus as He concluded the tale of the Good Samaritan with the injunction: "Go, and do thou likewise."

Nevertheless, Samaritan Carl Braden has been sentenced to 15 years in a Kentucky prison because his helping hand was extended to a Negro, young Andrew Wade IV.

Six others, including Braden's wife, a kindly social worker, two trade unionists, a helpful truck driver, and an 80-year old retired river-boat captain face trial on an assortment of charges ranging from sedition to house bombing. The wrath of the State of Kentucky has descended upon their heads, as well as Braden's, because they too, befriended Andrew Wade.

In Louisville, Kentucky, Samaritans must be careful to whose aid they come.

Andrew Wade was a young navy veteran. He held a good job with an electrical contractor. He wanted a proper home for his wife and growing family. Like many another young man in his circumstances, Andrew knew just what he wanted—a new and modern ranch-style home in stone or brick, yet not too expensive.

Young Wade found his search in the winter of 1953-54 complicated by the fact that while in the previous 10 years there had been 18,000 houses built in Louisville's white communities, only 300 had been built "for Negroes."

Sought Braden

Several times he tried to buy something to fit his purse and his needs, only to be refused because of his color. At length, he went to a white man whose reputation he knew as an opponent of discrimination—Carl Braden.

A Louisville newspaperman, Braden had distinguished himself in a successful campaign to open Kentucky hospitals to Negro patients.

And so Wade asked Braden to make a purchase for him of a neat little house in a new subdivision just outside Louisville. Braden and his wife searched their consciences and could not refuse.

Months later, as he faced the jury that sentenced him to 15 years in prison, Braden said:

"In the first place, Mr. Wade asked me to do it for him as a favor. And in the second place, I felt that he had a right to live in the house of his choice, where he wanted to live. And I felt that if I was going to preach democracy, which I'd done all my life, and still do, I should practice it. I could do nothing else."

Burn Cross

The Wade family moved into their "dream home" in May, 1954. The following day, rocks crashed through the window and a cross was burned, a symbol of terrorism to come.

A Wade Defense Committee was quickly formed and volunteers came forward to guard Mrs. Wade and 2-year old Rosemary while Wade was off working during the day. Among the volunteers were Vernon Bown and Louis Lubka.

A social worker, Louise Gilbert sought to calm the neighborhood by circulating an appeal for goodwill through the community. Her roommate Miss Larue Spiker sought to rally support for the Wades among AFL unions where she was an active member.

On the other hand, others were busy whipping up hysteria. The community newspaper thundered editorially at the white residents: "Either you take a firm stand now or take the consequences along with your indifference!"

The Wade house was soon dynamited and destroyed beyond further use.

But White Supremacy in Louisville was not yet satisfied. Destroyed too, must be the possibility that other Good Samaritans might come forth.

Accordingly, the State of Kentucky, moving through the person of Commonwealth Attorney, A. Scott Hamilton, proceeded to crush the seven whites who had befriended Wade.

Instead of prosecuting the actual terrorizers and bombers who were, it is said, known to the police, Hamilton spun a fantastic theory that it was all a "communist plot" to disturb "the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth of Kentucky," to use the language of the indictment brought against the seven defendants.

Indict Wade's Friend

According to Hamilton, Braden set the stage for "communistic troublemaking" by arranging the introduction of a Negro into a white community, while Bown, who guarded the home, was its dynamiter. Bown had been in Wisconsin during the period of the bombing, but a small matter like that did not deter the Commonwealth's attorney from securing an indictment against him as the bomber.

The diversionary tactic was a brilliant success. The real offenses against the "peace and dignity" of Kentucky, the cross-burnings, the rock throwings, the foul mouthings of the neighborhood newspaper, the hideous bombing itself, were quickly swept under the rug in the hue and cry of a "red" chase.

(Three men who confessed to the cross-burning have never been brought to trial. Meanwhile, the statute of limitations has run out.)

Public support for Wade was

Georgia Church Preaches Unionism; Mill Owners Fire 32 Sect Members

DALTON, Ga.—At least 32 workers in this important textile center have been fired from their jobs because of their church affiliation. The textile magnates have declared war on the religious group with headquarters in Dalton because of its advocacy of unions as a basic part of Christian life.

The wholesale firings are closely linked to the current organizing drive of the CIO Textile Workers among the 12,000 chenille rug workers in the area. Average wages are about 90 cents an hour.

Under savage attack from the mill owners is the Church of God and the monthly newspaper which it publishes, **The Southerner.** Rev. Donald West, editor of the paper which takes a strong pro-union stand and the Rev. Charles Pratt, spiritual leader of the group have been labelled "radical" and "pro-communist." Viligante groups have smashed the windows of the newspaper.

As the TWU organizing drive began making strong headway in the mills, operators required all employees to make out new employment forms. Those that declared their religious affiliation to the Church of God were quickly fired.

Answering the smears of the Dalton daily newspaper and the blasts from American Legion headquarters Rev. West declared:

"My crime is that for many years I've stood firmly for the rights of the poor and oppressed, for justice, mercy, and decency for working people. And these are things the enemies of the people simply can't forgive.

"The common people hear Jesus gladly, but His hypocritical accusers said, 'He stirreth up the people'.

"Had I edited a newspaper that attacked the unions; had I said chenille workers did not deserve more than 75 cents an hour, then I would have stood high with the very powers that are attacking me today."

A Man's Dream Lies Shattered

YOUNG Andrew Wade wanted a home for his family to be proud of. Wade and daughter Rosemary.

WADE'S house in a Louisville suburb after the bombers had done their work. Though police are said to know who planted dynamite, Grand Jury indicted one of Wade defenders for the crime.

choked-off as those who would otherwise have spoken up feared for the safety of their own reputations, and indeed, for their freedom as well.

And so, Samaritan Braden went to trial under a dusted-off sedition law passed by the Kentucky legislature in 1920 during the I.W.W. scare of the period and never since used.

"It was like the recent Till trial," Braden says. "The jury knew what was expected of it and the facts made little difference. I was a friend of Negroes; I owned books; I discussed social questions with my friends; I worked for peace and a professional F.B.I. informer called me a communist.

"Not one shred of evidence connected me with any act of violence or advocacy of violence. It was enough for the jury that I owned books on forbidden topics like socialism and communism."

The vengeful spirit of the jury comes through clearly in the savage severity of the 15-year sentence which it meted out to Braden, and can only be understood as a terrible warning to the rest of white Kentucky to pass in silence, never to wash the wounds of the Negro people as they lie in the roadside.

Defense Rallies

Nevertheless, civil liberty and America's Bill of Rights is not without its defenders. The American Civil Liberties Union has undertaken to appeal the Braden conviction. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has raised needed funds to meet Braden's prodigious $40,000 appeal bond, thus releasing him temporarily at least, from state prison where he has already served eight months.

Shocked by the astounding implications of the use of the State Sedition Law, over 200 Kentuckians have formed a state chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union. Among its board members are the secretary of the Kentucky CIO Council and the secretary of the Louisville Federation of Labor.

Labor unions are reacting in the realization that when an effort to secure decent housing for a Negro can be twisted into a seditious plot, then there is wide-open invitation for government strike-breaking under the guise of prosecutions for sedition.

As the Kentucky State Federation of Labor officially declared shortly after the law was passed:

"This bill contains sections that are in violation of the Constitution of the United States and which jeopardize the liberty of our people;

"If allowed to remain upon the statutes, it threatens the very existence of organized labor."

Braden To Tell Frame-up Story At Chicago Meeting, Nov. 11th

Chicago supporters of civil liberties can hear Carl Braden speak at a public meeting sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee November 11th.

The meeting, to be chaired by Harvey O'Connor, noted author and himself a prominent civil rights defendant, will be held in the Fine Arts Building, 410 S. Michigan at 8:00 P.M.

Willoughby Abner, vice-president of the Cook County CIO Council will be one of the speakers as will Clark Foreman, national head of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

BOOKS from Braden's private library were hauled into court in effort to prove there must be something "seditious" about a man who would be good Samaritan to a Negro.

'Wipe Off Charges,' UPWA Says

Below is the text of a resolution on the Braden case adopted by UPWA District 3 Council's convention early this year and subsequently concurred in by the UPWA International Executive Board.

The Michigan CIO Council's state executive board has also given its official support to Braden's appeal, terming his conviction "a gross miscarriage of justice" and "a severe blow at civil liberty."

Whereas, the United Packinghouse Workers of America has always asserted the position that freedom to read and think is a fundamental concept of American democracy, and

Whereas, this fundamental freedom is being threatened on all sides by the ever-growing current of hysteria in this country, and

Whereas, the persecution of Carl Braden, copyreader for the Louisville, Kentucky, Courier-Journal is an illustration of the ridiculous extent to which witch-hunters and McCarthyites will go to suppress progress and freedom. Braden's "sedition" trial was actually a result of his courageous attempt to secure decent housing for a Negro family. His politics or lack of them had nothing to do with this act of humanitarian charity, and

Whereas, possession of books and reading of them does not constitute a crime, and

Whereas, the sentence of 15 years given to Braden as a result of the trumped up "sedition" case is a grave miscarriage of what used to be known as American justice,

Therefore, BE IT RESOLVED by the delegates to the Ninth Annual Constitutional Convention of District Council No. 3 of the United Packinghouse Workers of America that we condemn the action of the state of Kentucky in taking reprisal action against Carl Braden for his activity on the behalf of better relations among peoples. We urge state officials to reconsider their action and give Braden his legal freedom and wipe the charges against him off the books.

RECEIVED JAN 13 1956

Box 133, Tiffin Hall
Ohio University
Athens, Ohio
January 10, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Since talking with you in Atlanta last Saturday I have talked with Malcolm Calhoun and telephoned President Montgomery of the College of the Bible; unfortunately, however, Dr. Montgomery was not at home.

This morning I spoke with my major advisor about the possibility of taking some such subject as "The Bible and Race Relations" as a topic for a thesis. He wasn't clear as to what I planned to do with the topic but was definitely skeptical; and his final suggestion was that I write a three hundred-word sketch outlining (1) the problem, (2) methods to be used and (3) value of the study.

The closest some has come to such a topic, he said, was to write a case study involving several Bible characters. The subject I had in mind, however, appeared to him "unscientific."

Any suggestions?

Sincerely,

Joel M. Savell

Joel M. Savell

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

RECEIVED JAN 13 1956

January 11, 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Many thanks for your fascinating quarterly progress report. With your permission, we are planning to send excerpts from this report to members of our Board.

From Frank Loescher you will no doubt have gained late word on the various things that Frank and I are hoping to do in the near future. The Board at its meeting last week approved a grant of $10,000 to Loyola University for Father Fichter's project.

Sincerely yours,

Dave

David F. Freeman

DFF:tk

The Christian Life Commission
OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
161 EIGHTH AVENUE, NORTH
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

A. C. MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

RECEIVED JAN 13 1956

January 11, 1956

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am grateful for your letter. I hasten to assure you that I am in hearty agreement with you on the matter of an opinion poll at this time. I wrote you when I was feeling out for some way of building a more solid structure under some of our opinions on this question. We get in a group to discuss policies and procedures as far as our literature is concerned and invariably we base our decisions on what we guess to be true. There are some things we know are true one of which is the Supreme Court decision and the necessity for American citizens to abide by and support the Constitution.

It looks like from the Virginia vote that we are beginning the Civil War over again on the issue of secession for that is about what the Virginia vote indicates. To say the least, our people have been greatly confused.

It is going to take our best over a period of years to bring them back to a normal and solid basis for national life and the democracy we so highly prize.

Best of wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

A. C. Miller

ACM:RC

A. C. Miller

"A Would-be Murderer Walks the Streets Of Louisville"

This is what one noted author says about the Wade-Braden case at Louisville, Ky.

Read what writers, educators, clergymen, labor leaders, and other spokesmen for thoughtful Americans are saying about this case. . . .

→

The Facts.....

ANDREW WADE IV, young Negro veteran, married with two children, was unable to find suitable house for sale in Louisville, Ky., where 18,000 new homes were built for white people, only 300 for Negroes in 10 years. In spring of 1954 he sought help of

CARL BRADEN, Louisville newspaperman, long active in labor and interracial affairs. Braden and his wife, Anne, bought a house in Louisville suburbs in May, 1954, and resold it to Wade and his wife.

KU KLUX KLAN elements began to terrorize the Wades. Threats, cross-burning, shots into the house, and window-breaking followed. Wade considered police protection inadequate, and asked for help from others. Many Louisville citizens, Negro and white, answered his call. These included

THREE WHITE TRADE-UNIONISTS, Vernon Bown of AFL Teamsters, a night worker who moved into house to protect Mrs. Wade during day; Lewis Lubka, a shop steward in IUE-CIO, and LaRue Spiker, a shop steward in the AFL Grain Millers. Despite this help,

DYNAMITE EXPLODED under the house just after midnight on June 27, 1954. House was half-destroyed. It was reliably reported in Louisville that police had confession from a neighbor who set dynamite, but summer passed without arrests. After weeks of prodding by Wades, Bradens, Bown, and others,

COMMONWEALTH'S ATTORNEY called Grand Jury investigation of blast, immediately turned it into attack on Wade's white friends. Prosecutor questioned these people about books they read, organizations they belonged to, practically ignored known Ku Klux Klan elements who had harassed Wades. To amazement of Louisville citizens,

VERNON BOWN, who was out of town the week end of the explosion, was charged with bombing house. An old and unused state sedition law was unearthed to indict Bown, Bradens, Lubka, and Bown's 79-year-old roommate, I.O. Ford. The four latter were accused of conspiring with Bown to bomb the house. Also indicted for sedition were Miss Spiker and Louise Gilbert, white social worker who had helped send letter to Wade neighbors urging good will. After the indictment, homes of the accused were raided and private papers and books were seized.

IMMEDIATE TRIAL on the bombing charge was demanded by Bown. Instead, prosecution ignored bombing, tried Carl Braden for sedition. He was convicted Dec. 13, 1954, sentenced to

15 YEARS IN PRISON and a $5,000 fine. He stayed in prison 7 months before he was able to provide $40,000 bond, highest ever set in Kentucky. All other trials were postponed pending his appeal. Meantime, more than a year after the explosion,

THE REAL BOMBERS of the Wade house remain uncaught. People all over the world are demanding to know why.

Comments.....

(Organizations listed for identification only, except where indicated otherwise.)

DANIEL S. GILLMOR, author of *Fear, the Accuser* and other works:

Someone tried to murder the Wades. Someone set a powerful bomb under the bedroom of the Wades' little girl. Because the State of Kentucky is so bent on 'getting' Carl Braden and six other non-conformists, a would-be murderer is walking the streets of Louisville.

UNITED PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS OF AMERICA (CIO), International Executive Board:

Braden's 'sedition' trial was actually the result of his courageous attempt to secure decent housing for a Negro family. His politics or lack of them had nothing to do with this act of humanitarian charity. . . .We condemn the action of the state of Kentucky in taking reprisal action against Carl Braden for his activity on the behalf of better relations among people. . . .

JACK CHANCELLOR, columnist for *The Louisville Defender*, writing in issue of January 13, 1955:

. . . The Commonwealth of Kentucky has seized upon the communist line as an excuse to prosecute the Bradens and others for helping Negroes. . . . A dangerous precedent is being set which will say to individuals or groups regardless of race that when you aid a Negro in his struggle for first-class citizenship, you will be persecuted and called a 'red'. . . .

DR. HENRY HITT CRANE, Pastor of Central Methodist Church, Detroit, and member of Detroit board of the American Civil Liberties Union:

When the evil of prejudice breaks out in murderous violence its hideous nature is appalling enough. When a community callously condones the crime, the evil is compounded incredibly. But when such corruption sadistically projects its own hellishness into some 'scapegoat' and proceeds to persecute and prosecute him in a mad effort to excuse itself, that would seem to be the last degree of social degradation.

WALTER MILLIS, consultant to the Fund for the Republic:

. . . a short-tempered, dictatorial, and somewhat lawless prosecutor . . . seized the opportunity to crush the Bradens and those popularly identified with them, along with liberalism, anti-segregationism, the protections of the Fifth Amendment, and even some of those of free speech and press. . . .

JENNINGS PERRY, Southern journalist, author of *Democracy Begins at Home:*

That Carl Braden ever by any act or word committed or 'advocated' sedition or sought the improvement of government by other than peaceful means was not proved. Unquestionably he did aid a Negro to purchase a home in a 'white' neighborhood—and thus conceivably sinned against 'property rights'. Had he not done this to oblige a friend, it is reasonable to assume that he and his books would never have been pounced upon by the police power of the state.

BELFAST & DISTRICT TRADES' UNION COUNCIL, Belfast, Ireland:

Whilst we cannot say we are unacquainted with such happenings in the United States of America we must tell you that we are horrified when we know that again and again innocent people suffer from the blindness, bigotry and greed of such policies as are being pursued in the land that has elected itself as 'the leader of free nations.'

We are hopeful that . . . Mr. and Mrs. Braden and the others will be released and their position and love for the people vindicated in the eyes of all right-thinking Americans. We are also hopeful that the people of the USA will remove the blot of the colour bar from their midst and enable all honest Americans to work for peace and progress and good relations with all other countries.

WILLARD B. RANSOM, Indiana leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People:

These cases are the standard result of the present-day hysteria which has caused a great deal of destruction to civil rights and liberties in America. However, the tide is turning and will turn faster toward the full restoration of constitutional rights—

depending upon the type of stand we take when cases like this arise. We must uniformly condemn the brazen attempt of self-appointed 'super-patriots' to prevent the breakdown of the segregated housing pattern in Louisville by resort to this fantastic last refuge of 'sedition'. We must applaud the courageous defendants and citizens of Louisville who are fighting for the rights of the Wades and all others to live where they choose.

PATRICK E. GORMAN, international secretary-treasurer, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America (AFL):

I shall always entertain the feeling that an American has the right to live any place in the United States and in any section of any neighborhood, so long as he can pay his bills and conduct himself in a manner befitting an honorable American citizen. I rather agree with *The Courier-Journal*, that Kentucky has 'a numbskull law' and to me it seems a shame that anyone should suffer the consequences of the 'fools' fiat', which the 1920 law constitutes. I have no sympathy whatever for the Communist Party, but I shall never feel that while we fight Communist issues in this country, we should bury our liberties while we are doing so.

MICHIGAN CIO COUNCIL, resolution of State Executive Board; representing 650,000 workers in Michigan:

. . . a gross miscarriage of justice which struck a severe blow at civil liberties. . . .

HOWARD L. PARSONS, professor, University of Tennessee:

The issue is not sedition; unless it is seditious on the part of the Bradens and their brave colleagues to be aligned against indecency, discrimination, segregation, deprivation, bigotry, lily-white self-righteousness, blindness of heart and darkness of mind in high and low places. . . . Is it seditious to be our brother's keeper, to do unto others what we would have done unto us, to love and to cherish even the least of these our brethern? . . . Then the prophets and martyrs and saints were seditious, and the Son of Man, and the Pilgrim Fathers, and the Boston Tea Party, and the Minute Men, and Jefferson, and Lincoln, and all the pioneers and missionaries who like Paul suffered reproaches,

distresses, imprisonment, and death in doing their duty by the doctrine that we are all free and equal members one of another. . . .

THE LOUISVILLE COURIER-JOURNAL, editorial; Sept. 16, 1954:

The crime was bombing, not beliefs. . . . The matter under investigation is not what the Bradens read or believe. It is the wanton destruction of a man's house in the middle of the night by persons who only accidentally avoided the further crime of murder. . . .

PATRICK MURPHY MALIN, Executive director, speaking on behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union:

. . . one of the most important civil liberties cases now pending. . . . The ACLU's interest is in the constitutional rights of all Americans which will be impaired if this conviction stands. . . .

RT. REV. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, JR., Bishop Coadjutor of Massachusetts:

I feel that there is a real chance that if the case is wisely handled it may not only secure justice in this instance but it may be useful in creating a better application of civil rights than have existed before.

LOUIS REDDING, NAACP attorney in Delaware, in a pamphlet written after an on-the-scene investigation of the case:

. . . There are those who believe that any conviction of Braden could have been accomplished only in a 'wrong way.' To such persons it was a fundamental and fantastic wrong to pervert the Kentucky sedition statute, untested in its thirty-four years' history, to encompass the acute harassment of a trial and the onus of this man's imprisonment. They say that perhaps his only offense was an act contrary to the social mores prevalent in Kentucky: He aided a Negro circumvent in a small degree the racial segregation which is a Kentucky way of life. . . .

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM COMMITTEE INC., in a friend-of-the-court brief filed with Kentucky Court of Apeals in case of Carl Braden:

. . . The practice of the Golden Rule is the essence of the practice of the Christian Religion and . . . it was his belief in the Golden Rule which led appellant to oppose racial discrimination. His attempt to act on this belief in securing a home for a Negro in a white suburban community was putting a religious belief into positive action. . . . Racial hatred or discrimination violates vital principles of the Judeo-Christian tenets, as is made manifest by the unanimity of expression by the leading religious groups in the United States. . . . Segregation is a religious issue and . . . to prevent one's acting on principles propounded by the highest authorities of the Christian and Jewish faiths would violate the First Amendment. . . .

ERNEST MAZEY, UAW-CIO leader, secretary-treasurer of the Michigan Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law, and member of the Detroit board of the American Civil Liberties Union:

The continuing persecution and prosecution of Andrew Wade IV and the persons who aided him in his efforts to gain a decent home for his family constitute one of the most outrageous crimes in modern history.

It serves as a powerful reminder that the witch hunt is not dead, although the fanfare of the McCarthy days has subsided to a degree. The Wade-Braden case reveals the integral connection between the attacks upon civil liberties and the continuing struggle of the Negro people for an end to their status as 'second-class' citizens. The courageous fight against this gross violation of justice merits, and I am confident will win, the support of freedom-loving people everywhere.

CLARK FOREMAN, director, Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, writing in *The Churchman*, February 1, 1955:

Brotherly love, by helping a Negro family live securely in a decent home, has caused seven white people to be indicted for sedition. . . . Beliefs are apparently more important to the prosecuting attorney than the bombing. Negro rights and constitutional rights are subordinated to alleged 'seditious beliefs' . . . when Jesus told in his parable how the priest and the Levite turned away from the needy man but the Good Samaritan gave him help, Jesus seems to me to be saying that men

should be judged by their actions, not their beliefs. . . .

THE REV. KENNETH HUGHES, rector, St. Bartholomew's Episcopal Church, Cambridge, Mass.:

The indictment of Carl Braden et al. is a strange reversal and denial of all for which America stands—'liberty and justice for all.' It is reminiscent of the Hilter regime when viciousness was enthroned in power and virtue put behind bars and scoffed. When a man is jailed for an act which is of the essence of American democracy it is time for all who prize their hard-won rights to speak out and let freedom ring.

ROGER BALDWIN, Chairman of the Board, speaking for the International League for the Rights of Man:

I am confident that all of us engaged in international efforts for those freedoms which constitute democracy deplore and oppose all laws, like the Kentucky sedition statute, and all trials under them. They make crimes of opinions and associations. They take no account of the principle that freedom for the most hated doctrines is necessary for the protection of *all* doctrines. Involving no overt offences, such laws and trials flout those basic liberties proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations, and enthusiastically supported by the United States as a charter of rights in the struggle against tyranny of the left or right.

ROYAL FRANCE, civil liberties attorney and former professor at Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida:

In my opinion, the conviction of Carl Braden and the indictments of Anne Braden and others under a long-disused State sedition statute in Kentucky, almost coincidentally with the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the school segregation cases, not only flout the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution but constitute a degradation of the judicial process. Racial hatred and discrimination violate vital principles of Judeo-Christian tenets. It is ironical that the public prosecutor should have brought to the bar of justice the people who had aided a Negro to secure a home in the section of his choice while

the persons who bombed his home have not been apprehended and brought to trial. . . .

W. B. SPOFFORD, SR., Managing Editor of *The Witness*, an unofficial news magazine of the Episcopal Church:

Many Church people in all parts of the country have written The Witness to say how shocked they were over what has come to be known as the Braden Case. How could it be otherwise since Anne and Carl Braden only did what Church leaders are constantly asking Church people to do—stand against injustice, including segregation, and for worldwide peace.

EARL B. DICKERSON, attorney and leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People:

. . . In my judgment, there is no more important case in the country involving civil liberties than the instant one. . . . The American judiciary and Braden's defense should have the support of all good citizens in our country who wish to preserve their fundamental individual rights under the Constitution.

CAREY MC WILLIAMS, Editor, *The Nation*:

With Walter Millis, who did an article for *The Nation* (issue of May 7, 1955) on the Braden case, I agree that the convictions represent 'an obvious and gross injustice.' Not only did the trial fail to meet the standards of American justice but the convictions raise serious constitutional issues. The facts, moreover, fail to justify the indictment. The convictions should be reversed.

BISHOP W. J. WALLS, Presiding Bishop, A.M.E. Zion Church:

. . . I feel that this matter is worthy of the best judgment and hardest work of self-respecting citizens. May God speed you.

C. H. HAMLIN, professor, Atlantic Christian College, North Carolina:

The most absurd case in my many years struggle with the forces working for justice and civil liberties is the conviction of Carl Braden. It makes a

mockery of justice. It slanders Kentucky and can be a great aid to communism. If that conviction stands, we should apologize to Hitler.

JAMES RATLIFF, columnist for *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, in his column, Sept. 4, 1955:

Although some of the witnesses identified literature taken from Braden's home as Communistic, there's no law against having such literature. Many Americans have it to study for use against Communism. But to try the Communist Party or its literature is not trying Braden on the specific charge of sedition. What, when, where, how, why and whom did he seduce with sedition? That's the charge.... If you are tried for sedition, evidence must be presented to show that you committed sedition. . . . Not one seditious act was proved on Braden's part.

MRS. MILDRED SCOTT OLMSTED, National Administrative Secretary, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom:

No state acts to itself alone. The repercussions of the Louisville case in which an attempt to help a Negro family to better its lot involved the white people who aided them in charges of sedition, with resultant conviction, jailing and fining under the flimsiest of "proof" of the one who had done the most, have been felt all over the United States. But this case has been in the newspapers abroad also and has hurt the prestige of the United States. Yellow, brown, black people in Asia and Africa cannot fail to ask what better treatment can we expect if we let ourselves come under the influence of the U.S.? Do Americans believe in justice for colored people and their friends or only for white people?

Unseen eyes all over the world will be watching what happens now to the Bradens and to the remaining defendants whose cases are due to come up in May, 1956.

MISS LUCY P. CARNER, formerly Executive Director on Education and Recreation, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago:

Social work has a stake in the Louisville case. A social worker (Miss Gilbert) acted in a community crisis in a way that upheld the highest traditions of the profession. In her capacity as a citizen and member of an organization deeply concerned with the segregation issue and dedicated to the use of

non-violent methods, she issued an appeal to the citizens of the community for tolerance and mercy. In the events that followed, the standards of personnel policies of the national professional organization of which she is a member have been violated; the civil rights of a social worker who was also a responsible citizen have been ignored. The civil rights of all social workers are correspondingly threatened. What is more important, the voices of those who in a period of community tension speak up for justice and tolerance may become fewer. Social workers should be determined that in the courts of law and in the annals of the profession such action as hers shall be vindicated.

NATHAN E. COHEN, Associate Dean, New York School of Social Work:

After reading the case of the Commonwealth of Kentucky against Spiker, Gilbert, Ford and the Bradens, it was evident that democracy had taken a holiday. Absent from the courtroom were the basic American traditions and the accepted standards of American justice which reflect the spirit and the heart of American democracy. Present in their place were prejudice, bigotry and fear of change which men of good-will everywhere must rebel against, be it inside or outside the U.S.A.

CHARLES ABRAMS, New York State Rent Administrator, in his book, *Forbidden Neighbors, A Study of Prejudice In Housing*:

Instead of finding the hoodlums responsible for the outrage he [the prosecutor] raided the Braden home and the homes of their friends. Literature characterized as "Communistic" was seized. With a passion for irrelevancy, a grand jury then indicted the Bradens and three of their friends for advocating sedition.

DR. MARION HATHWAY, Dean, Department of Social Economy, Bryn Mawr College:

The indictment of Louise Gilbert under the Kentucky Sedition Law reveals the extent to which un-democratic forces are opposing the spirit of de-segregation in housing as well as in education and other community facilities. That this has happened to a social worker of experience and recognized standing is a lesson to all social workers in the United States. The practice of social

work is based on the practice of democracy. In order to practice social work, every social worker now sees that he must also be active in the development of a democratic climate essential to the offering of services to individuals and groups.

PLYMOUTH LOCAL 51, UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS, Detroit, representing 8,000 workers:

This decision [Braden's conviction] must not be permitted to stand. It makes a mockery of the Supreme Court decision and encourages hoodlums all over the country to acts of violence against minority groups guilty of nothing except the exercising of their rights under the law of the land.

(Support for the Louisville victims has also been voted by the General Council of Ford Local 600; Local 208; Local 351; Local 212; Local 1146, and Local 227, representing a total of 100,000 members of the U.A.W.-C.I.O.)

DR. C. REXFORD RAYMOND, pastor emeritus, Church of Wide Fellowship, Congregational, Southern Pines, North Carolina:

. . . The Lord's prayer teaches us to Call God our Father. The Fatherhood of God means the brotherhood of man. . . . Racial prejudice is not a matter of North or South. It is a scandal that makes some consider Americans aliens to the rest of the world . . . that mercy may prevail in the Braden case and racial intolerance may have a Christian rebuke. . . .

WALTER LANDAUER, professor, University of Connecticut:

Among all the beastly injustices that have been committed since the end of the war, none seems to me more transparent than that of the so-called sedition trial in Louisville. The facts in the situation are perfectly clear. It is obvious that those who were accused acted from high motives and that they could not possibly be convicted of any direct conflict with the criminal code. In order to secure conviction, it was necessary to pervert the facts and to construe sedition and conspiracy. . . .

UNITED ELECTRICAL WORKERS, resolution of 20th annual convention:

. . . This crass frame-up is designed to destroy the growing unity of Negro and white and to halt Southern workers' march toward decency and a higher standard of living, and is in opposition to the traditional concepts of American democracy. . . . We condemn the acts of the prosecutor of the State of Kentucky as being a cover-up for Klan elements and hoodlums who actually bombed the Wade home. . . .

CHARLES C. LOCKWOOD, noted civil liberties attorney in Detroit, member of Detroit board of the American Civil Liberties Union, writing in his regular column in *The East Side Shopper*, Detroit:

. . . Might well be one of the worst frame-ups of the last decade. . . . At Braden's trial, the Red hysteria and anti-Negro feelings were raised to such a high pitch that the guilty verdict was inevitable. . . . It is a case which has not been given the publicity or support that it merits.

GUY EMERY SHIPLER, editor of *The Churchman*, an Episcopal publication:

It is not surprising that many outstanding Protestant clergymen have denounced the action of legal authorities against the Bradens, thereby expressing their belief that the First Amendment of the constitution means what it says about the free expression of religion, and their further conviction as to the meaning of Christianity. The Bradens are guilty of putting their Christian convictions into action—obviously a dangerous procedure among those who do not accept denunciation of race hatred and discrimination as made clear in the story of the Good Samaritan and in many parts of the New and Old Testaments. The anti-American and anti-religious actions against the Bradens will long stand as a shameful event in our American life, one which has correctly inspired righteous indignation.

CHARLES F. WELLER, St. Petersburg, Fla., Founder-President, World Fellowship, Inc., and the World Fellowship of Faiths:

Surely the better elements of America's gallant Southland will rally now to wipe the slate clean of that unbelievably tragic travesty of law, justice and humanity which recently, in Kentucky, sentenced Carl Braden to 15 years in prison, plus a $5,000 fine. . . . If the factual report of this Carl Braden persecution were presented as an imagined

tale, no sane person could have believed it to be possible—in Kentucky or in any other American community. . . .

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT, professor emeritus, University of Chicago, former U.S. Government Secretary, Virgin Islands:

. . . Among the many appeals received from individuals and organized causes the Braden case stands out as comprehensive in involving so many factors. Its base is the national crime of human slavery, perpetuated, after ninety years of 'emancipation', by segregation. It rises to tragedy through the corruption of the processes of justice. It falls to low comedy in its attribution to Communist plotting. It is the irony of history that this abomination should come from the commonwealth which in its infancy earned distinction by initiating the repeal of the sedition laws through the Kentucky Resolutions. No true citizen of the United States can remain at peace with his country or himself so long as the Braden case remains a foul blot on the escutcheon of the Republic.

BAPTIST MINISTERS CONFERENCE OF DETROIT AND VICINITY:

The ministers found it difficult to believe that Louisville would . . . perpetrate such a travesty against decency, intelligence, and godliness. An American will find it increasingly difficult to defend the fair name of his country even in communistic China or Russia when respectable white people must go to jail for trying to help decent Negro people to maintain their self-respect. . . . The greatest tragedy of it all is that Louisville with all her intelligence, her police force, and her Christianity claims that she cannot apprehend, try, and convict the person or persons who dynamited the Wade home and left its ruins an eyesore telling an ugly story of the sort of criminals Louisville is harboring unto this day. . . .

THE NATION, editorial January 15, 1955:

Throughout the South the Supreme Court's decision outlawing segregated public schools has temporarily exacerbated racial tensions, particularly over housing. Behind the Braden case in Louisville lurk forces of racial bigotry that formerly marched under the banner of the K.K.K. but today shrewdly parade as 'anti-seditionists.' The deception is crude but immensely effective.

PROF. KERMIT EBY, Division of the Social Sciences, University of Chicago:

It is ironical, but still true, that if people act like Christians, they must still pay the Christian price. It has always been a question to me why those who act on conscience must be accused of motives contrary to conscience.

JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI, executive director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund:

. . . These cases are of great importance because among other factors they involve a challenge to segregated housing. So long as Jim Crow ghettos exist it will be difficult to develop integrated schools and integrated communities. People of good will everywhere should consider it a privilege to have some modest part in the courageous fight of the Bradens and their associates to give practical effect to the principle of democracy and brotherhood in one of the most difficult of areas.

I. F. STONE, journalist, in his news-weekly for December 20, 1954:

The affair at Louisville is one of those nightmares we thought could no longer happen. It has the flavor of Nineteenth Century labor frame-ups. We have been accustomed to more sedate prosecutions. This is as raw as the home made whiskey still being distilled in the Kentucky hills.

TOM WALLACE, Editor emeritus of *The Louisville Times*, in his regular column January 28, 1955:

This commonwealth, of boasted grandeur, has a numbskull law. . . . It is sadly injurious to Kentucky to have to suffer in the national and international courts of public opinion the consequences of the fools' fiat that the law of 1920 constitutes.

AUBREY WILLIAMS, Editor of *Southern Farm & Home*:

What is really on trial is the conscience of Kentucky. What has been done to the people who befriended a Negro couple has been done to the shame of a region which reveres the tradition of Lincoln and Jefferson. I refuse to believe that this great tradition can be repudiated by hysteria-mongers and bigots. If the Bradens and the others are not

given vindication, it means that the hate-mongers and the bigots have taken over, and the revered American principles will thereby have been destroyed for the time being.

ALFRED MAUND, Southern journalist, in *The New Statesman & Nation*, London, Jan. 8, 1955:

. . . The issue which precipitated this purge of 'dangerous elements' [is] the right of an American citizen, regardless of creed or colour, to live where he chooses. Louisville, despite a large and rapid increase of its residential limits, retains some of the worst Negro slums in the Country. The Negro ghetto is racial discrimination's last bastion in America. By rigid residential separation the exercise of voting franchise, the integration of schools, and the opportunities for social amity between races can be subtly but effectively limited or denied.

THE REV. WILLIAM HOWARD MELISH, rector of Church of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn:

. . . An America that remains indifferent to this sort of case in its very heart, involving individuals nourished at least in part by the creed and ethic of its Churches, is the one that is hurting itself because it is destroying itself spiritually. Somehow I am less afraid for a Carl or an Anne Braden, or any of the other Louisville defendants, than I am afraid for ourselves, lest we stand revealed in this mechanized and atomized age as having become what the Bible calls men with hearts harder than flint. . . .

MURRAY KEMPTON, columnist for *New York Post*, in his regular column of Dec. 15, 1954:

His [Braden's] crime was distributing literature. Whether it was healthy literature or not has as little to do with the Bill of Rights as whether Braden is a desirable fellow. The Bill of Rights was written by a fellow reeking of sedition to protect bad literature and undesirable people.

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WHEN CHRISTIANS BECOME "SUBVERSIVE"

THE STORY OF ANNE AND CARL BRADEN

A Sermon preached at The Protestant Episcopal Church of the Holy Trinity in Brooklyn, New York Sunday, February 6, 1955

by

REVEREND WILLIAM HOWARD MELISH

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When Christians Become "Subversive"

A Sermon Preached at The Protestant Episcopal Church of the Holy Trinity in Brooklyn, New York, on Sunday, February 6, 1955, by the Reverend William Howard Melish.

Since so many sermons deal with abstractions, I am going to ask your indulgence this morning in permitting me to speak about a specific situation that raises many questions of immediate concern to the Church. I want to tell you the story of Anne and Carl Braden.

As a child Anne Gambrell McCarty was brought up in a Christian home and given her first knowledge of the Christian Religion in the Sunday School of Grace Protestant Episcopal Church in Anniston, Alabama, where the Rector was the present liberal Bishop of New Mexico and Southwest Texas, the Rt. Rev. James M. Stoney, D.D. Bishop Stoney writes:

> "Mrs. Braden, nee Anne Gambrell McCarty, was a member of a lovely church family in Anniston while I was rector of Grace Church there. Anne was a serious sort of a girl and took her church obligations and responsibilities very loyally. Our family and hers were perhaps a little closer to each other as the McCarty's lived just down the street from us and Anne's older brother, Lindsey, was a close friend of our younger son, Paul.
>
> "Anne is a deeply Christian girl and has been from her youth up. Probably she was more or less deeply influenced by my constant teaching and preaching that unless we are willing to accept the idea of the brotherhood of man it is plain nonsense for us to boast the privileges of the fatherhood of God."

While her own family was relatively well-to-do and secure, Anniston, like other Southern towns with cotton mills, was hit by the depression. In these days of unemployment, a constant stream of beggars came to the McCarty home, and Anne's mother, as far as she could, fed them, though some days the number was so great that she had of necessity to turn them away. This left an indelible impression on the eight-year old little girl. In her own words,

> "I kept thinking of what Christ had said about all those who saw their brothers hungry and did not feed them going to hell, and I was quite sure my mother was going to hell. I used to lie awake at night worrying about it with all of an eight-year old's literal ideas of heaven and hell."

The parishioners in Anniston were not ungenerous. They took Thanksgiving and Christmas baskets to the poor and held missions to share their religion with the less privileged but even a little girl could see that such charity was no an-

swer to the problem of poverty, as she later wrote,

> "I was haunted by the contradictions between the facts of life as I saw them and the things that I had come to believe were true and good and right."

Especially was she made aware of the place of the Negro people in southern society. It troubled her as a child that they had to live under such unbearable physical conditions and, what was worse, that they were treated as a lower breed of humanity by her own friends and relatives.

> "I saw these people, who were often good and kind and Christian—until, when the color line was involved, they, without a thought that what they were doing was wrong, treated other human beings like dogs—though often like pet dogs to whom they were very kind. I could not reconcile this with the Christian teaching of brotherhood, and I became convinced that it was the white people who were hurt the most because they were destroying themselves spiritually."

Anne went to college and her college years coincided with World War II. The little girl who had been so pre-occupied with the conflict between the ethic of the Christian Church and the hard facts of unemployment and race prejudice became a mature young woman pre-occupied with the conflict between the ethic of the Church and the mass killing that is part-and-parcel of the logic of modern war. As an adolescent she had dreamed of becoming a missionary. Now a college woman, though still drawn to the Church which remained the emotional background of all her thinking, she came increasingly to feel that the Church was doing little or nothing about the things that cried out for remedy. When she graduated, she had lost her sense of Christian life-commitment. She went into newspaper work. This was in 1945, the year of the war's end. For the next five years she lived her life apart from the Church. She did not repudiate the Church; it just ceased to figure in her primary loyalties.

This post-war period was a time of considerable trade union activity and the rise of the Progressive Party as a political movement on a nationwide scale. Anne began to find a new degree of self-orientation and commitment through participation in organizations and activities related to organized labor. It was at this time that she met an intelligent and active newspaper man and researcher in the labor field, Carl Braden, who wrote for the Louisville Times and a number of other papers and newspaper-services.

Braden had been brought up a Roman Catholic but had drawn apart from the Roman Church because of what he felt was its authoritarian and anti-intellectualist point-of-view.

An omnivorous reader, he had become convinced that a socialist order of society made greater sense than the present competitive anarchy. When Carl Braden and Anne McCarty were married, there developed a real meeting of minds as well as personalities. They found books of mutual enlightenment and among them such writings from a religious viewpoint as those of the Dean of Canterbury and other articulate contemporary Christians. For the first time they began to feel that there might be important influences within the Church of which they had both been ignorant. Anne writes,

> "I consider the motivations in Carl's life and mine basically the same. I think, however, that his were not so consciously religious until he knew me and we had interchanged our thoughts. I think I showed him an entirely different kind of religion from what he had seen in the Catholic Church, and he found it was quite compatible with the things he had always believed."

It was at this point in their lives that they met the Reverend J. Albert Dalton, a young clergyman not yet forty who had come from Church Army work in Cincinnati to be the rector of St. Stephen's Protestant Episcopal Church in Louisville. An accident case brought Dalton and the Bradens together. A Negro was injured and taken to a hospital in Hardinsburg, Kentucky, where he was refused admission and, in consequence, died. A committee of citizens was formed to visit the State capitol and demand the passage of legislation requiring all Kentucky hospitals to admit accident victims without racial discrimination. In this successful undertaking a warm friendship developed between the Bradens and Dalton. A courageous man, Dalton felt that his convictions as a Christian required him to challenge the poverty, the segregation and the injustice all about him in a city such as Louisville. He convinced the Bradens that they had a duty to identify themselves with the Church in which she had been reared and to help it become the dynamic thing they wanted it to be. He introduced them to personalities within the Church concerned with vital social action and put in their hands Church magazines concerning which they had not known.

Their friendship with Dalton, coupled with their desire to have a family and give their children the benefits of a Church background, led to their joining St. Stephen's. Carl was received from the Roman Catholic Church and Anne was transferred from her home parish to become communicant members. Anne became active in the parish in the Woman's Auxiliary and in the diocese of Kentucky as a member of the Department of Christian Social Relations. A group of Negro Baptist ministers had formed what they called "The Militant Church Movement" designed to work against

segregation. The leading spirit was the Reverend J. C. Olden who died at Christmas in 1953. This group sought with limited success the aid of white ministers and lay people. Carl and Anne responded, he becoming the Recording Secretary and she an active participant in encouraging "brotherhood meetings" and campaigning for an end to segregation in public places, such as bus and train stations, and in the public schools. With Olden's death, "The Militant Church Movement" disintegrated.

In 1954, in the early spring, there came to the Bradens a Navy veteran named Andrew Wade IV. He had done well as an electrician, had married, had a two-year old daughter and another child on the way, and wanted to secure a house far enough out in the suburbs to provide fresh air and decent surroundings for his growing family. His attempts to buy a house proved futile not because he did not have the cash but because no realtor would sell a house of this character to a Negro. After many failures Wade asked his friends, Carl and Anne, to buy a house in a district called Shively and then transfer it to him. This the Bradens did, Wade putting up the money for the down-payment and the Bradens assuming responsibility for a mortgage.

On Tuesday, May 11, 1954, the Wades began to move in. An angry crowd gathered across the street but did not directly interfere. On Saturday, however, when the Wades went in to town for the day, the windows were broken by stones, at ten-thirty that night a cross was burned on the property, and in the early morning hours shots were fired into the house, narrowly missing a friend of the Wades who was spending the night with them on guard.

The local paper, The Shively Newsweek, began an inflammatory campaign and an organization calling itself the "American White Brotherhood" called for violence. Many Shively and Louisville citizens condemned this incitement and formed a Citizens' Committee. Leading ministers, including the Shively Roman Catholic priest and the Methodist pastor, pleaded for restraint and tolerance. A vigilance committee was set up to guard the home of the Wades and the Citizens' Committee asked for police protection. In spite of such requests, a few Sundays later an explosion took place under the Wade home. No one was injured, fortunately, but the property was substantially wrecked. There was a public outcry for the arrest of the dynamiter and a grand jury began an investigation.

To the horror of liberal and progressive Louisville citizens, an unused statute passed in 1920 by the Kentucky State Legislature at the time of the notorious Palmer Raids after World War I to deal with "criminal syndicalism and sedition" was suddenly unearthed. Seven individuals were indicted for alleged "sedition" in a conspiracy to stir up trouble between whites and Negroes in Louisville. Carl and Anne Braden were arrested as the ring leaders, along with a white truck driver named Vernon Bown who had stayed days as a guard in the Wade home, a 79-year old river captain, named Ford, who was Bown's roommate, a trade unionist, Lewis Lubka, and two women who had been active on the Citizens' Committee and one of whom, a social worker, Miss Louise Gilbert, is a member of the local Evangelical United Brethren Church. All were thrown into jail under high bail which most of them could not raise. Bown and Ford have been in jail since October awaiting trial.

While the accused were in jail, the police raided the Braden home, as well as the residences of the other defendants, and carted off a considerable quantity of books, pamphlets and correspondence. This material covered a wide range. It included some Marxist titles but also many other books and magazines, including material widely circulated in the Protestant Episcopal Church, such as the weekly magazine, The Witness, and pamphlets published by the Episcopal League For Social Action.

Carl Braden was the first of the defendants to be brought to trial in the late fall. The State of Kentucky avoided the issue of the bombing of the Wade home like the plague. Instead it concentrated public attention almost exclusively on the literature seized illegally in the Braden home. The State brought in ten so-called "expert witnesses", names familiar to the general public as professional witnesses in many trials involving Communism, such as Manning Johnson and Leonard Patterson, Martha Edmiston, Matt Cvetic, Maurice Malkin and Benjamin Gitlow. No one of these had ever met the Bradens. They were brought in to testify about Communism and to imply that the literature found in the Braden home was such as Communists might have in their possession, and that the activities in which the Bradens admittedly had engaged were the type of activities encouraged by Communists.

The State of Kentucky carefully ignored a fact that might seem both relevant and crucial that two days after the purchase of the Wade house, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that "restrictive covenants and gentlemen's agreements"

were non-enforceable and in violation of the Constitution of the United States! In brief, the Bradens had broken no written law, only the unwritten law of Kentucky! No proof was produced linking them with the dynamiting, but at the very end of the trial a surprise State's witness was introduced in the person of a Mrs. Alberta Ahearn who testified that she had acted as an informer for the F.B.I. and had joined the Communist Party, being inducted into it by Carl Braden, in whose home the local unit allegedly met. Edward F. Boyle, special agent in charge of the Louisville F.B.I. office, issued a prepared statement to the press confirming Mrs. Ahearn's testimony about her informing: "Alberta Ahearn worked in a confidential capacity as an informant for the F.B.I. since January, 1951." This is astounding. The Louisville Courier-Journal carried a story dated May 6, 1951, describing the arrest and brief imprisonment of the same Mrs. Alberta Ahearn and Mrs. Anne Braden among forty-two demonstrators in Jackson, Mississippi, in connection with a public protest in the case of a Negro, Willie McGee; and another story in October of 1952 indicated that Mrs. Ahearn was at that time a member of the Jefferson County Committee of the Progressive Party and spoke publicly in behalf of its program over Radio Station WLOU. Ostensibly a militant anti-segregation leader soliciting the support of Louisville citizens, the F.B.I. now claims Mrs. Ahearn was one of its operatives since 1951! Obviously someone was engaged in duplicity or else misrepresenting the truth. Subsequent to the trial, the Louisville Defender brought out that the lady was convicted of disorderly conduct on a morals charge in 1952. This was the sole witness concerning the material matters of fact.

On the witness stand Carl Braden had testified that he was an avowed socialist in his views but he had denied under oath that he was at any time a member of the Communist Party. The Jury, however, concluded that the Bradens were Communists and had fomented the Shively disturbance in the interests of the "Communist conspiracy." Carl Braden, standing mute and stunned before the court, found himself sentenced for "criminal syndicalism and sedition" to fifteen years in the penitentiary and a $5,000 fine. The description of the trial can be gathered from Anne Braden's own words:

> "I really think that no matter what testimony had been offered, the outcome would have been the same. The hysteria created by the prosecution was so great that hardly any appeal to reason and justice would have broken through it. I was reminded in a very literal way of all I have ever heard of the original Salem witch-hunts. All of the repressed hatred in the community, all of the unreasoning fear of Communism and all the hysteria seemed bundled up in a little ball and hurled at Carl. He became a symbol instead of a human being."

The U.S. Constitution says that no citizen shall be subjected to excessive bail. The court proceeded to set $40,000 as the bail for Carl Braden pending his appeal—an amount no one of us in this congregation could conceivably raise. So he is in the Jefferson County Jail today, which he describes in these words:

"I sit in a 6-by-8 foot jail cell... My writing tablet is placed on top of a small box which is propped on my knees. I sit on an iron cot with my back against the steel wall, as there are no chairs in my cell. In fact, there are no other fixtures except a commode, a sink and a 2-by-2 foot ledge extending out from the opposite wall. This ledge is too high for anything, except to stand and eat off of it. They say conditions are better at La Grange Prison. I hope so."

How a man acts when he is punished for something that he did not do, or did do but for quite ethical and justifiable reasons, is an indication of the man's integrity of character and motivation. From prison Carl Braden writes the editor of The National Guardian:

"Many people have asked why Anne and I bought the house and then transferred it to Wade. As I stated at my trial, we felt we had a moral duty to do what we did. We could not be true to ourselves and to our beliefs if we did not respond to the call to help break down segregation in the vital area of housing.

"We felt that a blow against Jim Crow in housing would also be a blow against segregation in the schools. We saw that there would never really be integration in the schools without integration in housing.

"The reactionaries harped on the theme that my wife Anne and I had set back race relations here by many years when we helped Andrew Wade IV to move into a previously all-white neighborhood.

"They piously declare that race relations had been improved in recent years by the admission of Negroes to the Amphitheatre, the golf course, hospitals, public libraries and bus depots. They neglected to say that these gains were made as a result of a constant militant struggle by the progressive forces in Louisville and Kentucky.

"For example, the father of Andrew Wade IV was the moving force in a suit that opened the golf course. My wife Anne played a big part in the movement to open hospital facilities to Negroes... I give you this background to explain the special fury of the white supremacists when the Bradens and the Wades acted together to challenge Jimcrow housing.

"My wife and I are proud of the fact that we helped rip the mask off the sorry state of race relations in this community. We are glad that we helped expose the widespread lack of concern for those forced to live in the ghetto. We feel that the resulting improvements will more than make up for any personal difficulties we may have as a result of our action.

"Although I sit in a 6-by-8 foot jail cell facing fifteen years in prison, I have not changed my opinion. In fact, I am strengthened in the belief that our country is on the verge of great changes that will benefit the people."

On February 28, 1955, Anne Braden will go on trial. It will be curious to see if the same horrid pattern is to be repeated with all its nicety of premeditated and pre-arranged detail.

In a little while in this church this morning we shall kneel together at the Lord's Table for the Holy Communion, Negroes and whites—something that does not happen quite so easily or frequently in Louisville or in many another part of our country. Perhaps as we kneel this morning we Christians will do well if we think of this sister-communicant who is facing trial, and her two children, Jimmy, aged 3 1/2, and Anita, aged 2. In a letter a few days ago, she writes:

> "The communion service is a great source of strength to me, and now with all that has happened I am profoundly glad that I had previously found my way back to the church. Without the strength I have found there, I am not sure I could have come through the ordeal since last May as well as I have."

In the light of a personal tragedy of these social dimensions, we can see a good many things etched with clarity. It is not enough for the National Council of Churches to issue a pronouncement, as it did yesterday for Race Relations Sunday, calling for the bettering of race relations and commending desegregation in the public schools unless the National Council and its constituent bodies are prepared to face what happens to people who try to carry these commended Christian principles into concrete practice! Will the National Council and its constituent bodies say a good word for such militant Christians as the Bradens?

The Protestant Episcopal Church has a stake in this. Here are two of its communicant members, whose lives at least to some degree have been conditioned by the teachings of the Prayer Book and whose rediscovery of a relevant Christianity has been the work of men in the episcopacy and ministry whom the whole Church knows and recognizes as loyal exemplars of the Christian faith and life. What will the Protestant Episcopal Church do for these two individuals in their time of ordeal? Will it stop and bind up their wounds and take them to a place of safety, or will it pass by on the other side?

Criminal syndicalism, sedition and subversion are ugly words. In this case they have been thrown around deliberately and wholesale in their ugliest meaning. Yet, as one examines them, one finds little substance that stands up. Is the desire for simple racial justice seditious and subversive? When Anne Braden writes,

> "When Wade came to us and asked us to help him get a house, we were the people who, because of the accident of having been born with white skin, could help him. To my mind, if we had refused, we would have been guilty as those of whom Christ said, 'I was hungered and ye gave me no meat... naked, and ye clothed me not...
>
> "I suppose the fact that I think of that passage goes back to my childhood preoccupation with it..."

I want to say to Anne Braden: Would that more Christians in their childhood had such a preoccupation with the explicit injunctions of the Master that in their adulthood they might experience this same traumatic compulsion born of their childhood memories as to make them uncomfortable and ill-at-ease before injustice and unable to rest until they, too, do what you did, Anne—respond to a specific and concrete human appeal that was made to you!

Today, as a Wade came in his difficulties to an Anne Braden and her husband, an Anne Braden in her troubles turns to us. In her childhood she had the insight that the white people of Anniston, Alabama, were the ones who were being hurt by their own actions because they were destroying themselves spiritually. You and I can see that an America that remains indifferent to this sort of case in its very heart, involving individuals nourished at least in part by the creed and ethic of its Churches, is the one that is hurting itself because it is destroying itself spiritually.

Somehow I am less afraid for a Carl or an Anne Braden, or any of the other Louisville defendants, than I am afraid for ourselves, lest we stand revealed in this mechanized and atomized age as having become what the Bible calls men with hearts harder than flint, who have become ethically and spiritually de-humanized. Said Jesus, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

WHAT YOU CAN DO:

1. Write the Honorable Lawrence Weatherby, Governor of Kentucky, Frankfort, Kentucky.

2. Write to the Rt. Rev. Charles G. Marmion, D. D., Bishop of Kentucky, 421 South 2nd Street, Louisville 2, Kentucky, asking that the Bradens' Church stand by them.

3. Send a contribution to help in publicizing the Braden Case and meeting legal expenses by using the enclosed envelope and making out checks to Arthur H. Fawcett, Treasurer, Episcopal League For Social Action, 157 Montague Street, Brooklyn, New York. All amounts contributed over and above the cost of printing and postage will be transmitted to the Bradens in Louisville.

The Episcopal League For Social Action is a national unofficial organization made up of bishops, clergy and laymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, who are concerned with the application of Christian principles to the contemporary social order in such areas as international peace, civil liberties and social change.

They Broke The Unwritten Law

A Fact Sheet
On The Bombing
Of The Wade Home
At Louisville, Ky.

Andrew Wade Looks For A House

Andrew Wade IV is a young veteran of World War II.

Like most young people in America, Mr. Wade dreamed of owning a home of his own. In the winter of 1953-54, he set out to look for it in his home town of Louisville, Ky. He had a wife, a two-year-old daughter, and another child on the way.

He had about $1,400 in cash to make a down payment, and finding a home should have been easy. But it was not. The rub came because Andrew Wade IV is a Negro.

Mr. Wade and his wife looked in the Negro sections of Louisville, but they found no house of the type they wanted within their financial reach. On the outskirts of the city, there were hundreds of new homes of the kind they wanted. They tried to buy several of these, but they were turned away.

They had run into the **unwritten law.**

This UNWRITTEN LAW says that no Negro may buy in a neighborhood that has been set up as "all-white." This law has no moral standing; it has no standing as measured by the democratic ideals of America; and it has no legal standing whatsoever. In fact, the highest court of our land, the Supreme Court of the United States, has ruled against this law in holding that agreements that bar anyone from owning property because of race cannot be enforced in the courts.

But the unwritten law is enforced just the same.

It is enforced by secret agreements among real estate dealers and money lenders. The real estate men have an agreement that no property in so-called white neighborhoods will be sold to Negroes. The lenders have secret agreements that they will not lend money on such property to Negroes.

Andrew Wade IV felt that his rights as a human being under God, his rights as an American citizen, and the specific rights granted him by the ruling of the U. S. Supreme Court carried more weight than this immoral and illegal unwritten law.

The Unwritten Law Is Enforced

After being turned down in several attempts to buy homes for himself in the suburbs in Kentucky and Indiana, he found another house which he and his wife liked. It was on Rone Court near Shively, a suburb of Louisville. This time he did not try to buy it himself. He had learned that it was hopeless. Instead, he asked a white couple, Carl and Anne Braden, who were friends of his, to buy it and then transfer it to him and his wife as a favor. The Bradens did so.

The people who had made the **unwritten law** then set out to enforce it.

The Wades started moving into the house on Thursday, May 13. That night, an angry mob of about 20 men visited the home of the Bradens and threatened that harm would come to them, their house, and their children if the Wades were not out of the house on Rone Court in 24 hours. Both the Bradens and Wades received continuous threats from anonymous telephone callers.

On May 15, the picture window at the Wade home was broken with rocks. That night a cross was burned on the vacant lot next door to them. Later the same night, rifle shots were fired into the house. The Wades were asleep in a bedroom when this happened. One of the shots barely missed killing a friend who was spending the night with them.

The Shively Newsweek, a community newspaper, started a campaign against the Wades. One editorial called on citizens of the area to "take a firm stand now or take the consequences." A man, accused of former Ku Klux Klan activity, wrote to the Newsweek urging its readers to join the White Brotherhood to stop the formation of a "black beachhead" in every white community.

The Wades announced they would not be frightened out of the house. So the enforcers of the unwritten law took another tack. The company, which had insured the property, cancelled the insurance, and the bank, which held the mortgage, gave notice it would foreclose because of the cancellation of the insurance.

Many insurance companies refused to insure the property, but one finally agreed to do so. Insurance was obtained. The bank then sued to foreclose on its mortgage on a technicality anyway.

Meanwhile, police had set up a guard of the house. Some of the policemen seemed too friendly with the angry crowds that gathered around the house. So Wade asked friends to stay at the house with him. Many volunteered, both white and Negro. One of these was Vernon Bown, a white man who worked at night. He agreed to come to the house and stay during the day so Mrs. Wade, who was pregnant, would not have to be there alone.

The Community Supports Wade

The opposition to the Wades did not represent the sentiment of the community. Citizens from all over Louisville, both white and Negro, called on them to offer support. A number of white ministers spoke out in their behalf. Many neighbors privately expressed their friendship, but said they feared mob action against themselves if they were too open about it.

By the end of June, Wade had decided not to fight the foreclosure suit on the property but to obtain another loan to cover the mortgage. A Negro financial institution had said it would grant the loan and scheduled a board meeting for Monday, June 28, to give final approval.

Just after midnight, in the early morning of June 27, dynamite exploded under the Wade house. It tore one side of the house to pieces, doing $5,500 damage. The Wades and friends were on a porch at the time of the explosion, and by something like a miracle no one was hurt. But the explosion had served its purpose. The financial institution which had agreed to take up the mortgage on the property could not do so because the property was not in livable condition. The bank pushed its foreclosure suit, which is still in the courts.

Louisville citizens demanded that the criminals who bombed the house be caught. At one point, the Louisville chief of police told several persons that county police, in whose jurisdiction the Wade house lies, had a confession from the man who set the dynamite. He said he had information that the same people were planning to bomb the Braden home, and a 24-hour watch was set up there.

Nobody Arrested But Wade's Friends

But all summer went by, and no one was arrested for blowing up the Wade residence.

There were other arrests though. Wade and a friend were arrested one night on a charge of disturbing the peace because Wade was trying to take the friend into his own house. In August, Carl Braden was taken into Criminal Court on a charge of voting twice in the primary election — something that all concerned later admitted was just an honest error.

Finally, in the middle of September, under pressure from Wade and his supporters. A. Scott Hamilton, Commonwealth's Attorney of Louisville and Jefferson County, agreed to submit the bombing to the Grand Jury for investigation.

The Grand Jury investigation immediately turned into an attack on the very people who had asked for it — Wade and his supporters. The attack turned especially on the white supporters of Wade. These people were asked questions concerning their political beliefs and their reading habits. Hamilton announced to the public that he was doing

this because "some people" thought the purchase of the house and the bombing was a "communist plot."

Many of those questioned refused to answer such questions, saying this had nothing to do with the bombing. They said Hamilton was stirring up a red scare as a smokescreen for his failure to bring to justice the people who blew up the house. Some of those who refused to answer were jailed for contempt.

Meanwhile, toward the end of the investigation, Mr. Wade's father sat in the waiting room near the Grand Jury room for three full days with a list of questions in his hand. These questions pertained to angles of the case he thought the Grand Jury had failed to investigate — angles linking Ku Klux Klan elements to the bombing. He was never given a chance to present these questions to the Jury.

The Guilty Go Free

Instead, on October 1, the Grand Jury returned an indictment, charging Vernon Bown with bombing the house. Bown, the white man who had answered Wade's call for a volunteer to stay at the house during the day, was out of town the weekend the house was blown up.

Bown was also charged with sedition, under an old Kentucky law, vague in its wording and never tested in the courts.

The Grand Jury also returned sedition indictments against five other white persons. They are:

Carl and Anne Braden, the couple who sold the house to the Wades and who themselves had faced constant threats of violence from May until September.

Miss Larue Spiker, an unemployed grainmill worker, who was among those who had gone to the Wades and offered her support and in the past had been outspoken against segregation.

Miss Louise Gilbert, a social worker, who had been instrumental in sending to residents of the Shively community a letter asking good will toward the Wades.

I. O. Ford, a 79-year-old retired river boat captain, also outspoken against segregation, but whose only connection with the Wade case was that he lived with Bown.

On November 4, an additional indictment was returned against the Bradens, Ford, and Bown. The indictment also named Lewis Lubka, a union shop steward at the Louisville G. E. plant who had helped guard the Wade home.

The five were accused of conspiring to blow up the Wade home to achieve a political end.

These people each face a possible sentence of 21 years in prison plus a $10,000 fine on each charge.

Bown faces an additional possible 10-year sentence on the bombing charge.

Already, the first person to be tried, Carl Braden, received a 15-year sentence and $5,000 fine on the sedition charge.

Meanwhile, the Ku Kluxers who blew up the house roam the Louisville community free, and the real estate and banking interests who enforce the **unwritten law** think they have done their duty.

But in the end it is the people who will decide whether they will be allowed to enforce their illegal law in this way — and whether such an unwritten law will be allowed to operate in opposition to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Issued By The Wade Defense Committee

Rev. C. Ewbank Tucker, Chairman **422 S. 6th St., Louisville, Ky.**

Send all funds to Mrs. Maeme Brock, Treasurer, 2502 West Madison, Louisville, Ky.

LOUISVILLE TRAVESTY

Andrew Wade IV, Mrs. Wade, and their children. They wanted a house in the suburbs and with the aid of the Bradens they bought one. When the policeman shown on the front cover was not so close, the house was bombed by hoodlums. The Wades still own the house and have expressed their intention of moving back into it when it is repaired.

PREFACE

Louis Redding's account of what happened in Louisville reads like a Nazi nightmare. But Mr. Redding, trained in law and evidence, has kept himself to a sober account of a fantastic situation. It is when you set this pamphlet down that you say to yourself: "This is impossible. It couldn't happen." But it did.

As these words are written, the man who helped a friend to buy a home for his family was behind bars 7 months, unable to raise the extravagant $40,000 bail bond demanded, convicted to spend 15 years in prison for this crime of human charity. The quiet-spoken but determined woman who believes that her allegiance to the Church of the Brethren requires her to act on Christian precepts is at liberty on $10,000 bond. Her offense: she distributed a letter to residents in a white neighborhood asking them to use compassion in welcoming a Negro family. Her bond of $10,000: compare it with the sums mentioned in your daily paper as required of burglars, arsonists, hit-and-run drivers.

What happened in Louisville flows directly out of Senator McCarthy's diseased performances, out of Attorney General Brownell's fearful demands that the few shreds of protection left the citizen under the Bill of Rights be torn from him. It shows what can be expected to happen to ordinary men and women of good will if they continue to acquiesce in the spate of laws that began in 1940 with the Smith Act, shearing away our liberties one by one.

Out of their lack of faith in the American people, the enemies of liberty have dredged the ignoble concept that those

with whom they disagree are "disloyal," "subversive," "seditious." A vast network of secret police has been set up in this land of the free and home of the brave to harry and to hound those who do not conform with the pattern set down by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce in 1946 when it blueprinted these schemes to regiment the minds of a free people.*

Louisville is the product of this miasma. Mr. Redding, the distinguished attorney who represented the school children in the Delaware segregation cases before the Supreme Court, here tells the story of the Louisville travesty. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, of whose executive board Mr. Redding is a member, places these facts before you so that you may act. What happened in Louisville can happen in your community, if we do not stand by the victims of this "sedition" case. We must let the clear sunshine of fact and reason dissipate this nightmare.

HARVEY O'CONNOR, *Chairman*

Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

November, 1955

**For a free copy of "Master Plan of U. S. Thought Control" by I. F. Stone send 3c postage to E.C.L.C., 421 Seventh Ave., New York 1, N. Y.*

LOUISVILLE TRAVESTY

by LOUIS REDDING

A bomb exploding under the small home of a young Negro ex-Navy man just past midnight on June 27, 1954, quite expectedly wrecked his house, evicted him and his little family and forced them out of a tiny, crude new subdivision outside Louisville, Kentucky. Ejection by bomb, however, was not the only repercussion of Andrew Wade IV's attempt to provide his family with a decent home in an ordinary neighborhood which white persons could occupy without incident.

In this hub of approximately half a million people on the southern shore of the Ohio River, traditional divide between North and South, smoldering passions erupted. Here, in a borderland where sectional customs and differences often merge and blur, the special social mores of the South were memorably dramatized. Such intemperateness, intolerance and fear emerged as to suppress for perhaps a long time Louisville's placid pride in its "record of race relations." With what seems miraculous perversity, the official investigation of the bombing has showered grave charges of sedition and criminal conspiracy upon the heads of a variety of persons whose existences previously evinced no illegality.

One of these is Carl Braden, a newspaper copyreader. To his professional efficiency, his objectivity and unwillingness to inject his personal opinions into his work, his long-time coworkers attest. Convicted on December 13 of advocating sedition in violation of a Kentucky statute, he was imprisoned by a sentence of fifteen years and a fine of $5,000. If he should be unable, as he is, to pay the fine, he must work it out at the rate of $2 per day, thus lengthening his imprisonment to approxi-

Mr. and Mrs. Carl Braden

mately twenty-two years. Pending decision on appeal, he is free under $40,000 bail, the highest ever set in Kentucky. The greater part of this money was raised by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Moreover, he faces still another indictment. Altogether, the freedom of seven persons is bitterly imperiled by criminal charges carrying substantial penalties.

II

The origin of all of this, as has already been suggested, was a young Negro's quest for a home. Twenty thousand new homes have been built in the Louisville community in the last five years. The *Louisville Courier-Journal,* noting this housing

boom, although not in the context of l'affaire Wade, says: "There has been almost no activity in the provision of new housing for Negroes." It further comments: "The many buildings razed here recently to make room for parking lots, new commercial and industrial developments, were in many instances occupied by Negro families."

A handful of Louisville Negroes have pleasant—and some handsome—homes. Of the 60,000 Negroes of the city, however, many live in irremediable slums typified in muddy, unpaved "Little Africa" around 35th and Stratton, or alley dwellings hidden behind a facade of obsolescent business buildings.

To house his family decently, Andrew Wade IV was forced ultimately to look beyond the conventional purlieus of Negro segregation. Upon his return from the Navy he had joined his father, Andrew Wade, Jr., in the latter's electrical sales, service, and contracting business. He had $1,500 in savings and the expectancy of continued regular income with which to finance a home. With less money and slimmer prospects thousands of armed forces veterans, aided by Federal agencies, had embarked on home ownership in new subdivisions all over America.

Young Wade undertook several negotiations for a house around Louisville. Each time he was turned away because he was a Negro. Several times his deposit on houses was returned. Hoping for more favorable attitudes across the Ohio River in nearby Indiana, he tried to buy a house there, only to encounter the same frustration.

Ultimately he approached Carl Braden, whom he knew. Braden, 40, had worked for the *Louisville Courier-Journal* for four years, and before that for the *Louisville Times*. He sprang from a Socialist labor family indigenous to Kentucky for five generations. He had been reporter or correspondent for a

number of newspapers. He had edited labor periodicals. He had been active in the Progressive Party and had a local reputation for opposition to segregation. His wife, Anne McCarty Braden, ten years younger, shared her husband's interests. Born in Kentucky, reared in Mississippi and Alabama, she had gone to college in Virginia and later worked on newspapers in the South. She was a member of the Executive Committee of the Louisville Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. She was a friend of and to Negroes. Injustices against them she felt with a deep sense of personal shame. An intelligent, quietly vibrant, articulate young woman, she has no difficulty conveying the revulsion she feels at racial proscriptions on legal rights.

Andrew Wade IV also for a time had been a member of the Progressive Party but had left six years before he went to Braden and requested Braden to buy a house and transfer it to him. When Wade presented his request, the Bradens countered with a suggestion that he try to find a house in the neighborhood in Louisville where the Bradens lived, where there were a few Negro families. Wade, however, wanted to live in the country, where his child and another his wife was expecting would have air and play space. He was not interested in having a house in Louisville.

The first two attempts by Braden to buy a home for Wade aborted. Once another purchaser got the house before Braden. Another time the down payment was too high.

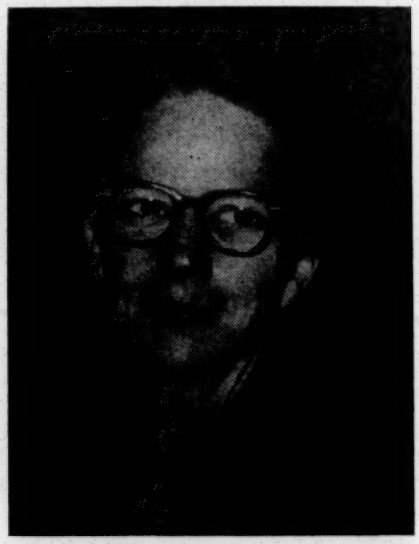
Finally, Wade found a house in a semi-rural development near Shively, two or three miles outside of Louisville. Three other houses, practically alike, built by a man named James I. Rone and occupied by whites, were scattered along a short, unpaved, rutty lane known as "Rone Court." The house, freshly new, was a square bungalow type, containing bath, two bed-

rooms, a living room and kitchen. The exterior was a veneer of Indiana limestone. Without a cellar, it sat above the ground on a cement block base. Inexpensive in construction and appearance, the cost was $11,300. Wade IV and his family put up $1,400. The balance was financed by two mortgages. Title was conveyed to Carl and Anne Braden, and they transferred it to Andrew Wade IV.

III

Rone, the developer of Rone Court, lived nearby. On May 13, he saw Wade moving his furniture in and inquired whether he had rented the house. Wade replied that he had bought it and asked Rone when he was going to repair certain defective work on the house. Rone, upset, said, "I don't have time to talk about that now. I've got things to do," and left. Two hours

Lewis Lubka, Secretary, Wade Defense Committee and, at time of bombing, shop steward of IUE-CIO.



Miss LaRue Spiker, social worker, former president of Louisville Local Grainmillers Union, AFL.

later a large crowd assembled at Rone's house diagonally across the road from Wade's.

Later the same evening about twenty people, led by Rone and the real estate broker who had handled the sale to the Bradens, arrived at the Bradens' home, several miles from the Wades,' and demanded that Carl Braden get the Wades out of the Rone Court house. Members of this mob threatened the Braden family, Carl, Anne, and their son and daughter, ages one and two.

The following day Rone went to Wade and offered to buy back the house. Wade refused to sell.

On May 16, the Wades had settled in the house. That afternoon while they were away for a time, rocks were thrown through the windows. In the evening, after they had returned, a cross was burned on an adjoining lot. About 2 A.M., eight or ten shots were fired into the house. No one was injured.

Shortly after these events the insurance company canceled its fire policy. The federal savings and loan association which held the primary mortgage then gave notice that because the property was no longer insured the mortgage was being recalled, and demanded immediate payment. The house was reinsured by an individual who, solely on principle, wished to help make sure that a Negro was not forced out of his home for lack of insurance. However, about the middle of June the Bradens were notified that their transfer to the Wades, without prior consent of the mortgagee, violated the contract of sale. For this violation, immediate payment of the mortgage loan again was demanded. This demand was followed by the filing of a foreclosure suit in which the court was asked to declare the mortgage due and order the property sold. This suit the Wades are contesting. In an examination incident to the foreclosure Wade's attorney obtained an admission that, because Wade is a Negro,

the mortgage-holding institution would not have consented to Braden's transferring the property to him.

The *Shively Newsweek,* published in the community near the Wade home, ran a spate of white supremacist, Negrophobe articles and letters which a grand jury later condemned as tending "to incite people and encourage racial animosity." The newspaper reviled the Bradens and the Wades. It called for ousting of the Wades.

Hostile gatherings in front of or near the Wades' home were common; motorists drove slowly through bumpy Rone Court yelling imprecations and threats. Police were assigned to guard the Wade home.

Constant telephone threats came to the Bradens immediately after the Wades moved to Rone Court and continued for several weeks.

Under the impact of the threats to her family, Anne Braden beseeched Wade to move out of the house in Rone Court. He refused. A Louisville newspaper already had quoted him as saying, "We intend to live here or die here."

A "Wade Defense Committee" was formed, composed of whites and Negroes. It sought to raise money to liquidate the mortgage and circumvent foreclosure. It recruited individuals who augmented or relieved Wade's personal friends as guardians of the house. One person enlisted by this committee, Vernon Bown, whose employment was at night, moved into the dwelling to provide daytime protection for Mrs. Wade while her husband was at work. This move, Wade says, was shortly after the police on June 12 removed their day watchman.

IV

No prosecution for the rock-throwing or shooting had occurred to discourage further depredation. But violence, threats

of violence, the foreclosure action—nothing seemed to daunt the Wades. They did wish to live in their new house and were adjusting toward a normal existence there, despite such inconveniences as the refusal of milk and newspaper deliveries.

Then about 12:30 A.M., Sunday, June 27, an explosion shook the dwelling and tore out the side of the house where the bedrooms were located. The Wades were not in bed. They were on the porch on the opposite side. About midnight they had returned from a Saturday evening's diversion, spent with their little daughter, sitting along the river in nearby Indiana. En route home they had left their child, as they customarily did on Saturday evening, with Wade's parents in Louisville, so that the following morning she might be taken to Sunday School. Two friends, Melvin Edwards and Tellus Wicker, had volunteered to watch the house while the Wades were away. Upon their return Wicker related that he had seen the momentary glinting of lights. It had appeared that signals were being exchanged by flashlights between a point on Wade's property and the home of James Rone's son, "Buster," across the road. At the moment of Wicker's telling, Wade attached no importance to the information. A few minutes later the horrifying concussion gave it sinister significance.

V

The Louisville press reacted with indignation to the bombing. However, on the basic issue of defying the institution of segregation, implicit in Wade's moving into Rone Court, their attitudes varied.

The Louisville Times deplored "the brutal, stupid violence at the Wades' home." It considered that "an understandable error" had been made by the Wades "in moving into a white

neighborhood in Shively" and condemned the Bradens for the "inexcusable blunder" making that possible. Not only then but in every editorial expression, the Louisville dailies took a uniform position of caustic and bitter disapproval of the Bradens for "buying by subterfuge in a white community a house which they turned over to a Negro."

The Louisville Defender, Negro-published, took a different view. It emphasized that the Wades had "every legal right to live unmolested in Rone Court" and that Jefferson County in providing "only token police protection" had "failed miserably in upholding the rights of the Wades."

Both papers pointed out the fatal consequences which easily might have ensued from the explosion. "The crime of murder" was "only accidentally" avoided, the *Courier-Journal* declared.

VI

Immediately the Wade Defense Committee requested a county judge to order a court of inquiry to probe into the bombing. He refused. The committee then went to Commonwealth's Attorney A. Scott Hamilton and requested him to investigate. He invited the committee, none of whom were shown to be near the explosion, to go before the grand jury.

Pervasive throughout the community was the story that the police knew the culprit, or culprits, in the bombing and that arrest was imminent. It was implied that sheer antagonism to the Wades' presence in Rone Court animated someone living in the neighborhood to bomb the house.

Although the scene of the crime near Shively was in rural Jefferson County and just outside the bailiwick of the Louisville chief of police, this official had reason for keeping well informed, for the menace of violence spilled over into the city of Louisville.

Soon after the Rone Court bombing it seems that the city chief of police heard that some of the persons involved in the dynamiting were planning also to blow up the Bradens' home in Louisville. In any event, the Louisville police chief warned Braden that such information had been received and advised Braden to remove his children from the house. The Louisville police, too, had to guard the home of Mrs. Wade's mother.

Braden says also that in early July he was told by Louisville Police Chief Huestis that "a man involved in the dynamiting had confessed" and that the crime was the work of ignorant hoodlums.

The Chief confirmed this position during the investigation, saying, "It was my impression that a semiconfession had been made and that county police were in position to make an arrest." Statements of counsel in the case indicate that Commonwealth's Attorney Hamilton, when he was being pressed for enforcement action in the summer, contributed definitely to the same impression. However, when the September grand jury began its inquiry County Police Chief Layman insisted that the city police chief was mistaken—that the only admission had come from persons who acknowledged setting a fire on their own property but denied burning a cross. It appears, nevertheless, that three of Wade's neighbors did admit to the grand jury that they burned the cross on May 16. They denied that they hurled the rocks or shot into the house or bombed it. One of the three who acknowledged burning the cross was Buster Rone. Another was his brother-in-law.

Who, then, was responsible for the bombing? The Commonwealth's Attorney, Hamilton, had an "answer"—not those hostile elements in the community who earlier had participated in terrorism against Wade, but those who attempted to help him. The theory Hamilton presented to the grand jury was

that Braden's purchase of the house for Wade, and the bombing, were one integral plot by subversive Communists to create racial friction and violence.

The shock with which Hamilton's hypothesis was first received was swiftly succeeded by sharp criticism. The Louisville paper (nominally two papers, the morning *Courier-Journal* and the afternoon *Times,* with Barry Bingham president and Mark Ethridge publisher of both) condemned Hamilton's "attempting to cover up failure by putting on the performance of a minor-league Joe McCarthy." Said the paper: "Bad enough was the explosion that wrecked the place June 27. Worse is the fact that nearly three months have passed without the authorities discovering the criminal, or criminals, responsible." Still worse, it declared, was Hamilton's cover-up.

What took place in that grand jury chamber was never secret. It quickly became general knowledge that Carl and Anne Braden and others summoned there were being interrogated by Hamilton and his assistant, Laurence Higgins, about their political beliefs, their associations with organizations and individuals. The Bradens declined to answer such questions, not on the ground of self-incrimination, but because the questions had nothing to do with the cause of the explosion at Wade's home. Additionally, as Anne Braden put the matter, it was "beyond the power of the grand jury or the Commonwealth's Attorney to inquire into the private opinion of any citizen, what he reads, or what organizations he belongs to." They said the official inquiry was a "witch hunt." The *Courier-Journal* applied the same term to the investigation and "regretted deeply that Judge Curtis lent himself to this display of local McCarthyism" by ruling that the Bradens should answer such questions—a ruling never complied with by them.

Four other persons who had indicated support for the

Wades refused to answer such questions. They were taken before a criminal court judge and jailed for contempt. Witnesses who resisted such questions by invoking an express constitutional right were brought into court, so that a judge might rule on their refusal. There the pollution of the atmosphere of the inquiry by prosecution bias and passion was exposed to public view. The public prosecutor's one primary and overriding obligation—to see that even-handed justice is done—was abandoned. Hamilton loudly characterized these witnesses as "ashamed of themselves." Higgins, his assistant, vehemently assailed them as "Fifth Amendment Communists." All of them subsequently were indicted for advocating sedition or for conspiring to bomb for a political end. Thus ultimately they were revealed as the quarry of the prosecutors who had publicly denounced their resort to their constitutional privilege.

This public denunciation by the prosecution is part of a picture in which, hovering conspicuously over the initiation of the charges, is seen unfairness and passion akin to that which incited the hurling of rocks and blasting of bullets into the little home where the Wades huddled. Neither the civil rights of the Wades nor the civil liberties of their defenders remained inviolate when meanness and hate ruled unchecked.

Some people in Louisville see this attack on the civil liberties of Wade's defenders as calculated to frighten the Wades into abandoning their property rights. If that was the design, it seems to have misfired, for Andrew Wade IV has always maintained that he wishes to repair the Rone Court dwelling and move his family back there. With his savings tied up in a wrecked house and his family still in need of a place to live, whether economic necessity, and not fear, will make him yield remains to be seen.

Other incidents also denote the intemperateness which

characterized the conduct of the prosecutor's office and defiled the right to an impartial investigation. Commonwealth's Attorney Hamilton reportedly referred to a radio broadcast critical of his handling of the inquiry as "the most malicious God-damned thing I ever heard." Immediately he "invited" the commentator before the grand jury and there lectured him on the responsibilities of newsmen. Five minutes after the commentator left the grand jury's presence Hamilton is said to have apologized to him, telling him that he [Hamilton] recognized the broadcaster was doing his job.

On the day before this incident Hamilton had taken another reporter into court and moved to have him jailed for contempt, without appeal or bond, because the reporter declined before the grand jury to answer questions relating to a source of information received by him as a newspaper reporter. But the prosecutor quickly withdrew the motion when the reporter's lawyer, former Federal Housing Administrator Wilson Wyatt, asserting that a Kentucky statute protected news sources, offered to challenge the contempt proceeding by habeas corpus. On the issue of fairness, it is significant that this reporter's "news source" was another of the seven persons whose indictment Hamilton, portrayed as a pistol-carrying prosecutor, was to obtain.

VII

On October 1, the Jefferson County grand jury returned three indictments charging a total of six persons with crimes.

All six were charged with sedition. Five were named in a joint indictment which in part charges them with "the crime of advocating, suggesting or teaching the duty, necessity, propriety or expediency of criminal syndicalism or sedition."

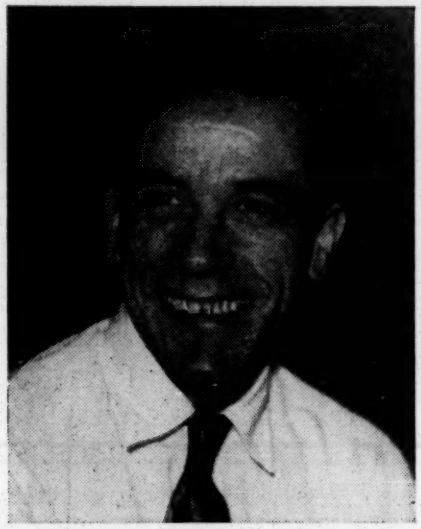
Oddly, the same crime is charged in another indictment

which renames one of the five and includes the sixth person, Vernon Bown.

A third indictment also charges that Bown, who had moved into Wade's house with the declared purpose of helping protect it, "exploded dynamite in or near the house." Perhaps, quickly, it should be mentioned that from the beginning of the inquiry Bown has invited the prosecution to investigate his alleged defense: that he left the Wade home two days before the explosion with the intention of attending a family reunion in Wisconsin; that he did go to Wisconsin and was not again at Wade's house until two days after the explosion. The Commonwealth's announced theory is that a radio battery, part of which was found near the house, was used to detonate the bomb. In view of Bown's asserted defense it is significant that the Commonwealth's electronics expert concedes that such a battery would go dead within a half-hour after being rigged with an explosive charge.

One week before these indictments were handed down Bown had been indicted for contempt as a consequence of declining to answer questions before the grand jury.

Besides Carl Braden, Anne Braden and Bown, those charged with sedition are Louise Gilbert, Larue Spiker, and I. O. Ford. Miss Gilbert, a professional social worker, had helped circulate a letter in hostile Shively entreating tolerance and understanding for the Wades. Miss Spiker, who shared an apartment with Miss Gilbert, although trained as a social worker worked in a Louisville mill and was active in the A. F. L. She had tried to organize support for Wade among people she knew in the labor movement and others in Louisville. Ford, 79, a retired riverboat captain, born in Bloomington, Illinois, says he inherited Socialist ideology from his father. Ford talks freely of his candidacies in the early 1930's on the Communist Party ticket for governor



Vernon Bown, Teamsters Union, AFL., indicted for the actual bombing although at that time he was in Wisconsin.

Miss Louise Gilbert, social worker and former chairman, Louisville Branch, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

of Ohio and mayor of Cleveland. He maintains that he later left the Communist Party.

On November 4, the grand jury returned a fourth indictment. This one charged the Bradens, Bown, Ford, and Lewis Lubka, a union shop steward in a General Electric plant, with conspiring to damage property [by bombing] to achieve a political end—communism.

Thus, against these seven persons, all white and identified in some manner with giving aid and comfort to a Negro in his challenge to a social taboo, a total of thirteen criminal charges was brought. Bown faces four charges: contempt, sedition, conspiring to damage property for a political end, and bombing. Braden and Ford were each charged with two offenses: sedition and conspiring to damage property for a political end. Miss

Gilbert and Miss Spiker are charged with sedition only, and Lubka is charged only in the conspiracy indictment.

VIII

Carl Braden's trial under the sedition indictment began November 29 and concluded with a verdict of guilty on December 13. His punishment, under Kentucky law, was fixed by the jury.

Reports of his trial in the local dailies, read by a disinterested lawyer, could induce only the opinion that it was neither fair nor impartial. The statement, "This is no circus," repeatedly made by the trial judge to spectators applauding a professional informer testifying as a prosecution witness, or otherwise demonstrating, gives hint of the atmosphere in the courtroom.

Commonwealth attorneys indulged in flagrant and coarse impropriety inconsistent with the traditional concept of fairness. We can start with an example which occurred near the beginning of the trial.

After the Commonwealth's Attorney opened by explaining to the jury the prosecution's case and before the introduction of any evidence, Braden's attorney made his opening statement, delineating to the jury the nature of the defense to be offered. At one point he was explaining that Braden had been selected as correspondent for a certain press service "in recognition of the fact that he is a skilled writer." Interrupting, the assistant prosecutor, Higgins, blurted out, "What about his being a correspondent for *The Daily Worker*?" This interjection was improper, and a gross, prejudicial interference. In most courts it would have brought, at the least, instant judicial reprimand to the prosecutor and a direction from the judge to the jury to disregard the remark. Apparently, all that happened here was defense counsel's rejoinder, "We will show that he is not."

Andrew Wade IV was called by the prosecution as its second witness. A handsome, virile-appearing young man, he is intelligent, literate and well-spoken. His looks suggest Latin origin. Perhaps only in the United States, and not always here, would his appearance impede his acculturation. At least twice while Wade IV was on the stand Commonwealth's Attorney Hamilton required Wade to identify himself as "colored" and "Negro," the prosecutor declaiming that this was "just for the record, and it makes no difference to me." What purpose this served other than to inject racial prejudice into the minds of the all-white jury is difficult to fathom.

While Wade was on the stand, Hamilton read aloud a letter addressed "Dear Shively Resident," which merely besought tolerance for the Wades. Wade testified he had not seen the letter and did not know its author. It was patent that Braden, the defendant on trial, was not the author or distributor of the letter. The letter was utterly incompetent as proof of the sedition charge against him since all it did was urge racial tolerance. Apart from an aim to play on the possible prejudices of the jurors and thus stimulate hostility toward the defendant, this excursion of the prosecution is utterly incomprehensible.

In cross-examining a professional government informer, defense counsel asked him whether he had once testified in a Washington hearing that he would lie "a thousand times." The witness answered by saying that the only time he had lied under oath was in San Francisco. However, when it appeared that *The Nation* magazine was the source upon which defense counsel based his question as to whether the witness had testified he would lie, Commonwealth's Attorney Hamilton exclaimed before the jury: "*The Nation* ought to be on the subversive list if it isn't."

Hamilton once made a courtroom threat in the presence

of the judge that he would take one of the defense lawyers before the grand jury. This drew from a colleague in the defense the protest that the Commonwealth's Attorney was attempting to intimidate defense counsel.

On another occasion the prosecution lawyers, Hamilton and Higgins, took the witness stand. Their testimony was designed to alter the impression that a certain document which they offered as found in Braden's home had actually come from another's. Braden denied the document was his or in his home. From the testimony of two newspaper reporters it had appeared that the prosecution had mixed and confused documents taken from the home of some other person with those seized at Braden's house.

The prosecution insisted on presenting in Braden's trial on the charge of advocating sedition evidence relating to another and different offense, namely, the bombing of the Wade house. The prosecution brought forth testimony of a so-called "electronics expert," who expounded his theory of the manner in which the bomb *could have been* detonated. No evidence remotely associated Braden with the bombing.

The Commonwealth lawyers, however, had elicited from one of their professional witnesses, an avowed renegade from the Communists, the following: "We [Communists] were told to utilize any grievance the Negro has to stir up situations that provoke acts of violence." And the same witness, asked by prosecution counsel what would happen to the property of white people in Kentucky in a Communist Negro state, testified that *the program calls for* taking land from white owners for distribution to Negroes.

Braden had transferred a house from whites to the home-hungry young Wade, a Negro. The house later was despoiled by violence. The jury, indoctrinated and inflamed by the

embracive exegesis of Communist doctrine and deviltry glibly projected by nine witnesses, self-proclaimed apostates from or hired spies upon Red intrigue, could infer that what Braden did fitted into the alleged general Communist pattern. None of the nine—Cvetic, Gitlow, Glatis, Manning Johnson, Strunk, etc. —knew Carl Braden or personally could connect him with the Communist Party. They testified to such parts of their putative personal biographies as qualified them as informers. They gave versions of unverifiable Communist machinations by persons unconnected with Braden, in places where he was never shown to be and remote from Louisville, Kentucky. Through this blunderbuss assault, the Commonwealth's lawyers implied that Braden was a Communist. Being such, he was guilty, according to them, of advocating sedition.

Braden defended by testifying that he had never been a member of the Communist Party. He explained his ownership of books, pamphlets and other documents which the professional witnesses for the prosecution had labeled "communistic" by his interest in politics and public affairs and his special interest in labor and social history. Identifying various books he owned, as part of his defense he went through the quixotic performance of trying to convince the jury that neither such authors as Tolstoi, Pushkin or Chekhov nor such publishers as Vanguard Press and Doubleday and Company could be considered "subversive" or Communist.

Braden's denial of Communist Party affiliation opened the way for the Commonwealth to produce in rebuttal a "confidential informant" of the F.B.I. to contradict him. Although the trial had begun on November 29, the prosecutor declared he did not know until December 10 that this witness, one Alberta Ahearn, would be available to him. A professional acrobatic dancer turned seamstress before winning employment as an

F.B.I. informer, her appearance as a witness was sensational drama.

She testified she first went to the F.B.I. with information "in 1948 or 1949" and that beginning in 1951 the F.B.I. compensated her, her starting pay of $50 per month rising to $125 per month, plus expenses. She became a member of the Communist Party in January, 1951, in Braden's home, she testified.

The Record, publication of the Catholic Archdiocese of Louisville, portrayed the black-haired, 44-year-old witness as follows: "Clothed in black, well rehearsed and completely self-assured, Mrs. Ahearn was the picture of a lady spy; so perfect, indeed, that Edward O'Boyle, head of the F.B.I. office here, was called to the witness stand to testify that she was real."

Testing of her credibility was checkmated. When Braden's counsel asked the local F.B.I. head if he had records of reports Ahearn allegedly had made, the United States Attorney arose and intoned, "The United States objects." After the abracadabra, "security regulations," was uttered, the trial judge sustained the objection.

Another Louisville weekly remarked: "The defense could not legally introduce evidence about the character of Alberta Ahearn, evidence which might have made the jury doubt her unsupported word."

Braden went back on the stand and denied her accusations against him. Three of four other people she identified as Communists have promptly and publicly controverted her testimony as to themselves. One of these was a Negro newspaperman. According to a press story published in Louisville containing his denial, Mrs. Ahearn and he about two years before —in 1952, while she was an employee of the F.B.I.—"were caught together on River Road . . . pleaded guilty to a morals charge and were fined in County Court."

IX

The trial affected one Louisville editor, obviously not sympathetic to Braden and gloating that he had been "effectively silenced," with queasy disquietude. The *Kentucky Irish American,* of which Mike Barry is editor, conspicuously announces that it was established on that most celebrated of patriotic holidays, July 4 (1898). After Braden's trial Barry wrote: "Unfortunately, we have some doubt that the punishment he deserves was legally inflicted."

Barry was aware of defects and evils in the prosecution's case. He catalogued some of them: The Kentucky sedition statute is of questionable constitutionality. The indictment perhaps insufficiently informed Braden of the charge. "The parade of 'professional witnesses' was a travesty on justice." The jury, "surrounded by the emotional atmosphere of the whole community . . . knew the verdict their neighbors wanted"; it was "impossible that" they "could have failed to consider what would have happened to them had they acquitted the defendant . . . —suspicion, ostracism and open insult."

Barry's editorial is remarkable in its candor and because it reeks of the uneasy, half-guilty feeling prevalent around Louisville: irrespective of unfortunate irregularity in the means and procedures employed, punishment of this man Braden, who transferred to a Negro a house in a "white neighborhood," is a desirable objective.

Barry ended: "It is a victory for the right, but the troubling question remains that we may have won it in the wrong way."

There are those who believe that any conviction of Braden could have been accomplished only in a "wrong way." To such persons it was a fundamental and fantastic wrong to pervert the Kentucky sedition statute, untested in its thirty-four years' history, to encompass the acute harassment of a trial and the

onus of this man's imprisonment. They say that perhaps his only offense was an act contrary to the social mores prevalent in Kentucky: he aided a Negro circumvent in a small degree the racial segregation which is a Kentucky way of life.

That an unused Kentucky statute should be the means of Braden's bedevilment and an impending threat to his co-defendants is an irony of history. For it was at the behest of the Kentucky legislature that Jefferson drafted the "Kentucky Resolutions of 1798," condemning the Federal Sedition Act of 1798 as a measure "which does abridge the freedom of the press, is not a law, but is altogether void and of no effect."

These Kentucky Resolutions were posited not only on the indivisible guarantee of freedom of speech and of the press contained in the First Amendment but on the assumption by the Federal government of "undelegated powers" reserved to the states. The wheel now seems to have turned full circle. Recently the Pennsylvania Supreme Court invalidated the Pennsylvania sedition statute on the ground that in enacting it the State was "intruding in a matter where the national interest is obviously paramount" and the Federal government's control, exercised under the Smith Act, "must be exclusive."

This legal doctrine or perhaps the mass of errors that Braden's attorneys assert pervaded his trial may eventually spell reversal of his conviction.

Meanwhile, he and his co-defendants may at length reflect whether it was only their actively expressed repugnance to racial discrimination which, at such great cost to the Commonwealth of Kentucky, subjects them to indurate persecution. Are they victims of "the opportunity" the Pennsylvania Supreme Court says a state sedition statute "presents for the indulgence of personal spite and hatred or for furthering some selfish advantage or ambition . . ."?

I. O.
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by hi

ord, former river boat captain being released from jail after ECLC
bond through attorney C. Ewbank Tucker (rear) and greeted
friend Vernon Bown (right).

CONTRIBUTIONS NEEDED TO HELP PAY COST OF FIGHTING KENTUCKY "SEDITION" CASES

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Box 787
Emory University, Georgia

July 7, 1954

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I am attaching two copies of the study of state and local human relations agencies. Also, I am returning to your office all files and materials taken from the office in connection with this study.

In a discussion with Harold Fleming, he suggested that I make no effort to prepare this material in its final pamphlet form. He suggested that he would do this and that it would free me to prepare the research document as quickly and as fully as necessary. I have taken full advantage of his suggestion, and it is likely that he will want to eliminate some of the documentation used in the first part of this manuscript.

Also, I am placing in one folder the basic pieces of information from which the majority of documentation has been taken. This will make it possible for such checking and clearance as necessary after Harold has decided which sections of the documentary material should be used in the published work.

I shall, of course, be happy to work with Harold and you and other members of the staff in modifying this document and in preparing it for publication.

No one is more keenly aware than I am of the limitations of this quick survey project. I do hope, however, that it is sufficient to get before you and your staff the major experiences which might be useful in the program you have before you.

Mrs. Brewer did about one day's correspondence in connection with this project and she has typed the final draft.

I hope you will find this document useful. It has been an educational and pleasant task to prepare it for you. If there is additional work which I need to do please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Earl

EB:ekb

Earl Brewer

A MANUSCRIPT ON

HUMAN RELATIONS AGENCIES,

STATE AND LOCAL

PART I presents a documentary study of private and public state and local human relations agencies.

Pages 1-60.

PART II contains efforts at constructive proposals for the organization and programs of private state and local councils on community relations (or human relations) in the South.

Pages 61-84.

By

Earl D. C. Brewer
Emory University, Georgia

A DRAFT OF A MANUSCRIPT ON HUMAN RELATIONS AGENCIES--STATE AND LOCAL

Part I

Introduction

Purpose: It is the purpose of this study to review some of the experiences of local communities and of states in the field of private and public agencies devoted to human relations and to make some suggestions about the structure and function of such agencies in the South for the use of the Southern Regional Council in its new and continuing program.

Scope: This study is limited in time, materials, and practical purpose. It is not an exhaustive research job but a quick survey of about one month's duration, limited largely to materials in the files of the Southern Regional Council, to one week of field interviews in northern and southern cities, and to the practical purpose stated above.

Sources: 1. Summary studies made by others; 2. documents issued by local and state agencies; 3. background readings; 4. interviews with agency leaders and interested citizens; 5. correspondence with key leaders.

Definitions: 1. Human relations is a rather broad term which in this context refers to those aspects of human relationships which are conditioned, distorted, or facilitated by racial, religious, cultural, nationality or other intergroup characteristics. 2. Human relations agencies (or intergroup relations agencies) are private or public agencies which concern themselves with equality of opportunity without discrimination or bias because of race, religion, ethnic or nationality backgrounds, and so on. These agencies are of many types and exist under a variety of titles, organizational structure and relationships. Perhaps the most important distinction is between private and public agencies. 3. Private agencies have in common the negative factor of not being groups with local or state governmental authorization and/or support from tax sources. Beyond this, they differ widely. Three basic types will be indicated here:

(1) citizens' groups which are broadly representative of the leadership and citizenry as a whole and may be called together to face an emergency or to initiate steps toward a more formal type of organization; (2) "straight-line" agencies, frequently with national, regional, state, and local units, formed within or between various racial, religious or ethnic groups for specific tasks or approaches in the general field of human relations. The Anti-Defamation League, The National Urban League, and the National Conference of Christians and Jews would be examples; (3) co-ordinating agencies which attempt to strengthen the efforts of individual agencies by bringing them together, especially at the local level. The Chicago Council Against Discrimination and the various county and city councils of the New York State Commission Agencies Discrimination would represent one type while the Councils of Church Women would be another type.

4. Public agencies are authorized by city ordinance or state law and are usually appointed by mayors or governors. Beyond this, however, there is much variety. Some operate on a volunteer basis with a professional and paid staff, while others are supported by tax funds. Some function as enforcement agencies of laws dealing with civil rights, discrimination in employment, housing, and so on, while others use only the methods of education and persuasion. Some such agencies are limited in their operations by law to specific fields, such as fair employment practices, while others are set up to approach the problems of human relations on a broad front.

5. Quasi-public agencies are hybrids and ordinarily contain more private then public "blood" in their membership and organizational "veins." Sometimes the mayor is persuaded to name or authorize a committee or commission, either with or without the consent of city council, but without ordinance or legal status and with only "advisory" functions (e.g., the Rock Hill, S. C. Council on Human Relations). In other cases, the mayor or commissioners may appoint some of the members of such an agency (e.g., the Dade Council Council on

Community Relations).

6. Titles of public and quasi-public agencies. There is no standardized nomenclature, but the following titles are indicative: (1) At the state level examples are the Connecticut Inter-racial Commission (this is a public state agency but the title was common enough for private state agencies throughout the South during the days of The Commission on Interracial Cooperation), Massachusetts Fair Employment Practice Commission, New York State Commission Against Discrimination, Governor's Commission on Human Rights (Wisconsin), Kentucky Commission on Negro Affairs, Good Neighbor Commission of Texas, Governor's Commission on Problems Affecting the Negro Population (Maryland), Committee on Intercultural Education of the Michigan Department of Public Instruction. (2) At the local level the following are examples of titles: Mayor's Committee on Human Relations (Denver, Colorado); Mayor's Committee on Racial Tolerance (New Britain, Connecticut); Commission on Human Relations (Chicago, Illinois); Civic Unity Committee (Cambridge, Massachusetts); Mayor's Interracial Committee (Detroit, Michigan); St. Louis Council on Human Relations (St. Louis, Missouri); Camden Civil Rights Commission (Camden, New Jersey); Mayor's Committee on Inter-Group Relations (Warren, Ohio); Board of Community Relations (Buffalo, New York); Committee on Inter-Faith Unity (Oshkosh, Wisconsin); Mayor's Commission on Human Rights (Racine, Wisconsin); Dade County Council on Community Relations (Miami, Florida); Rock Hill Council on Human Relations (Rock Hill, South Carolina).

Backgrounds. No extensive historical study of private and public agencies in the field of human relations is called for in this project. Yet it will be important to set the background of this movement in a brief way. What has happened in this field is characteristic of American Culture. Private and public organizations and agencies have sprung up in great numbers. Some have flourished, and some have died. There have been new starts and com-

binations of various sorts to meet changing conditions. Most of the agencies now in existence, with some exceptions, root their origins no farther back than this century. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, for example, was organized as a result of a race riot in Springfield, Illinois in 1908, while The National Urban League was fashioned in New York a few years later out of a combination of several organizations devoted to economic opportunities for Negroes in industrialized cities. The tensions and movements of population during World War I gave rise to several agencies, among them the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, organized in 1919 by W. W. Alexander and his associates. This Commission stimulated state commissions in all the southern states, and at one time had local committees in more than 800 towns and counties. Three Jewish organizations in this field are the American Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and the American Jewish Committee. In 1928, the National Conference of Christians and Jews was founded.

World War II gave impetus to the modern galaxy of public and private organizations devoted to inter-group relations. Following the race riot in Detroit in 1943 a Mayor's Interracial Committee was appointed. Now more than two hundred municipal and state public and quasi-public Commissions on Human Relations exist, mostly in northern and western cities and states. In 1944 the Commission on Interracial Cooperation gave way to the Southern Regional Council in the South, and nationally the American Council on Race Relations was organized. By 1947 the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials was set up, and in 1954 a series of Supreme Court Decisions in this field was climaxed by outlawing segregation in public schools.

In addition, the agencies related to churches, business and commercial organizations, labor unions, and educational institutions help to round out

the background of a diverse and prolific field of organized efforts to achieve equality of opportunity in practice as in our statements of democratic idealism.

Local Agencies--Private

In the United States of America with our ideals of equality of opportunity and basic freedoms for all people embodied in the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, Amendments to the Constitution, and significant Supreme Court Decisions, the chance at realization of these rights by each citizen without regard for race, religion, ethnic or other bases for discrimination should be expected as a matter-of-fact administration of public agencies and a routine enforcement of laws. That this "American Creed" is not fully practiced in any part of the country and, especially, not in the South with regard to the Negro becomes part of the continuing "American Dilemma," to use Gunnar Myrdal's now famous phrase. In a sense, every legal victory for basic human rights, as the recent Supreme Court Decision against segregation in public schools, only increases the distance between the ideal and the actual situation unless local ordinances and local administration of laws help to close the gap. This may be expected in most communities, both North and South, only when citizens' groups and private agencies palaver, persuade, and pressure for action. The rich proliferation of private agencies in American Society is evidence of the organized conscience of communities facing the slow-moving, often compromising, sometimes subverting, frequently uninformed and reactionary and, now and then, corrupt administration of federal, state, and local laws and administrative directives. The number and variety of these agencies, again, is indicative of the vitality of a liberal conscience, on the one hand, and of

the constant need for a "watch-dog" function in relationship to public agencies, on the other hand.

In the early 1940's Charles S. Johnson developed a Directory of Agencies in Race Relations in which over 330 agencies were listed with more than 250 of them indicated as private rather than public or quasi-public. One hundred and sixty-five of these were local agencies with the others operating at the state and national levels. Near the end of this same decade Louis Wirth published the most recent Directory of Agencies in Intergroup Relations with listings for 1,134 agencies with over one thousand of them appearing as private groups.

In 1951 H. H. Giles sent out a questionnaire asking, among other things, for ratings of private agencies in the field of human relations. His replies supplied ratings and named a total of twenty-five agencies as most helpful in the field.

> Of these, two, the Urban League and the NAACP were mentioned by all six. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith was mentioned by five. The Bureau for Intercultural Education, the American Jewish Committee, the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Jewish Congress, the Southern Regional Council, and the Race Relations Department of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America were mentioned three to four times each. Those mentioned twice were the Julius Rosenwald fund, the YWCA, American Friends Service Committee, Common Council for American Unity, NCCJ, and the Japanese-American Citizens League. Those mentioned once were the New York State Commission on Discrimination in Housing, Catholic Inter-Racial Councils, General Education Board, and the San Francisco Council for Civic Unity.

The Journal of Negro Education, XX, 3 (Summer, 1951), p. 412.

Most of these organizations operate at the national, regional or state levels but with local units. In most of the major cities of the country there are local chapters of the National Urban League. In the South these are located in Richmond, Winston-Salem, Atlanta, Tampa, Miami, Jacksonville, Memphis, New Orleans, Louisville, Fort Worth, and Oklahoma City. The Urban League is interracial in composition and works to extend economic opportunities for Negroes with emphasis on jobs, housing, and social welfare. It serves as an employment agency and advisor to Negroes, labor unions, business executives, and governmental agencies with the methods of discussion, conferences, and survey of conditions predominating.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has chapters in most of the towns and cities of the South. It is interracial in membership, though Negroes make up a majority. The national organization works primarily through court and legislation action to secure the elimination of segregation and discrimination against Negroes and others because of creed or color and to achieve equality of opportunity and rights in employment, housing, education, recreation, travel and other public accommodations, voting and office holding. The NAACP has been most active and successful in bringing civil suits in these fields, and it was through such legal actions that the recent Supreme Court Decision against segregation in the public schools was obtained. There are offices in each state of the South with Southeastern Regional offices in Birmingham.

The Anti-Defamation League was mentioned in the above list. It is a Jewish research, educational, and action agency in the total field of discrimination but with particular reference to anti-Semitism. This League maintains twenty-five regional offices in the United States with six of them in the South at Richmond, Atlanta, Miami, New Orleans, Houston, and Columbus, Ohio (which covers Kentucky). Local lodges and chapters of B'nai B'rith appear

in most of the towns and cities of the South and the League works with and through them.

The Southern Regional Council was named in the third category inthe list of agencies. It is a regional agency which succeeded the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. The CIC at one time boasted 800 local groups across the South. The CIC stated its own approach and accomplishments as it gave way to the SRC in 1944.

> For twenty-five years the Commission on Interracial Cooperation has pursued its policy of disturbing the pond of complacent Southern white opinion, fed by the springs of thought that the South had solved its racial problem. Born in the days of fear following November 11, 1918, it came into being in a South hostile to any movement that insisted that the race problem was not solved, and that the white South must bestir itself to meet a new day.
>
> Without regard to the demands of impatient persons that its methods are too cautious or too compromising, the Commission has held firmly to its major belief that people make their attitudes themselves and, therefore, they themselves must change them. Cooperation between members of both races; frequent conferences and free discussion; gradual and sane exposure of uninformed persons to arguments undermining intolerant and prejudiced attitudes; a continuous process of conversion of individuals to an understanding of the evil inherent in the myth of racial superiority; these have formed the basis of all work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

<u>The Southern Frontier</u> (February, 1944), p. 3.

The Southern Regional Council built on this framework and claimed more than members at one time. These were located throughout the South and were organized into state divisions and local committees. A student of race evaluates its work in the following terms:

> It is not exclusively a race-relations organization. It believes that it is a mistake to regard the problems of the South purely in terms of race. "Friction between the races," it states in one of its pamphlets, "can best be combated by bringing the entire population of the South abreast of modern standards in health, education, employment, farming, and culture. To work toward the goal of a higher standard of well-being for all the South's citizens is to work for equal opportunity

for members of all races." Its functions include research and surveys; educational activities through its monthly bulletin, the New South, and through pamphlets, press, radio, conferences, and personal contacts; consultative services; and promotion of specific programs of action through its staff and membership. Its program calls for the assurance of the civil rights of all the people of the South, abolition of the poll tax, equitable law enforcement, extension of the practice of employing Negro policemen, jury service for all, employment of all persons on the basis of ability, equalization of educational opportunity and facilities and of pay for teachers, extension of publicly financed low-cost housing, increased publicly financed medical and dental care available to both races on an equal basis, and equal accommodations for Negroes on all public transportation facilities.

Maurice R. Davie, Negroes in American Society.(McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1949), p. 481.

Something of the strength of private agencies may be seen in the fact that the national groups listed in the 1948 Directory had total budgets in excess of $25,000,000 and the "grass roots" character of the movement is pointed up in the fact that the majority of the agencies were local in scope.

Fourteen summary observations and points conclude the best brief study of private agencies available.

H. H. Giles, "The Present Status and Programs of Private Intergroup Relations Agencies," The Journal of Negro Education (Summer, 1951), 408-424.

These are included here as a handy statement of some important factors which need consideration by those concerned with the trends, directions, and programs of these types of organizations.

1. Emphases in an intergroup agency are now divided between those which chiefly employ force in some form (legal pressure, picketing, legislative pressures) and those which chiefly rely on an educational approach (study, research, controlled experience, cooperative decisions). Both are needed, but it is my own feeling that the first emphasis cannot long endure unless it is a product of education.
2. Areas of greatest intergroup tension today vary from region to region and take various forms in each locality, but by and large they remain as noted earlier:

First--Relationships involving recognition of race difference.

Second--Relations involving recognition of religious difference.
Third--Relations involving recognition of economic class difference.
Fourth--Relations involving recognition of nationality difference.

3. The aspects of social management where equality of opportunity and treatment are most important are: employment, housing, health, education, religion, recreation, public services.

4. Both political-legal and educational approaches are needed in dealing with conflict problems in the tension areas and the aspects of social management, but both need more integration.

5. General climate of opinion is important and must be dealt with by mass approaches, meetings, lectures, conferences, radio, motion pictures, printed materials, and the like. However, the mass approach will fail of its purpose unless it is based on more than repetitive advertising. Person-to-person "selling" can't be beat. Personal participation is best of all.

6. A primary need is for a unifying theory of human dynamics to bring together the knowledge of the human scientists and to guide the action agencies. To recognize, for example, the essential usefulness of prejudice and stereotyping (both socially and personally) is a first step to both sociological and psychological attack on harmful prejudice and stereotyping.

7. The concept of action-research (Lewin, Lippitt, et.al.) is an innovation of major importance in the intergroup relations field.

8. Professional training in the handling and prevention of destructive human conflict is a first requirement for success. At present we are so far from meeting this requirement that we cannot consider ourselves as having reached even the kindergarten stage. This training requires immediate increases in inter-agency staff conference, in professional training centers, in publication and integration of current research.

9. To create an art and science of diagnosing, treating, and preventing destructive human conflict is the first business of our world--and its most neglected business. Ten per cent of the current budget for military defense invested in this job might well change the fate not only of oppressed minorities but of humanity as a whole.

10. The most valuable new tools of the intergroup agency using an educational approach are: conflict episode analysis; studies of human needs and psychiatric data; role-playing; sociometrics; group dynamics analysis; folk culture exchange; demonstration projects; self-survey of problems; use of consultants; intern training in field projects;and the integration of disciplines.

11. New foci of training and cooperative effort of most promise are: teacher-parent groups; business, industry, and labor; administrators.

12. The impression is given that with a few exceptions organized religion shows an increasing awareness and concern over divisive preachment and practice yet is far behind organized labor in its reformulation of programs.

13. As equality of opportunity and treatment gain headway, reactionary resentment crystallizes. This calls for courage and skill based on clear values and dynamically sound techniques.

14. The financial support of efforts to strengthen democracy through intergroup relations programs should become much more general. Up to the present time, both foundations and the public as a whole have let Jewish generosity carry the principal burden of these efforts for the

common good.

The Journal of Negro Education, op.cit., 422-424.

It is obvious that most of these private agencies are local branches of "straight-line" national or regional organizations dealing with various aspects of the human relations field. Frequently, human rights would be only a minor direct part of the work of some agencies, e.g., the YWCA, YMCA, churches, labor unions, chambers of commerce, private welfare agencies, health groups, and others.

There are two other types of private groups at the local level which are important for our purposes. Both of these major on local community, municipal, or county human relations problems and may or may not be related to a state or national organization.

The first of these is usually of an emergency, temporary, and transitional character. This is the citizens' committee which is formed following a local emergency or threat of violence. The Interracial Peace Committee was appointed by the Mayor of Detroit a few days after the riots in 1943. It was composed of twelve citizens and its purpose was to review the causes of the riot and to make recommendations for the prevention of further violence. The Committee existed from June 25 to October 13 when it was dissolved after having recommended the appointment of a public Mayor's Interracial Committee with a budget from municipal funds. A similar citizens' committee was formed in Cleveland, Ohio to study the problems of the city in the war and post-war years. This temporary committee did its work, and, among other things, recommended the establishment by City Council of the Community Relations Board, a public agency. Thus, it would appear that this type of transitional organization at the local level serves an important function.

Perhaps an even more informal step toward local organization would be the "Interested Persons" committee or discussion group. Completely private meetings and discussions among interested persons may need to go on in many places before any open move is made toward formal private or public organization. This was the pattern in a southern town when a Catholic priest, a Jewish business man, a Negro dentist, a Protestant minister, and a local political leader carried on several private discussions before the group was expanded to include an informal citizens' committee. After further discussions and work, this last committee recommended the appointment of a Mayor's Council on Human Relations which was done and approved by the City Council. This followed the recent Supreme Court Decision on segregation in the public schools and was an effort on the part of this small southern city to face the situation at the local level.

Another approach to this matter is the coordinating type of council or agency in local communities. This is patterned after the older community councils which were concerned with the coordination of all agencies and groups in the local community. These newer groups specialize in the field of human relations although the application of that specialization may reach into every avenue of private and public agency life where discrimination occurs because of creed, color, or ethnic factors. Sometimes these private groups develop in lieu of public agencies in which case they usually bring pressure on municipal officials to set up a public agency, as in Los Angeles. They may succeed in getting a public municipal agency, in which case they may decline in influence as in New York City. They can exist side by side with the public group as a watch-dog, pressure group, and "front" for the public agency as in Chicago.

Without attempting a full description, a brief case study of a privately

supported municipal coordinating agency in the field of human relations in a large city will be instructive in terms of how it is organized, financed, and what it does. A smaller community would naturally develop a simpler pattern and program.

This is the case of the Los Angeles County Conference on Community Relations and is based largely on the Sixth Annual Report issued in 1952. In introducing that report the chairman wrote:

> For more than five years the County Conference on Community Relations and its member agencies have been working for equality of opportunity based on merit and not inhibited by the accidental factors of race, color, national origin or by choice of religion. The work has been educational in nature, it has been positive, rather than negative in approach.
> ...
> It is sad to view from our Conference porch the grave differences of treatment accorded Los Angeles people because of differences in race, color, national origin or religion. One would almost believe we do not live in a democracy founded on Judaeo-Christian principles--if he were not calloused by the indifference our society seems to hold toward others. ...
> In 1952 the Conference proved in many ways that in up-holding the rights of minorities we are up-holding the rights of all people.

Sixth Annual Report, Los Angeles County Conference on Community Relations,

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This is a conference of agencies primarily devoted to intergroup relations and intercultural education. From 1948 to 1952 the group grew from 11 to 46 agency members. Agencies primarily concerned with political methods are not eligible for membership in view of the coordinating and educational nature of the Conference. An analysis of the member agencies shows a wide variety of types with a concentration on labor groups, church and religious groups, school-related groups, municipal commissions on human relations in the county, women's clubs, and miscellaneous groups. Agencies from all the towns within Los Angeles County participate.

The budget proposed for 1953 was $20,250.00 which was raised by

agency membership dues, grants, subscriptions, and contributions from various sources. Two professional workers and two secretaries made up the employed personnel.

The work of the conference is carried on under an executive committee and a number of regular committees.

1. The Committee on Boards and Commissions advises with public officials in recommending citizens representing all groups of the country or towns for appointment to public boards and commissions on a non-partisan basis.

2. The Education Committee works in support of intercultural education in public schools and in member agencies, plans leadership training seminars, and defends the public school system against attacks for policies in the intergroup relations fields.

3. The Employment Committee makes studies, works through member agencies, holds an Institute on Employment, and carries on educational and public relations work with various groups looking toward non-discrimination in public and private employment.

4. The Committee on Evaluation and Organization was appointed to undertake a "continuous year-round review of the CCCR's organizational processes and procedures and regularly make recommendations for improvement."

5. The Committee on Health and Medicine has as its function the coordination of programs designed to:

Inform the public of the extent of discrimination in health services.
Inform the public of the success of democratic health practices.
Eliminate discrimination against patients in public and private health facilities.
Eliminate discrimination in training of doctors and other health personnel, in employment in health facilities, and in the practice of medicine.

Ibid.

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6. The Housing Committee works to get public and private housing groups to adopt a policy of no discrimination or segregation in the selection of tenants for housing projects, especially those of a public nature. This committee also works in tension areas and helps organize a Human Relations Council in a section of Los Angeles where the bombing of Negro homes occurred during the year.

7. The Legal Committee studies a variety of human relations problems, gives legal advice to persons or agencies involved, and participates in court cases involving discrimination. This is achieved through representatives of many agencies in the Conference and the work of attorneys working with the Committee.

8. The Membership Committee solicits, receives, and screens agency applications for memberships. The success of this group is seen in the growth in the number of member agencies and in the opinion that the majority of existing groups dealing primarily with human relations in the county were members by 1952.

9. The Law Enforcement Committee makes studies in the field of police relations, recommends human relations training for policemen, development of a special Human Relations Detail with special responsibility in the field of police treatment of minorities and in the operations of police in tension situations involving intergroup relations, and establishment of Police-Citizen Committees in critical areas of the city

10. The Radio and Television Committee works with the mass media in intercultural matters, arranges special programs and assists agency members in this field.

11. The Research Committee serves as research consultants rather than actually carrying out research projects. Suggestions made to member agencies

and professional help is secured for the projects themselves. The major projects during this period have dealt with tension areas resulting from bombing incidents.

12. The Youth Activities Committee brings around twenty-five youth organizations for the following purposes:

> To afford an opportunity for youth groups to come together to achieve knowledge of each other and of the human relations problems in the community.
>
> To stimulate cooperation and the exchange of ideas among youth groups toward building better human relations in the community.
>
> To provide source and reference materials for a better educational program in the area of human relations.
>
> To coordinate and channel information relative to human relations activities of the member groups.

Ibid.

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13. The Finance Committee is responsible for setting up the budget and securing the funds from private sources to operate the agency.

14. The Joint Staff is composed of one professional staff member, or one selected representative where there is no professional staff, from each agency. It advises the executive committee and functions as the primary body of the Conference through which coordination, referral and clearance is carried on.

The Conference issues a mimeographed paper called "The Community Reporter" whose purpose is "to enable coordination, referral and joint action by agencies primarily devoted to developing sounder inter-group and human relations in Los Angeles City and County."

This private agency in the county and city appears to be doing a constructive educational and coordinating job in a respectible "middle of the road" sense. The chairman indicated that one evidence that their work had

been successful and educational was the "almost total lack of opposition by individuals and organizations." This probably means criticism from the more radical agencies and the need for more militant approaches to the human relations problems. Although it has more freedom than a public agency, it acts like one and is more restricted in the legal field than one would be. This coordinating and educational function is highly necessary in any community but it may not be the only approach needed to these problems.

This Conference operates in one of the large and rapidly growing metropolitan areas of the United States. There is a complexity of organizations with interlocking and overlapping relationships. Its structure with numerous standing and special committees may appear elaborate for smaller and simpler cities or counties. Yet it does indicate something of the possible range of program activities for such an agency. In many areas the Civic Unity Movement has been represented by private agencies, but the tendency has been for these to press for and, in many places, to succeed in getting public agencies to do the job.

Local Agencies--Public and Quasi-Public

During and following World War II one of the most remarkable movements in municipal governments in the North and West has been the growth and spread of human relations agencies of a public and quasi-public nature. The movement began in Detroit following the riots of 1943. The threat of racial trouble in other cities caused the organizations to spread rapidly. Also, post-war problems, appeals to civic pride, and a new emphasis on civil rights stimulated the program. Today twenty-five of our largest cities spend more than one-half million dollars annually and employ more than fifty professional workers in human relations agencies. Fifty other cities have Mayor's Commissions or other such agencies without staffs but with structures and functions similar to those of the larger cities. Another twenty-five or thirty municipalities have agencies to enforce and promote fair employement practices. Finally, an unknown number of other smaller cities and towns have committees to study racial problems and to make recommendations regarding them. One of these recommendations usually is to form a more permanent public agency to maintain continuing advisory, educational, survey, and, in some cases, enforcement roles.

Something of the maturity of this field is indicated by the growing number of cities which provide public funds and employ professional persons in intergroup relations.

Table 1

BUDGETS AND STAFFS OF MUNICIPAL INTERGROUP RELATIONS AGENCIES

City	Budget	Staff Professionals	Staff Clerical
Boston	$ 15,000	1	1
Buffalo	13,578	1	1
Cambridge	7,000	1	0
Chicago	61,734	7	3
Cincinnati	19,400	3	1
Cleveland	19,682	2	1
Denver	11,400	1	1
Detroit	64,949	6	3
Gary	8,520	1	1
Kansas City	13,900	1	1
Los Angeles	8,000	1	1
Milwaukee	15,036	1	2
Minneapolis	10,000	1	1
Minneapolis FEPC	10,869	1	1
Newark*	10,000	1	1
New York*	25,000	3	2
Philadelphia	148,259	14	10
Pittsburgh	13,500	1	1
Pittsburgh FEPC	27,965	2	2
St. Louis*	15,000	1	1
St. Paul	15,000	1	1
Toledo	16,471	1	2
Youngstown	8,351		

*Approximate--no response to questionnaire.

Source:
NAIRC Reporter, IV (January, 1954) 2.

Table 1 shows the latest available data on cities with paid staffs.

In organizational structure these groups range from the highly informal Mayor's committees of interested citizens to public commissions of city government with legal status and functions. Many of these agencies start at the first stage and move toward the second, as in the case of Cleveland, Ohio. Following a citizens' group studying post-war prospects for the city, the City Council emerged in 1945 with the establishment of the Community Relations Board as a department of the city. Perhaps the most accurate way to get a picture of the structure, duties and responsibilities of the Board is to read the City Council Ordinances authorizing it.

> Community Relations Board. There shall be and there is hereby established in the office of the Mayor a board known as the "Community Relations Board," consisting of the Mayor, as chairman ex officio, two members of Council of different political affiliations chosen by Council for a term of two years, and fourteen persons broadly representative of the social, economic and cultural interests of the community, appointed by the Mayor, with the approval of Council, for four-year terms, except that of the original appointment three shall be appointed for one-year terms, three shall be appointed for two-year terms, three shall be appointed for four-year terms, and provided further that not less than five shall represent organized industry; not less than three shall represent organized labor, and not less than five shall be public members. A member of the board may be removed for cause by the Mayor but only after opportunity has been afforded for a public hearing before the Mayor within ten days after written charges have been given such member by the Mayor and a copy filed with the Clerk of Council. Such member shall be heard in person or by counsel and action of the Mayor shall be final unless not later than the second meeting of Council thereafter, the Council shall disapprove such removal by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members elected thereto.
>
> Duties. It shall be the duty of the Community Relations Board to promote amicable relations among the racial and cultural groups within the community; to take appropriate steps to deal with conditions which strain relationships; to aid in the coordination of the activities of private organizations concerned with these relationships; to assemble, analyze, and disseminate authentic and factual data relating to interracial and other inter-group relationships. It shall have power to publish and distribute at public expense such factual material as it shall deem necessary or desirable and to make such investigations, surveys and studies as are pertinent to the performance of its duties. The Board shall administer and enforce any Fair Employment Practice legislation enacted by Council and perform such other duties as Council may from time to time require.
>
> Executive Director. The board shall nominate and the Mayor shall

appoint an executive director who shall serve until removed by the Mayor with the concurrence of a majority of the board. Upon nomination of the executive director the board shall appoint as its staff such technical and office personnel and assistants as it may deem necessary within the appropriation made available for such purpose. All such appointments, except one assistant and one secretary to the executive director, shall be made in conformity with the civil service provisions of the charter.

Duties of Executive Director. Under the direction of the board the executive director shall supervise and control the staff. He shall:

1. Serve as secretary of the board and of any advisory committee or sub-committee which may be created.

2. Maintain contacts with the thirty and more groups throughout the community which are concerned with interracial understanding, report to the board regarding the activities of these groups, and in turn be a source of accurate and reliable data on the acute problems in the field of interracial understanding.

3. Implement the decisions of the board and on the advice of the board (a) shall work in cooperation with the directors of all departments of the municipal government in the improvement of services to eliminate whatever sources of interracial ~~minority~~ friction may exist; (b) work to remove inequalities which may be related to minority group status on such important problems as housing, recreation, education, employment, law enforcement, vocational guidance and training and related matters; (c) conduct such educational activities, institutes, meetings, and prepare such reading materials as will lead to better public relations.

Report for "52" on Community Relations in Cleveland, pp. 9-10.

At this time a volunteer plan for fair employment practices in Cleveland was sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce and business leaders. After a reasonable trial period it was admitted by all concerned that the volunteer approach was not successful. The Board was asked to make a study of the matter and to recommend a Fair Employment Practice Ordinance, a legislative step to guarantee citizens equality of opportunity in employment "without discrimination because of race, religious creed, color, national origin, or ancestry." The Board was made the administrative agency of this and related human rights ordinances.

The City of Chicago setpup one of the earliest human relations agencies. Here, again, the movement proceeded from threat of racial violence following the 1943 riot in Detroit. Civic organizations took the lead in calling an

Emergency Citizens' Conference. The group recommended to the Mayor that he appoint a Committee on Race Relations composed of outstanding citizens of the city. This was done and the agency operated for several years as a publicly supported Mayor's Committee. In 1947 the Chicago City Council passed an ordinance establishing the Chicago Commission on Human Relations as an official department of city government.

Soon after its formation in 1943 the Mayor's Committee stated its goal and function as follows:

> The goal of the Mayor's Committee on Race Relations is justice and equality of opportunity and treatment for all the people of Chicago regardless of race, creed, or color.
>
> The Committee recognizes responsibility for much more than the expression of an ideal. We regard our unique function as working with city officials and civic groups to bring practical improvements in basic conditions that will represent definite steps toward our goal.
>
> The major concern of the Committee is with the large Negro population and the improvement of Negro-white relations. But we shall foster improvements in the conditions and interrelations of all peoples, realizing that no racial or religious group is safe where a pattern of discrimination exists.

City of Chicago, Mayor's Committee on Race Relations, p. 1

In these formative days the Committee laid down some practical procedures on which it has built through the years:

> 1. Uncovering the sources of racial tension in Chicago.
>
> The Committee gathers information through public hearings and by utilizing information assembled by existing agencies and individuals. We do not engage in extensive, original research.
>
> 2. Deciding upon the most effective programs for relieving tensions and for removing their causes.
>
> 3. Making recommendations to the Mayor and cooperating with city officials in carrying them out.
>
> The Committee, of course, does not undertake to perform the functions of any city department--such as police, park supervision, schools--but it cooperates with these departments in developing policies and practices on matters affecting interracial relations.
>
> 4. Working with civic leaders and community organizations in support

of those activities which serve our common goal of establishing equal justice and opportunity for all without discrimination.

The Committee does not take the place of any of the existing civic agencies. Promoting racial harmony is a big enough job to require all the resources that can be employed in it and we hope for the continuation and enlargement of the constructive work of the existing social agencies. We do not undertake service functions to individuals or groups, but refer inquiries or complaints to the appropriate service agency.

Ibid., pp.1, 2.

The early program of the Committee dealt with four major fields in which sub-committees were organized: Employment, Housing, Schools and other City Services, and Police Protection and Civil Rights. Thousands of leading citizens and agency representatives have come together for annual "Civic Unity Conferences" and more than four hundred citizens are involved in the present work of the Commission through major committees. Today the Commission recommends that large cities carry on this type work through citizen committees and staff departments in the fields of law and order (pertaining to human rights), community services, community organization, employment, housing, education, research, and public information.

The ordinance establishing the Commission on Human Relations as an integral part of the Municipal Government of the City of Chicago may be useful as a guide to cities desiring to follow such a pattern.

Declaration of Policy--Establishment of Commission. The City Council finds that prejudice and the practice of discrimination against any individual or group because of race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry menace peace and public welfare; that to eliminate such prejudice and discrimination an instrumentality should be established through which the citizens of Chicago may be kept informed of developments in human relations, the officers and departments of the City may obtain expert advice and assistance in ameliorative practices to keep peace and good order and private persons and groups may be officially encouraged to promote tolerance and good will toward all people.

There is hereby established a commission to be known as the Commission on Human Relations consisting of fifteen members, one of which members shall be designated as Chairman, to be appointed by the Mayor by and with the advice and consent of the City Council. They shall serve without compensation but may be reimbursed for any personal expense incurred in the performance of their duties. The Commission shall appoint, according to law, an executive director and such other persons as are provided for in the annual appropriation ordinance to direct its activities.

Duties and Functions. The commission shall cooperate with the Mayor, City Council, city departments, agencies and officials in: securing the furnishing of equal services to all residents, and where the need is greater, in meeting that need with added services; training city employees to use methods of dealing with intergroup relations which develop respect for equal rights and which result in equal treatment without regard to race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry; assuring fair and equal treatment under the law to all citizens; protecting the rights of all persons to enjoy public accommodations and facilities and to receive equal treatment from all holders of licenses, contracts or privileges from the city; and maintaining equality of opportunity for employment and advancement in the city government.

The services of all city departments and agencies shall be made available by their respective heads to the Commission at its request, and information in the hands of any department or agency shall be furnished to the Commission when requested. Upon receipt of recommendations in writing from the Commission, each department or agency shall submit a reply in writing indicating the disposition of and action taken with regard to such recommendations.

The Commission shall advise and consult with the Mayor and City Council on all matters involving racial, religious or ethnic prejudice or discrimination and recommend such legislative action as it may deem appropriate to effectuate the policy of this ordinance. The Commission shall render an annual report to the Mayor and City Council which shall be published.

Cooperation with Civic Groups and Governmental Agencies. The Commission shall invite and enlist the cooperation of racial, religious and ethnic groups, community organizations, labor and business organizations, fraternal and benevolent societies, veterans organizations, professional and technical organizations, and other groups in the City of Chicago in carrying on its work. The Commission may aid in the formation of local community groups in such neighborhoods as it may deem necessary or desirable to carry out specific programs designed to lessen tensions or improve understanding in the community.

The Commission shall cooperate with State and Federal agencies whenever it deems such action appropriate in effectuating the policy of this ordinance.

Investigations, Research and Publications. The Commission shall receive and investigate complaints and initiate its own investigations of tensions, practices of discrimination and acts of prejudice against any person or group because of race, religion or ethnic origin and may conduct public hearings with regard thereto; carry on research, obtain factual data and conduct public hearings to ascertain the status and treatment of racial, religious and ethnic groups in the city, and the

best means of progressively improving human relations in the entire city; and issue such publications and such results of investigations and public hearings and make such recommendations to the Mayor and City Council as in its judgment will effectuate the policy of this ordinance.

The People of Chicago. Five Year Report, 1947-1951, of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations, pp. 60-61.

The organizational and functional patterns of the Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee of Cincinnati offer an example of a quasi-public agency using city funds on a contract basis while remaining a privately incorporated non-profit organization.

This movement, too, was part of the war tensions of 1943, and several local organizations asked the Mayor and City Council to do something to ease tensions and to build constructively for better intergroup relations. In November of that year the Council of the City of Cincinnati passed the following resolutions:

Whereas, America is made up of many diverse groups with varying viewpoints and differing beliefs but with the common ground of a faith that all of us are equally entitled to the blessings and benefits of America and equally charged with its responsibilities; and

Whereas, the hope of both the present and future of our republic is that, still keeping our personal beliefs and philosophies, we shall work together in harmony and without prejudice, hate, or intolerance; and

Whereas, we believe that the best future of Cincinnati rests in the generation of an era of good feeling and cooperative friendship among all of the various groups of this city, and that all conflicting problems can be worked out upon the basis of friendship rather than hostility;

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Council of the City of Cincinnati that the Mayor be authorized to appoint a committee to be known as a Friendly Relations Committee, representing the various racial, industrial, religious, and other groups, for the purpose of studying the problems connected with the promotion of harmony and tolerance, and working out our community problems and of acting as an advisory committee for their solution.

The First Five Years of The Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee, 1943-1948, p. 2.

The Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee proposed the following criteria for its program:

1. The Committee regards as its chief functions:
a. Gathering information with a view to the formulation of civic policy on broad and definite issues.
b. Making definite recommendations to the Mayor and to other appropriate authorities and civic agencies.
c. Stimulating constructive programs and activities through community organizations and other appropriate channels.
d. Popular education on interracial relations.
2. The Committee does not expect to engage in extensive original research but will expect to utilize information assembled by existing agencies and individuals as well as information presented through public hearings.
3. The Committee, of course, will not undertake to perform the functions of any City departments such as police, park supervision, schools, etc., but will cooperate with these departments in developing policies on matters affecting interracial relations.
4. The Committee will not undertake service functions to individuals or groups. The practice shall be to refer inquiries or complaints to the appropriate service agencies.

Ibid., p. 3.

These purposes and programs were to be carried out by a series of committees.

(1) A Steering Committee consisting of 15-18 members representing on its membership the principal activities of community life. Purpose: To plan activities, give general supervision to the work of all other committees, arrange for and conduct meetings of the general committee; and prepare monthly reports of progress and recommendations at least quarterly to be submitted to the Mayor and City Council. ...
(2) A Publicity Committee whose members are chosen because of their familiarity with the techniques of publicity. Purpose: To plan a positive program of publicity, emphasizing the importance of brotherhood, good will, and friendly relations in all phases of community life, and also to reduce as far as possible publicity of a negative character.
(3) A Committee on Education with four sub-committees on
a. Adult education
b. Schools--parochial, public, private, colleges
c. Public employees (policemen and other groups)
d. Youth agencies
Purpose: To develop positive teaching activities; to improve understand-

ing and to promote tolerance and good will.
(4) A Committee on Industrial Relations
Purpose: To promote good will in economic relationships, to improve employment practices and the development of personnel policies.
(5) A Committee on Investigations to discover instances of intolerance, discrimination and conflict. Purpose: To report to the steering committee instances of racial discrimination, instances of social and economic conflict or of injustices and instances of religious intolerance.
(6) A Committee on Church Activities representing principal faiths. Purpose: To stimulate sermons on brotherhood, good will and friendliness, and the development of a program of church activities looking toward brotherhood, good will and friendliness among people of different religious beliefs.
(7) A Committee on Social Planning representative of appropriate agencies. Purpose: To study and suggest improvements in the areas of health, welfare, housing, recreation and public services.
(8) A Budget Committee. Purpose: To recommend to the Mayor and Council to study financial needs of the Committee and to make recommendations to the steering committee on the basis of such study.

The chairmen of each of these committees should be a member of the Steering Committee.

Ibid., pp. 4-5.

For several years, the MFRC operated under this plan which did not clearly define its relationship to city government, especially at the budgetary level. Efforts at clarification produced an interesting development. The Committee was incorporated as a non-profit corporation and the City of Cincinnati made a contract with it to perform various functions for an annual sum of money. Thus, the MFRC is a private organization operating under a city contract.

The important provisions of the Articles of Incorporation of the Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee are:

The undersigned, all of whom are citizens of the United States desiring to form a corporation not for profit under the General Corporation Act of Ohio, do hereby certify:

FIRST. The name of said corporation shall be

THE MAYOR'S FRIENDLY RELATIONS COMMITTEE.

SECOND. The place in this State where the principal office of the corporation is to be located is Cincinnati, Hamilton County, Ohio.

THIRD. The purpose or purposes for which said corporation is formed are:

1. To advise, consult with and assist the Mayor, City Council and the City Manager, and all Departments of the City of Cincinnati, on all matters involving racial, religious or ethnic prejudice or discrimination.

2. To do everything practicable which, in the judgment of the Board of Trustees, should be done to eliminate prejudice and the practice of discrimination against individuals or groups because of race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry, in the City of Cincinnati, and to adjust frictions in human relations in the interests of the public welfare of the City of Cincinnati.

3. To enlist the cooperation of the various racial, religious, and ethnic groups, community organizations, labor organizations, business and industrial groups, fraternal and benevolent associations and other groups in the City of Cincinnati in the program and purposes of the Committee.

4. To promote the establishment of local community organizations within the City of Cincinnati, when and where it is deemed desirable by the Board of Trustees, and to plan and carry out and assist in programs of such organizations to reduce group prejudice, tensions, disorder and discrimination in said communities.

5. To cooperate with State and Federal agencies whenever the Board of Trustees deems such action appropriate in effectuating the amelioration of prejudice, tensions, disorder and discrimination in the field of human relations.

6. To publish and distribute such materials as may be deemed necessary and appropriate by the Board of Trustees for the education of the community to the end that there shall be a reduction of group prejudice, tensions, disorder and discrimination.

7. To receive and investigate complaints and initiate its own investigations, as it is deemed advisable, of (a) racial, religious and ethnic group prejudice, tensions, and discrimination and disorder occasioned thereby; (b) practices of discrimination against any persons because of race, color, creed, racial origin or ancestry.

FOURTH. The corporation shall be authorized and hereby is authorized to raise funds and moneys for its expenses by making such contracts with the City of Cincinnati or other organizations, which in the judgment of the Board of Trustees should be made, to render expert services; or to raise funds by membership dues, public subscription, or otherwise as the Board of Trustees may determine from time to time.

FIFTH. The organization of the Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee shall make provision and shall not be inconsistent with the following:

1. That the committee shall consist of not more than one hundred and fifty (150)members, each of whom shall serve for a term of one (1) year, and who shall be appointed by the Mayor of the City of Cincinnati, Ohio. One of said members shall be designated as chairman by the said Mayor of the City of Cincinnati, Ohio. The committee and the chairman shall serve without compensation but may be reimbursed for any personal expenses incurred in the performance of their duties.

2. That there shall be a Board of Trustees of not less than fifteen (15) and not more than thirty (30) members, each of whom shall serve for a term of one (1) year, and who shall likewise be appointed by the Mayor of the City of Cincinnati, Ohio. Said Board of Trustees shall administer the affairs of the committee, and with the advice and consent of the Mayor of the City of Cincinnati, Ohio, it may appoint an executive director and such additional personnel as it may deem necessary and to fix their compensation within the limitations of any funds made available to the Committee.

Articles of Incorporation of The Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee (mimeographed), pp. 1-2.

A second document contains the provisions of the agreement entered into between the City and the Committee.

THIS AGREEMENT, entered into by and between the city of Cincinnati and the Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee, WITNESSETH:

WHEREAS, it is of the highest importance to the welfare of the city of Cincinnati and its people, that strife and tension among racial, religious and ethnic groups in the city be avoided and that prejudice and discrimination in attitudes and practices toward any such groups be alleviated and prevented to the greatest degree possible; and

WHEREAS, the Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee, a corporation under the laws of Ohio, not for profit, has been organized and is qualified to assist the official authorities of the city in the matter of making studies as to intergroup problems and using its facilities and influence in connection with such problems, to the end that all groups within the city may enjoy fair and equal treatment, and live in peace and harmony; now, therefore,

IT IS AGREED BY AND BETWEEN the city of Cincinnati, hereinafter called the "City", and the Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee, hereinafter called the "Committee", as follows:

(a) The services of the Committee shall be used and be available to the City in the following matters:

1. Offering expert advice to any city agency or department whose regular functions are hindered or complicated by intergroup problems.

2. Collecting information on local conditions to facilitate positive constructive handling of intergroup problems.

3. Stimulating cooperative efforts among government offices, social agencies and private organizations to improve intergroup relations generally in Cincinnati.

4. Preparing and distributing educational materials throughout the community.

5. Working closely with schools, churches and other institutions having a special interest in promoting democratic citizenship.

6. Collecting information on intergroup activities throughout the country, with special regard for techniques applicable in Cincinnati.

7. At the request of Council, the Mayor, the City Manager or any department head, making studies and recommendations with reference to

any situation involving intergroup relations.

8. Watching for tension situations in the city and taking remedial action to avert strife and, where possible, to remove the causes of tension.

(b) In consideration of the services to be rendered by the Committee, the City agrees to pay the Committee the sum of _____ ($30,770.00) for 1954.

(c) The work of the Committee, in accordance with the terms of this contract, shall at all times be subject to the supervision and direction of the Mayor, and vouchers for payments hereunder shall be approved by him.

(d) This agreement may be terminated by either party on thirty (30) days notice prior to any of the payment dates noted in paragraph (b).

Agreement (mimeographed), pp. 1-2.

Another example of a quasi-official human relations agency comes from the South. It is the Dade County Council on Community Relations in Miami, Florida. This agency arose in the face of bombings in Carver Cillage and of several houses of worship in 1951. The realization that tension could lead to violence led a small group of outstanding citizens, most of whom had been members of the Miami Interracial Committee for some years, to work with the County Commission in establishing the agency. The semi-public character of the organization arises from the characteristics of the Executive Committee which is composed of 40 members, ten of whom are appointed by the County Commission of Dade County, ten appointed by the municipalities within Dade County, and twenty by the general membership of the Council. In addition, some funds are appropriated by the County Commission, some by municipalities, with the remainder of the budget coming from individuals, agencies, and grants. There are several volunteer consultants and one professional worker. The work is carried on through committees on membership, program, volunteer service, research and legal affairs.

Since it is likely that such a pattern is practicable in other southern counties or cities, the By-Laws of the Dade County Council on Community Re-

BY-LAWS OF

THE DADE COUNTY COUNCIL OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS

ARTICLE I

MEMBERSHIP

Membership in the Council shall be open to representatives of civic, cultural, ethnic, religious, educational, public service, business, labor and racial groups and to individuals subscribing to the objects of the Council as set forth in the Charter in accordance with such additional re-requirements and qualifications as may be determined by the Executive Committee. Membership in the Executive Committee shall constitute membership in the Council.

The fulfillment of the purpose of the Council depends upon the co-operation of its members and its member organizations, but the self-government of member organizations shall in no way be affected by membership therein.

ARTICLE II

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Section 1. General powers. The affairs of the Council shall be managed by its Executive Committee, which may designate and appoint from time to time such other committees deemed necessary to aid and assist it in the performance of its duties.

Section 2. Organization. The Executive Committee shall be composed of 40 members, 10 of which shall be appointed by the County Commission of Dade County, 10 appointed from municipalities within Dade County by their governing bodies or those delegated for that purpose, and 20 elected by the general membership of the Council; provided, the total membership of the Executive Committee may be increased to include representation from each affiliated organization whose primary function is in the field of the Council's objectives, and provided further, that professional directors of Community Relations agencies functioning in Dade County shall be ex-officio members of the Executive Committee.

Section 3. Term of office. Each member of the Executive Committee shall continue as such for one year, and until his successor has been elected or appointed in accordance with these By-Laws.

Section 4. Election meeting. The election of the 20 members of the Executive Committee by the general membership shall take place at the regular annual meeting of the general membership of the Council. Nominations at this election shall be made by a Nominating Committee appointed by the Chairman, and further nominations may be made from the floor by any member of the Council.

Section 5. Vacancies. Vacancies in the membership of the Executive Committee shall be filled by appointment or election in the same manner as provided in the case of the original appointment or election thereto, ex-

cept that if the vacancy exists as to a member elected by the general membership, this vacancy may be filled by appointment by the Executive Committee. All members appointed or elected to fill a vacancy shall serve for the unexpired portion of the term.

Section 6. Removal. Any member of the Executive Committee may be removed or suspended for cause by a vote of 51% of the full Executive Committee, provided at least five days' notice in writing is given of such contemplated action to each member of the Executive Committee.

Section 7. Quorum and Voting Power. Each member of the Executive Committee shall have one vote, and a majority vote of the members present shall constitute the action of the Executive Committee. One-fourth of the entire number of members shall constitute a quorum of the Executive Committee. There shall be no proxy voting.

Section 8. Rules of Procedure of the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee may enact rules of procedure to supplement the Charter and By-Laws of the Council, not inconsistant therewith.

ARTICLE III

OFFICERS

The Chairman, Treasurer, Secretary and other officers of the Council shall be elected by the Executive Committee. Officers so elected shall thereupon be members of the Executive Committee, and prior membership in the Council or Executive Committee shall not be a requirement of office.

The term of office in each case shall be one year, and until the first meeting of the newly elected Executive Committee. A member may be removed from office for cause by the procedure prescribed in Article II, Section 6 of these By-Laws.

ARTICLE IV

MEETINGS

There will be an annual meeting of the Council in May of each year, the exact time and place of such meeting to be fixed by the Executive Committee, at which time the Annual Report on the activities of the Council shall be made by the Chairman.

At least 60 days prior to the annual meeting the Chairman shall notify those governing bodies who appoint delegates to the Council that their appointments would be in order before the annual meeting.

Additional meetings of the general membership of the Council may be called by the Executive Committee, provided written notice shall be sent to all members at least four days in advance of the meeting.

ARTICLE V

CONTRACTS

The Executive Committee may authorize any officer or officers, agent or agents, of the Council, in addition to the officers so authorized by these By-Laws, to enter into any contract or execute and deliver any in-

strument, including checks, drafts or notes, in the name of and on behalf of the Council, and such authority may be general or confined to specific instances. In the absence of further determination by the Executive Committee, such checks, drafts, notes or other evidences of indebtedness shall be signed by the Chairman and countersigned by the Treasurer of the Council.

ARTICLE VI

PURPOSE

The general nature of the objects of this corporation as contained in its Charter shall be as follows:

1. To provide a quasi official Council, representing diverse groups, for the study of and solution for problems involving racial, religious or ethnic prejudice or discrimination.
2. To advise, assist, cooperate and consult with Municipal, County, State and Federal agencies, both governmental and private, on all matters involving racial, religious or ethnic prejudices or discriminations.
3. To provide a two-way channel of communication through which the community may speak through a representative body to their County Commission and other governing bodies of Dade County and through which they in turn may speak to the people of Dade County.
4. To cooperate with and support racial, religious and ethnic groups, community organizations, business and industrial groups, labor organizations, fraternal and benevolent associations and other groups in furthering the program and purposes of this Council.
5. To take whatever action the Council deems appropriate and necessary to eliminate prejudice and the practices of discrimination against individuals or groups because of race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry and to adjust frictions in human relations in the interest of the public welfare of Dade County.
6. To afford a permanent central clearinghouse for all problems and complaints involving racial, religious and ethnic group prejudices, tensions and discriminations, and disorders occasioned thereby, referred to it by governmental agencies, private groups or individuals, and to cooperate and assist such agencies, groups or individuals toward solution of these complaints and problems.
7. To anticipate and seek to forestall problems of intergroup tension through police training courses, assistance and guidance to groups working in community relations and housing, support of improved health facilities, encouragement of employment opportunities for all, and development of more adequate educational and recreational facilities for all.
8. To engage in research and long-range planning directed toward the solution of basic difficulties and tensions in group relations in Dade County.
9. To publish and distribute such materials as may be deemed necessary and appropriate and to use public communication of all kinds for programs of citizen education directed toward greater understanding, and appreciation of the contributions, needs and problems of different groups in the community or toward the understanding of specific community problems in the field of group relations.

ARTICLE VII

PROCEDURE

Before any matter may be adopted by the Executive Committee for action, research or study, it must first have been presented in writing to the Executive Committee and approved by a majority vote thereof. Before such approval the Executive Committee may refer any such matter to the Advisory Committee or any other appropriate committee for study and the consideration of such questions as to feasibility, necessity, general interest and relation to member organizations, and report such findings and recommendations to the Executive Committee for action or for the consideration of the general membership of the Council.

The Executive Committee shall advise each member or member organization of all matters approved for action, research or study, and any such member or member organization may record in writing acceptance or rejection thereof. Thereupon the action of such individual or organization shall be placed on record in the minutes of the Executive Committee.

Any action, statement of opinion, or recommendation by the Council or the Executive Committee shall not be considered as binding upon any member, nor as a commitment to similar action or belief by any member.

ARTICLE VIII

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE

Robert's Rules of Order Revised shall govern all meetings of the Council and of the Executive Committee, except when in conflict with the Charter, the By-Laws of the Council, or the By-Laws of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE IX

AMENDMENT OF CHARTER AND BY-LAWS

The Charter of the Council may be amended, altered or repealed by two-thirds of the members present at any meeting of the general membership of the Council duly called by the Executive Committee, provided at least 5 days' written notice is given of such intention to the general membership. The same shall be applicable to the amendment, alteration or repeal of these By-Laws, except that the same may be affected by a majority of the members present. Amendments or other changes in the Charter shall not be effective until approved in accordance with the laws of the State of Florida.

There are three types of memberships in the Council. They are Sustaining Members at $100.00, Organizational Members at $25.00 and Individual Members at $5.00 per year. Membership is open to any organization, business, or individual who believes in, and wishes to further, the aims of the Council and either individuals or organizations may become sustaining members.

The Annual Report issued May 27, 1954 will provide a survey of its program and methods.

DADE COUNTY COUNCIL ON COMMUNITY RELATIONS, ANNUAL REPORT, May 27, 1954

The membership of the Council now contains 40 member organizations, 100 organization delegates, 200 individual members, and an added mailing list of several hundred interested parties.

In May of 1953 the Council, through several of its member organizations, worked with the Convention Bureau of Miami Beach to prepare for the National Education Association Convention in June. This was a racially integrated Convention, and great care was taken in making preparations for feeding and housing the group to assure that no difficulties would arise.

In July, 1953, the Council was called upon by city and county officials to help in the preparation for the National Baptist Convention, due in early September. The Convention was composed of from sixteen to twenty thousand Negroes, and there were not adequate facilities for housing, feeding, or entertaining the delegates. Working closely with the Rev. Edward T. Graham, pastor of the host church for the Convention, the Council conferred with hotel operators and city and county officials to make them aware of the problems of tension that could arise from inadequate facilities. The Council was instrumental in finding housing for several thousand delegates outside of the already overcrowded Negro area during the period of the Convention. After an intensive period of preparation the Convention arrived, and there were no recorded incidents of a racial nature throughout the five day period.

In late September the Council was asked by one of its member agencies to conduct a survey of housing in the downtown Negro area and to present its findings on the type of rental unit available to this minority group to Mr. Albert Cole, Federal Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, who was to be in Miami for a hearing on housing needs. A 10% sample survey was conducted with volunteer help from the community, and the results presented to Mr. Cole.

In October the Council was asked by the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials to study the status of intergroup education in the public schools of Dade County. With the help of member agencies, and individuals active in the field of intergroup education, a study was presented to them outlining the gains in the field and the extent to which the school system and the P-TA's engage in human relations programming.

In November Dr. George Mitchell, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, was brought to Miami to speak on "New Policies in the South" at the Council's annual dinner. Over 400 people attended this interracial and interfaith dinner, held in a large Miami restaurant.

During Brotherhood Week, and for the month following, the Council sponsored "Car Cards for Democracy"--placards carrying a patriotic message - in all the busses. This project drew much favorable comment and publicity.

The Council in the fall adopted as its major project a study of the Dade County School system in the light of possible Supreme Court decisions regarding segregation in the public schools. Effective preparation for a decision was made through panel discussions. With the Supreme Court having rendered a unanimous decision holding segregation by race in the public schools to be unconstitutional, the Council will continue to work with the School Administration in Dade County to work out techniques for complying with the law. A specialized aspect of public school segregation is the tension which has arisen because of the increased school enrollment of the children of Latin-American migrant farm laborers. This tension led to a successful demand by one school that Latin-Americans be sent to a segregated school. At the request of the School Board, the Council has worked extensively in this situation, proposing a solution acceptable in principle to the residents as well as the School Board. Our work in Latin-American relations will be continuing, because of the obvious need as well as the effect those relations may have on the proposed Latin-American Trade center to be located in Miami.

Under the direction of Mr. Seymour Samet, a Directory of Community Relations Resources has been compiled of national, regional and local human relations and intergroup education resources. This will be published in the summer.

The U.S. Department of State has asked the Council's help in entertaining visitors from abroad who tour the United States as guests of the State Department. This will be a continuing program through next year.

The Council sent Mrs. Terry King, Administrative Secretary, to the Government-sponsored Conference on Migrant Labor Problems in Washington the week of May 17. It was proposed at that conference that an intrastate agency, as well as an inter-state agency, be set up to deal with migrant problems and it is expected that the Council will be asked to participate in this endeavor.

An application for a grant from the Fund for the Republic was made during the year, and the application was turned down. Some encouragement has been given on submitting another application for funds for specific projects. This will be done as soon as the Council's Tax Exemption is received. The Exemption is now pending.

The leadership of the University of Miami through its Department of Human Relations has been very important in this development. An account of these interrelationships may be found in the March-April, 1952 issue of New South.

Another case of a new agency in a small town in the South is the Rock Hill, South Carolina, Council on Human Relations. Against the background of many years of discussions and actions in the Rock Hill Interracial Committee and, later, a local group of Southern Regional Council, the spade work was done on this by a small group of interested citizens in anticipation of the Supreme Court Decision on segregation in the public schools. A small, informal group of leaders met to discuss this matter; the group was enlarged to include other citizens representing various interests of the community; and, finally, a proposal was worked out and presented to the City Council. The proposal went through several editions until the following form of it was presented and discussed in City Council.

> PROPOSAL: To establish a Community Council for the Study and Evaluation of Human Relations in Rock Hill.
>
> The city of Rock Hill is a rapidly growing community. Its City government, businessmen, industrialists, churchmen, and its people are proud of its growth. At the same time, all are anxious to work for its future and greater development.
>
> It is our hope to suggest a means to provide some of the understanding necessary in order that the people may consider and solve their problems realistically. For this reason, we propose that the City Council of Rock Hill appoint a Community Council for the evaluation and study of Human Relations in Rock Hill.
>
> Such a committee is necessary because the increased burdens upon public services and private resources of the City are such, that without long-range planning, the cost of these burdens may well be overwhelming.
>
> The development of our community must be accomplished in a manner which is sensitive to the best traditions, hopes, and needs of all the people of our City.
>
> It is important to our future development that all our problems are met and solved in a spirit of brotherly understanding and cooperation. Such an atmosphere can be accomplished with thoughtful planning, and at the same time, provide an opportunity for all segments of our population to play a constructive and equitable part in the human and economic progress of our City.

Not only are an increasing number of cities recognizing the need for long-range planning, but the very nature of planning is going through a change. We would propose that our City be not a "Planned City", but a "Planning City". Hence we would ask the City Council to appoint a Community Council, whose membership and duties would be as follows:

I. Membership

A. To be composed of citizens of Rock Hill, who represent the various fields of occupation; who have the confidence of the people they are to represent; and who have demonstrated their interest and ability in the area of Human Relations.

B. The number of members and length of their term to be decided by the City Council. Perhaps 12 to 15 members would be desirable size, neither so small as to be narrowly representative nor so large as to be cumbersome.

C. It is also suggested that the Committee would be empowered to set up temporary sub-committees for work on special projects. Such sub-committees to be supplemented by qualified persons from the community at large. It is also understood that the Negroes in our community would be properly represented on this committee.

The functions of the Community Council might be as follows:

I. Research (Fact finding)

A. To study and evaluate the facts and circumstances of the problems and plans that are pressing in our community.

B. To study what ought to be the proper standards.

C. To study methods and means to better conditions.

II. Planning

A. To devise the adequate and proper steps to be taken to accomplish the necessary changes and plans.

B. To plan the solutions of specific problems in the light of the long-range plan for our City.

III. Public Information

A. Open channels of communication on all phases of Human Relations to all citizens of Rock Hill.

B. To plan means of presenting the results of the study and evaluation to the General Public, and in particular to the Leaders of the community.

C. To encourage Civic, Church, Educational, and Political leaders to work with their immediate groups so that a fair understanding of these facts might be presented to as many citizens as possible.

D. To clarify principles that would be the basis for such information.

IV. Mediation

A. To devise a plan whereby misunderstanding might be settled peacefully. Develop techniques and procedures proper to this community, by which problems might be mediated with a minimum of friction and outside interference.

B. To assist public and private agencies in long-range planning designed to remove the causes of tension and friction, and to promote the common welfare of all citizens.

This led to a consideration of the Constitution and By-Laws. The following was developed and adopted by the City Council of Rock Hill on May 10, 1954.

Constitution and By-Laws - Rock Hill Council on Human Relations

Article I - Name

Section 1 - The name of this organization shall be the Rock Hill Council on Human Relations.

Article II - Objects and Purposes

Section 1 - The objects and purposes of this organization shall be to study and evaluate Human Relations in Rock Hill, the first objective being specific planning for handling any situation which might arise when the U. S. Supreme Court hands down its ruling on segregation in the public schools.

The first objective of the Council may lead to the following activities in the field of Human Relations:
(a) A study of community needs and resources.
(b) Cooperative planning of health, welfare and recreation services.
(c) Promotion of social improvements.

Section 2 - The results of studies and evaluations of Human Relations shall be turned over to City Council for referral and/or action to the proper agency, organization, department, or individual.

Article III - Membership

Section 1 - Membership of the Council shall be composed of 21 citizens, appointed by Mayor and the City Council of Rock Hill. These citizens shall be selected because of their interest, experience and competence.

Section 2 - The mayor of Rock Hill will be an ex-officio member of the Council.

Article IV - Votes

Section 1 - Each individual member shall have one vote upon any motion before the Council.

Section 2 - The approval of any action by the Council shall require a two-thirds vote of those present.

Article V - Officers

Section 1 - The officers of the Council shall be a president (or chairman), vice-president (or vice-chairman), and a secretary, who shall perform

the duties that usually pertain to their respective offices, and who shall be elected by the members of the Council to serve for one year, and until their respective successors qualify.

Article VI - Committees

Section 1 - Standing committees, or special committees, divisions or departments may be created at any time by action of the Council. Special committees may be appointed for specific projects, and disbanded when the job is done. Since committees in the realms of health, welfare and recreation will find community problems more or less inter-related, these committees will coordinate their findings and recommendations for the Council.

Article VII - Meetings

Section 1 - The Council shall meet on call of the Chairman.

Section 2 - Upon the request, in writing, of a majority of the members of the Council, the Chairman shall call a special meeting at any time.

Section 3 - If deemed necessary, Council may vote to set a specific time for regular meetings.

Article VIII - Quorum

Section 1 - A majority of the members shall constitute a quorum at all meetings of the Council. No action may be taken at any meeting unless a quorum is present.

Article IX - Procedure

Section 1 - Under the head of New Business, any member may present a matter which he believes should be considered by the Council. The council shall not take final action upon any matter involving a question of policy or actual work on the part of the Council unless a report and recommendation has been made by some committee of the Council after thorough study and evaluation.

Section 3 - The chairman shall be an ex-officio member of all committees.

Article X - New Memberships

Section 1 - Membership in the Council shall be subject to appointment by the mayor and City Council of Rock Hill.

Section 2 - No member shall serve more than two successive terms on the Council.

Section 3 - The terms of office shall be for three years, except that in May 1954, the Council shall select by drawing lots seven members to serve three years, seven members to serve two years, and seven members to serve one year. Thereafter, all appointments shall be for a term of three years.

Article XI - Special Duties

Section 1 - The Council shall, at all times, hold itself ready to serve in an advisory capacity to local government, public, private and governmental health, welfare and recreation agencies in matters of welfare planning.

Section 2 - The Council may employ staff as needed, or enter into cooperative arrangements with any appropriate body regarding staff service and office facilities.

Article XII - Amendments

Section 1 - The constitution and by-laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote of a meeting of the Council, provided that the proposed amendment shall have been read at a previous meeting of the Council, and provided that it shall have been submitted in writing to each member at least fifteen days before final action is taken.

APPROVED BY THE CITY COUNCIL OF ROCK HILL, MAY 10, 1954.

In inverviews with Negro and white leaders in Rock Hill it was pointed out that the formation of the Council on Human Relations was itself a big step forward and one likely to be followed by other southern cities and counties. However, the real test of this and other such councils comes in their effectiveness in meeting and dealing with the situations which confront them in intergroup relations both in tension or crisis periods and in long term studies, edu ational, informational, and actional programs.

In this field of municipal agencies dealing with human relations in the South, things are stirring in the hearts of leading citizens and among leaders of existing agencies and organizations in many cities. An example will be given, but because of the informal and non-public character of the information, the name of the place and other identifying data are omitted.

The mayor announced shortly after the Supreme Court Decision on segregation in the public schools that he was going to appoint a Human Relations Committee to look into the whole matter and to make recommendations. Later, he requested a leader in the council of social agencies to make suggestions

about the nature and relationships of such an agency. The following letter is the reply and indicates some of the preliminary steps involved and the variety of possible relationships of such a Committee.

Dear Mayor:

In accordance with your request, I am submitting this memorandum regarding the establishment of a local Human Relations Committee.

The type of committee you envision is certainly in keeping with our democratic tradition of constantly appraising our policies and procedures in the light of changing needs and circumstances.

Such a committee drawn from both races and completely familiar with all major viewpoints should be of inestimable value to our entire county not only as we attempt to comply with the rulings of the Supreme Court, but as we work toward our ideal of creating a finer environment for all our citizens.

If the Council of Social Agencies cooperated in the creation of a Human Relations Committee for the city and county, it might proceed in the following manner:

Purpose of the Committee

1. Study the rulings of the Supreme Court as they apply to our city and county.

2. Advise with the various governmental and tax supported institutions and services in their efforts to develop procedures designed to lessen tension and make more effective their efforts to comply with the requirements of the Supreme Court.

3. Study the facts about relationships between the races in the fields of education, health, welfare, recreation, housing, employment, administration of justice and suffrage.

4. To present to the public the facts and recommendations for improvement as they are determined through study and investigation.

5. Assist all public and private institutions and agencies in their efforts to remove the causes of tension and friction and promote the common welfare of all the citizens of the city and county.

6. Keep the public informed regarding progress made here and elsewhere in order that there may be greater community understanding of the problems involved and solutions proposed.

7. To be alert to any situations of special tension and aid the Mayor, law enforcement agencies, and the public in avoiding possibilities of discord.

8. To serve as a clearing house for organizations and private

citizens who wish to call attention to special problems and opportunities in the area of the Committee's activity.

Because the work of the Committee as outlined would be quite comprehensive, it would probably have to be augmented with the appointment of sub-committees for the study of specialized areas.

If the Council of Social Agencies undertook this task and its normal procedure was followed, the Human Relations Committee would be appointed by the President of the Council with the advice and counsel of the Mayor, and, if possible, the Chairman of the Board of County Commissioners.

It would seem logical for the Committee to consist of some twenty to thirty individuals, selected to be fully representative of the variety of interests in the community, but without direct representation from any group. In this manner, the Committee could look at the facts objectively and not be obligated to defend a particular position decided upon by a group outside of the Committee.

The Committee's task would have not only an immediate aspect but a long range one which would no doubt involve problems which might take years to resolve. As a consequence, it might be wise to realize from the start that the Committee should probably study the desirability of establishing a permanent organization of citizens concerned with the improvement of human relations.

The task might also prove to be such an extensive one that the Committee might feel it eventually necessary to recommend the employment of a trained executive to guide the affairs of such a Human Relations organization. This is now the practice in a growing number of communities.

Finally, it should be recognized that some research might have to be undertaken and consultants retained, who would have to be compensated. Because the areas in which the Committee would be requested to work would heavily involve our governmental agencies, the City Council and the County Commissioners would probably be expected to extend not only their complete cooperation but also offer reasonable financial support when and if such requests made by the Committee could be justified.

However, to establish the Committee and guide its initial steps, our Council appears to be well-equipped.

Its Board of Directors consists of individuals of both races who have the confidence of the community and are familiar with the technique of research and fact finding. They have also had experience in working cooperatively with various individuals and groups interested in human betterment.

In addition, the Council has a limited staff of trained individuals capable of assisting in ascertaining and assembling essential facts and information.

There is little question but that furnishing executive and technical assistance to the Human Relations Committee would place a serious strain

on the present staff of the Council and may temporarily handicap the Council's overall program. However, it is quite apparent that this committee is of vital importance to our community and should have the highest possible priority.

For the Council to undertake this project, it would naturally be necessary for the project to be approved by the Council's Board of Directors.

I appreciate your calling me and giving me this opportunity to present these thoughts for your consideration. ...

Dan W. Dodson made a study of fifty-two local public intergroup agencies in 1951 and came to these summary points.

(1) Most of the early programs were lodged in the office of the mayor or else directly under his control.
(2) The present trend is from mayor's committees toward human relations commissions, established by city councils--from an appendage to the office of mayor to an arm of municipal government.
(3) Early programs were diffuse. Later activity centered on employment and other civil rights activities. Most recent developments are toward comprehensive responsibilities, but undergirded by law.
(4) Most of the committees are in the Eastern and Western and Great Lakes regions of the United States.
(5) There was no indication of a single approach to the solution of intergroup problems. Most communities indicated work along several lines, including: Social action; education; community organization and advisement.
(6) It is difficult to assess the effectiveness of programs under different kinds of administration structure. In general the programs or the committees tended to reflect the sincerity of the municipal administration.
(7) An analysis of the effectiveness of programs raises the question as to whether it would not be strategy in many communities such as the South to concentrate on the big issues, rather than waste energies on minor "civil rights." Undoubtedly employment, equal educational opportunities, and housing are three big emphases which, if handled well, represent a hold on the jugular vein of discrimination and prejudice. Greatest success seems to be indicated where top priority has been given to those facets of community life.

The Journal of Negro Education, op.cit., p. 406.

State Agencies--Private and Public

It has already been pointed out that many of the private agencies had offices or groups at the local, state, regional, and national levels. Naturally, the aims, structure, and functions would be similar, though not identical, at each level. It is frequently one of the major purposes of agencies above the local level to organize, stimulate, and give guidance to local units. This is especially true of state organizations. Because of this close interlocking character relatively less attention will be paid the state agencies in this study. There seem to be two types of experiences worth reviewing for present purposes. One has to do with the private interracial groups which grew up in the past in many states and the Governor's interracial committees and other public state agencies which have developed primarily in northern and western states.

Perhaps the most widespread private groups were those stimulated by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and its successor, the Southern Regional Council in the southern states. Something of the philosophy and aims of the CIC have already been indicated. In addition to its research work, publications, and educational efforts, the agency helped to clarify, through discussions and meetings, the thinking of the "best elements of the two races" during an early period when merely the fact of Negroes and whites meeting together was considered radical. These efforts were aimed at "the creation of a better spirit, the correction of grievances, and the promotion of interracial understanding and sympathy," according to one of the CIC publications.

The Commission has taken positive and public stands in its monthly paper The Southern Frontier, in its county forums, and at annual state conventions, on questions involving political and economic equality and extension of equal participation in all social and public welfare benefits. These include elimination of the white primary, abolition of the poll tax as a qualification for voting, Negro policemen, equal pay for equal work, including equalization of teachers' salaries, equal training in skilled and semi-skilled work, opening of tax-supported hospitals to Negro doctors, and equal provision of recreational centers for Negroes. Legislatively, the Commission, in cooperation with state committees, has worked to secure appropriations for graduate and professional training for Negroes and for the creation of training schools for Negro girls; in fact, the Commission's program, through its state and local committees, has included every field of public service supported wholly or in part with tax funds.

Memorandum by Jessie Daniel Ames, August, 1940, as quoted in Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1944), p.845.

State interracial committees or councils were stimulated by the CIC in every state of the South. These state groups varied widely in effectiveness, strength, size, continuity, and programs. They did, however, bring together the liberal and educated leadership of both races for discussion, resolution, and action. Charles S. Johnson and Associates reviewed some of the activities of these state groups in their survey of best practices in race relations in the South.

Into The Main Stream (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947), especially Chapter 1, pp. 3-40.

A few examples will indicate the work of these groups. In Alabama a state committee worked to "educate the public to an awareness of conditions which result in injustice to many citizens, with special emphasis on education, health, economic opportunity, law enforcement, and social security; it is also developing a program of local activities through the state directed to the improvement of these conditions." There are four subcommittees: (1) a com-

mittee to get as many speakers before civic and religious groups as possible; (2) a committee to promote study of race relations in colleges; (3) a committee on forums, which is planning public forums in all the cities of the state, four of which had been arranged at the time of the report; (4) a speakers' committee to secure qualified speakers for all these engagements, to analyze propaganda, and to serve as a clearing house of information."

Ibid., p. 15.

In Florida the state council works through local committees. One of these was in Miami. It was reorganized in 1944 with one of its members, a city official, remarking, "We don't want to sit around and talk, we want action and results." The immediate result was the appointment of several Negro police officers and the foundations were laid for the semi-official Dade County Council on Human Relations.

Kentucky had a Council on Interracial Cooperation for years before the Governor appointed an official agency in 1944 known as Kentucky Commission on Negro Affairs. This group was composed originally of six white and six Negro members. It was without funds but was a step forward as a southern state with a publicly appointed Commission. It is likely that the groundwork carried on by the citizens' council was an important factor in getting the official commission set up.

In like manner a local interracial committee in Louisville prepared the the way for the appointment of a Mayor's Interracial Council to study the problems of Negro citizens of the city. Before this happened the citizens' committee called an interracial conference in 1944 which made these recom-

mendations for "(1) discontinuance of Red Cross blood segregation in Louisville; (2) election of a Negro to the Board of Education; (3) more favorable attitudes toward Negro women shoppers in downtown stores; (4) appointment of more Negroes to the Louisville Area Development Association and provision of more war housing units for Negroes; (5) employment of Negro operators by the Louisville Railway Company."

Ibid., p. 22.

In another border state, Maryland, war time tensions and violence led to citizens' protest meetings making recommendations to the Governor to investigate police administration in the Negro areas of Baltimore, secure appointment of Negro police officers in uniform, and provide for Negro representation on all state institutions operated for Negroes. The result was the appointment by the Governor of a Commission on Problems Affecting the Negro Population. The Commission was composed of both white and Negro members and set up committees on housing, police and liquor license, health, education, employment, and county problems. Studies, recommendations, and actions of these committees resulted in specific easing of tension and moves by various public state and local agencies toward a better opportunity for Negroes in the areas covered by the committees.

In 1943 the Virginia State Commission on Interracial Cooperation, with more than thirteen city and county committees, met and adopted a six-point program: "(1) study race relations; (2) disseminate the facts; (3) take steps to correct the wrongs; (4) formulate a constructive cooperative program for the entire community; (5) enlist the aid of all friends and community agencies; (6) cease attacking 'radicals and reactionaries' and conserve energy for

own program."

Ibid., p. 39.

There was to be concentration on five points of friction in the state: "(1) streetcar and bus transportation; (2) treatment of Negroes by law enforcement officers and the courts; (3) training and employment of Negroes in the skilled and semi-skilled trades and industries; (4) provision for health and recreation services for both the civilian and military population; (5) adequate provision for education and, along with this, school bus transportation for Negro children."

Ibid.

These stories could be repeated in all the states of the South. Some of the states have done more and some less than the examples given. Much, though by no means all, of this effort and organization has stemmed from the work of the CIC and its successor the SRC. Of course, much credit, also, goes to "straight-line" agencies and their activities in the states as well as the actions of liberal and informed citizens working through various public organizations.

This body of opinion and actions makes up a treasury of intelligent good will and precedent on which to draw in facing up to the new situations ~~faced~~ in the South.

It now remains to review data on official and public state agencies. One-half of the 48 states now have some type of official agency dealing with race or minority relations. Most of these operate with public funds, although the budgets are usually quite limited in the light of the tasks.

The purposes and programs carried on by these agencies vary widely from state to state. A recent study produced a composite picture, although by no means do all states engage in all these activities. In fact, some states are limited to only one of these functions. The composite pictures includes:

1. To study facts, conditions and problems of discrimination relating to minority groups;
2. To prepare and keep statistics relating to all phases of Negro life;
3. To compile facts regarding employment, health, housing, etc.;
4. To investigate all reports of discriminatory practices and violation of state civil rights laws;
5. To advise with or make recommendations to agencies and officers of the state and local subdivisions of government;
6. To advise and report to the Governor;
7. To recommend legislation to eliminate prejudice;
8. To stimulate interest in intercultural education and to act as a resource and advisory agency to the public schools;
9. To improve relationships of residents and foreign born and to assist immigrants generally;
10. To improve public welfare service for Negroes and promote participation in public welfare activity by Negroes;
11. To promote good will through community education and efforts;
12. To develop community councils for cooperative planning and community efforts;
13. To promote the general welfare of minority groups;
14. To promote fair employment practices and improve employment and training opportunities for minority group members;
15. To administer the state's fair employment practices act;
16. To eliminate discriminatory practices.

Directory of State Public Agencies in Race Relations, March, 1948, American Council on Race Relations, p. 9.

The four southern states included in the study are limited to specific purposes and programs as follows (the numbers refer to the statements above): Kentucky, item 1; Maryland, item 1; North Carolina, item 10; and Texas, item 13. Problem areas cover civil liberties and rights, education, employment, housing, health, welfare, recreation, social attitudes, and immigration and naturalization. Methods of operations include research, human re-

lations training, negotiation, legislative activity, legislative services, legal action, community organization, community services, consultation and field services, and information and public relations.

The majority of these official state agencies have been established since 1941.

> Most of these agencies appear to have been established at the outset with the primary aim of collecting the facts about minority group conditions and problems and activing as advisory bodies to their respective governors, and/or state legislatures. Five state agencies still operate on this basis and exercise no direct responsibility for correcting or alleviating conditions of discrimination of which they may be aware. Eight agencies attempt to promote good will and to modify social attitudes by distribution of literature, conferences and other community educational activities. Five function as service agencies, offering help to individuals and to communities in problems involving employment, public welfare, intercultural education, immigration and naturalization and guidance in the formation of community councils. Two state agencies investigate reports of discriminatory practices and violations of their state civil rights laws and seek voluntary compiance by the offending parties. Two other agencies devote themselves to the general aim of eliminating discrimination and working for the solution of minority group problems. Six agencies have responsibility delegated to them for administering state fair employment practice acts.

Ibid., p. 15.

Many of these state groups employ professional leadership. In an unpublished "Memorandum on Programs of State Official Race Relations Agencies" of NAIRO actual activities carried on were listed:

- Publishes, circulates or exchanges information on the agency's experience
- Consults with other professional race relations agencies on the solution of problems
- Engages in fact-finding, either surveys or library research
- Analyzes and interprets agency experience
- Uses published materials on race relations
- Reports changes in status of race relations attributable to the agency's program

Conducts in-service training program for staff, commissioners, etc.
Publishes newsletter or bulletins which are factual rather than hortatory
Enabling act calls for research
Enabling act calls for cooperation with other agencies in human relations field.

In the developing programs of these agencies it has been suggested that they face continuing responsibilities in the broad field of human rights with particular reference to such matters as:

1. Formulating and encouraging the adoption of a sound race relations policy through the authority of the governor's office and the administrative authority of other departments of state government;
2. Reviewing state departmental personnel with recommendations to the governor or legislature, or recourse to the legal machinery of the state to remove discrimination in state government operation where it exists;
4. Reporting regularly to state officials and to the public on the state of race relations and minority group problems within the state;
5. Encouraging the organization of municipal and county agencies with comparable responsibilities;
6. Cooperating with planning agencies and with state and local private organizations interested in the over-all problem and related social problems; and
7. Promoting a state-wide program of community education.

Directory of State Public Agencies in Race Relations, op.cit., p. 16.

The Governor's Commission on Human Rights of Wisconsin has been selected for a case study because of the generality of its authorizing legislation and the primary dependence upon an educational and public relations approach to its duties. This program started with an idea revolving around the question: Could the state help in educating its citizens toward equal opportunity for all? In 1945 the Governor of Wisconsin appointed a Commission on Human Rights, and two years later the state legislature established the Commission by law.

Governor's commission on human rights. There is created the governor's commission on human rights to consist of not to exceed 35 members who shall be appointed by the governor for terms of 3 years each without the advice or consent of the senate. Members shall be appointed from the entire state and shall be representative of all races, creeds, groups, organizations and fields of endeavor. They shall receive no compensation for their services. It shall be the duty of the commission to disseminate information and to attempt by means of discussion as well as other proper means to educate the people of the state to a greater understanding, appreciation and practice of tolerance, to the end that Wisconsin will be a better place in which to live.

Gifts and donations. All gifts, grants, bequests and devises to the governor's commission on human rights for its use for any of the purposes mentioned in section 15.85 (above), whether made to the members or otherwise, are valid and shall be used to carry out the purposes for which made and received.

Wisconsin Laws for Human Rights, p. 3.

In 1949 the state legislature made a biennium appropriation of $18,000, and this was increased in 1951 to $24,500 and in 1953 by 50 percent.

In feeling its way toward "a positive program and philosophy" the Commission went through several stages.

1. Embarking on an initial struggle to survive in the face of skepticism to a new idea.
2. Establishing itself on a sound governmental basis.
3. Pioneering with a variety of projects and methods in order to carry out its statutory duties faithfully and fully.
4. Taking initiative and leadership in establishing constructive methods of approach to the settlement of human rights problems.

The Way to a Man's Mind, 1949-1953, p. 3.

There was at one time in this process the question as to whether the Governor's name should be attached to this Commission and why it should not be called simply a State Commission. It was felt wise to continue the use of the Governor's name for several reasons.

1. Because it adds prestige to an organization operating in such a difficult field of endeavor that it needs all the legitimate prestige possible.

2. Because it strikes that personal note which is the key of the effectiveness of the Commission's approach.

3. Because it forges a tangible link between the people of the state and their highest elected representatives in a common endeavor to uphold American ideals of opportunity for all.

4. Because it is a constant reminder to the Commission of its duty to act at all times in a responsible manner compatible with the privilege of being entitled a Governor's Commission.

Ibid., pp. 4-5.

Believing that the duty of the Commission as stated in the last sentence of the legislation above was "everybody's business" and that a broadly guaged program of education was involved, the Commission

> began to interpret education in the broadest sense of the word. It saw learning as a process which continues in the human being from the cradle to the grave. It understood that the opportunities for learning are not confined to the classroom or the lecture hall, the text book or the sermon. It accepted the modern American doctrine that people learn by doing. Thus true education for democracy would create the chance for people of different backgrounds to learn to respect each other through shared discussion and through work and play together. Education for democracy is not just a flag or an anthem or a statue of liberty, but is like a sea around us, with room for all, immersing us in a common humanity.
>
> With this approach in mind, the Commission has initiated a many-sided educational program, involving research and fact-finding; publication and distribution of materials on human rights' issues; personal interviews and correspondence; public speaking; conferences and workshops; the use of audio-visual aids and radio and press; cooperation with interested organizations (public and private, local, state and national); conciliation and mediation in cases of alleged discrimination; community organization for problem solving; and the development of good public relations. It has upheld that there is no valid line of demarcation between education and legislation, and that sound education and sound legislation are inseparable parts of one process towards one goal. For this reason it has at need initiated and supported remedial legislation in the field of human relations. ...

Particularly in the highly charged field of human relations the how is just as important as the what. Yet it seems as if the average person is less careful about his techniques in this field than in any other field of his behavior. Why should we use the same emotional approaches we condemn in others? It takes skilled and disciplined hands to de-tonate the mines of racial or religious antagonisms. At the two extremes of method are what we might label the 'bull in the china shop' and the 'ostrich head in the sand'. Neither one has been known to obtain constructive results. I can see no contradiction between being courteous in manner and remaining firm on the principle involved. A compromise on method, with a realistic recognition of the best time and place for progress, does not mean a compromise of goal. Persuasion and conciliation are basic factors in the hands of intelligent people. We cannot afford to leave such stones unturned in our efforts to recruit friends for human rights.

But the moment that human rights are treated within the framework of scientific inquiry they are seen as related to many other human needs and problems, requiring joint solutions. This realization has led the Commission to give to the term, human rights, the same perspective as it did to the term, education. Human rights become an integral part of good human relations. By treating them as a part of the whole need to modify any anti-social behavior patterns through intelligent and cooperative community planning the Commission hopes to approximate more closely in statutory duty to make Wisconsin a better place for all its citizens. By mending fences and minding manners, by suggestion rather than ultimatum, by mutual aid rather than misanthropy, the Commission hopes to utilize good public relations as a means toward the end of good human relations.

Ibid., pp. 7, 9-10.

Undergirding this approach a definite statement of policy was developed:

> We dedicate all our energies to the elimination of all discriminatory practices; we propose to sustain with vigor the free exercise of human rights by all people everywhere; and we call upon civic, commercial, industrial, governmental, educational, labor and religious agencies and all the peoples to foster those sentiments and practices which will preserve our unity and make us a strong and contented people.

We Hold These Rights, p. 1.

To implement this educational and public relations approach to the difficult problems of discrimination and prejudice in intergroup relations the Commission announced several types of services:

To provide speakers throughout the state on the subject of human rights.

To send educational packets, provide a book review service, and otherwise supply information and materials on human rights to professional and lay groups.

To give radio talks and plan radio programs.

To help in the establishment of local committees on human rights in all areas of the state.

To act as a clearing house of information on human rights in Wisconsin.

To initiate state, district, and local conferences on the techniques and methods needed to deal with crisis situations and long-range preventive education.

To gather facts about alleged discriminatory practices, particularly in the field of housing, public accommodations, recrdation, health and education, with the aim of achieving equitable solutions for all concerned by means of conference, conciliation and persuasion.

To secure better law enforcement and equal protection under the law.

To make recommendations for improved or added legislation in the field of human rights.

To cooperate with various state departments and private organizations and work with interagency committees in helping to increase opportunities for all citizens.

To continue the interchange of workable ideas with other state commissions towards the realization of a national and international program of human rights.

To initiate study and research in regard to problem areas and to cooperate with other agencies on research problems.

To publish studies and progress reports in the field of human rights.

Ibid., p. 4.

The Governor's Commission has the criticism and support of the youth of Wisconsin through a Youth Advisory Board representing various youth groups throughout the state.

Although this Commission operates in a state with a growing body of human rights legislation, a factor which serves to differentiate most northern and western states from most southern states, it has formulated a philosophy, policy, and program which might very well be emulated by citizens in southern states as they face the new problems in the field of human relations and as they seek human rights legislation.

Another case study deals with Illinois Commission on Human Relations with particular reference to its work in the field of stimulating and working with local community agencies. Created by executive order in 1943, it was established by legislative statute in 1947 as the Illinois Interracial Commission and its name changed by General Assembly in 1951.

The powers and duties of the Commission as provided by law are:

> (a) to investigate the most effective means of affording opportunity in profitable employment to all persons, with particular reference to training and placement; (b) to cooperate with civic, religious, and educational organizations in promoting tolerance and good will; (c) to promote and encourage interfaith and interracial harmony and good will; (d) to report to the Governor and the Legislature biennially, on or about the third Monday in January of each odd-numbered year, the result of its investigations.

The State of Illinois Commission on Human Relations, Fifth Biennial Report, p. 5.

The Commission has stated its role in the following terms:

> In translating its statutory duties into action, the Commission has set up three general goals: (1) continuing research to provide current and factual analyses of intergroup problems with particular emphasis upon employment; (2) cooperation with other state and local governmental agencies to eliminate discrimination and assure enforcement of civil rights laws; (3) establishment of local human relations commissions throughout the state.
>
> The Commission is a fact-finding agency, specifically charged with gathering facts about employment. In addition to its biennial report to the Legislature, research findings are made available to other public and private agencies, to other state departments, to schools, and to human relations groups in Illinois and other states.
>
> The Commission has found that human relations progress can best be achieved by organized community effort. Problems vary from community to community and each must work toward a solution on the local level. The services of the Commission members and staff are available to all communities and groups in the state. The Commission has encouraged the development of local citizens organizations, and has served as a coordinating agency for such groups.

The Commission is not empowered to administer civil rights laws, nor specifically empowered to recommend legislation. It does maintain records of all pertinent legislative action. It can, and does, refer complaints of civil rights violators to the proper agency, such as the State's Attorney's offices of the various counties, or to the Attorney General's office.

Ibid., pp. 6-7.

It carries on its work through a professional staff and committees on Employment, Housing, Health and Welfare, Education, Legal and Legislative. The budget for the fifth biennium was $63,648.

The particular concern here is with its work in the field of local communities. In many states, for example, New Jersey and New York, the existence of the state agency has greatly stimulated organization and activity in local counties or cities. The same is true of Illinois. The fourth section of the Fifth Biennial Report is devoted to this phase of the work of the Commission. Perhaps the best way to give a picture of this field is to include this section of the Report.

Prejudice is not peculiar to a few scattered communities whose names make news when racial tensions explode into shocking acts of violence. In a less sensational form prejudice is translated into day-to-day acts of discrimination. Such discrimination deprives American citizens of fair opportunity to earn a living, to get an education, or to be decently housed. These are problems in human relations with which more and more communities are becoming concerned.

The state Commission recognizes that the impetus for an effective human relations program must come from the community itself. No outside agency can produce a quick-acting cure-all. Thus, community effort is the most important factor in any long range program for better human relations throughout the state.

For this reason, the Commission places emphasis on its field services.

1. Staff members have established and strive to maintain close contact with leaders of all local human relations groups. This has been done in 30 counties in the state where intergroup problems exist.

2. The Commission acts as a consultant in the formation of a local commission and assists in planning its program.

3. The Commission operates as an informational service, passing on the results of its research or other significant developments to the local bodies.

4. The Commission is sometimes called upon to act as a mediator in situations of local friction.

5. The Commission offers a preventative program to bring about inter-

racial harmony before tension situations are allowed to develop.

Continuing contact with the local groups through visits or by correspondence, makes it possible for the Commission to keep abreast of current developments in interracial relations throughout the state. The Commission's office has been the source of information for both governmental and private agencies and individuals.

In 1950 there were six human relations or interracial commissions in Illinois. During the last two years the number has grow n to 20 with several more in prospect.

There are two types of local organizations: (1) official commissions appointed by the mayor or city council and created by ordinance or executive order; (2) voluntary councils established by interested citizens. In all cases members serve without compensation.

Membership in the local commissions usually includes representation of all major racial, religious or nationality groups as well as representatives from churches, industry, labor, education, law, medicine and social welfare.

At the present time human relations groups are functioning in these cities: Alton, Aurora, Carbondale, Chamgaign, Chicago, Decatur, East St. Louis, Elgin, Evanston, Galesburg, LaGrange, Lincoln, Maywood, North Shore Area, Park Forest, Peoria, Quincy, Rockford, Springfield and Waukegan. Nine are official.

When the Commission is called upon for assistance a community, the Commission representative first confers with the local officials such as the mayor, chief of police, city attorney, school superintendent or others. Every effort is made to achieve their full cooperation and a mutual understanding of the problem and the provisions of the law.

There are several communities with large non-white populations which do not have human relations or interracial commissions such as Cairo, Danville and Harrisburg. Situations in these communities have also been referred to the attention of the state Commission. In such cases the Commission has sought the aid of public officials and interested citizens within the community.

With the aim of establishing closer communication and providing for an exchange of information between the widely scattered groups with mutual problems, the Commission has sponsored two annual state-wide conferences on human relations. Both were held at the University of Illinois in Urbana and attended by approximately 100 human relations leaders representing 20 to 25 Illinois communities.

The purpose of these conferences was two-fold: (1) to bring about a realization that the problem of human relations was a matter of concern in most of the cities of the state: (2) to serve as a reminder that the state government is concerned in the solution of the problems.

In each case the conference dealt with current problems and possible methods of solution. Workshop sessions were devoted to discussions of techniques for overcoming discrimination in employment, housing, medical facilities and public accommodations, techniques for community education and organization and reports of recent civil rights legislation.

Local groups have been most effective when they have concentrated their effort on one major project rather than attempting to solve all human relations problems at once. Here are a few typical examples of successful local action:

One group, with the cooperation of several civic organizations ended segregation at its public swimming pool--another brought about the placing of a Negro teacher in the high school--one succeeded in opening jobs as bus drivers to Negroes--several have set up job-training programs for minority groups--others are working to end discrimination in restaurants or hotels.

Ibid., pp. 33-36.

Other state public agencies in the field of human relations have done increasingly effective work but these two cases are illustrative and sufficient for present purposes.

PART II

PROPOSALS AND OPPORTUNITIES

This section contains the constructive proposals resulting from the study. No effort has been made to repeat the material of the documentary section but rather to evaluate it in the light of the situation in the South and to make such proposals as seem worthwhile in terms of action and organization in local communities and in states.

Obviously, this section is in rough draft form and stands in need of refinement, especially at the point of fitting the proposals more adequately into the framework and perspective of the Southern Regional Council and its continuing program. At best, these proposals represent opportunities for the SRC staff to modify, rework, and improve them until they become fit instruments for what may be the greatest movement for better human relations and rights the South has yet known.

Situation in the South

Because of the pressure of time and the fact that members of the SRC staff can do a much better job of this introductory section, it has been decided not to develop it here. Much of the material for this section appears in the background statement prepared as a part of the request to the Ford Foundation. This brief section should stress the rapid changes in Negro-White relationships in the South, the various Supreme Court Decisions in the field of human rights in education, housing, public accommodations, and other developments in the fields of employment, law enforcement, handling of news, and so on. This section should close with an account of the stirrings caused by the recent Supreme Court Decision against segregation in the public schools and of the necessity for the enlightened citizens of both races to get to-

gether for a common solution of the problems confronting them in this critical field, as well as related human relations areas.

Southern Regional Council Facing the Situation

Here, again, this section will need to be developed by the staff. Much of the material for it is contained in the same background document mentioned above. Something of the history, experience, and purposes of SRC, together with a projection of present plans under its new and continuing program would need to be included.

Meeting the Situation in Local Communities

This brings us to the major constructive task of study. It is to make suggestions to individual persons or groups in cities or counties in the area of discussing, organizing, planning, and acting to meet the pressing problems of intergroup relations. The material is based on a review and evaluation of the documentary study of local human relations agencies and it is prepared in a question and answer form with the thought that it might be useful as a guide for discussion by any group interested in initiating, planning, or reviewing action in this field.

It is strongly urged that concerned citizens of both races, especially school people and parents, in every town, city, and county in the South come together in appropriate public buildings or churches to discuss the situation and make plans to meet the future in keeping with religious principles, democratic ideals, the law of the land, and common sense. The following questions and suggestions may prove useful as such groups think, talk, and plan for immediate and long run action in this field.

1. What is the local situation? Every local community or county is different from every other one. Each has its own peculiar problems, history and experience in Negro-white and other intergroup relationships. The ratio

of Negroes to whites differs widely, the extent of prejudice and lack of communication and understanding varies, and past development in the human relations field ranges from little to much from place to place. This means that interested citizens or groups will need to study their own community and to evaluate its particular problems in relation to the Supreme Court Decision on public schools and other areas of human relations.

What has been the experience of the community in organized groups dealing with intergroup relations? Has there been a local interracial committee, or a local group of members of the SRC? or a local chapter of NAACP, church group, school group, YWCA, official agency or other type of human relations group? If so, what are such groups doing and planning?

Is there need for a citizens' committee or council on community relations (or human relations) to bring together the leadership and rank and file membership of both races to face the situation?

Most of the citizens' and mayors' councils in the country have arisen in local communities in times of tension, violence or threat of violence. They were developed quickly to deal with particular crisis situations. Later, they expanded their activities to treat the basic causes of intergroup tensions and to build for positive good will and constructive community relations.

2. <u>What are the main types of such groups and what is needed in the South?</u> There are three basic forms of organized agencies in the human relations field.

(1) Local chapters or units of national agencies, such as the NAACP, Urban League, the social action committees of churches, or the local YWCA.

(2) A citizens' council on community relations on a private or quasi-

official basis, such as the Dade County Council on Community Relations or the Los Angeles County Conference on Community Relations, or the Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee of Cincinnati.

It is proposed here that the second type of agency, the citizens' council on community relations, can serve to bring interested citizens and responsible agencies of both races together to face the school situation and other intergroup problems in the South. Such a council would not compete with existing agencies but serve to strengthen them, and it might be a first step toward a resolution or legislation setting up the public type of agency. Even so, there would be continuing need for the citizens' council since experience in other cities and counties has been consistent at the point that mayor's committees and official commissions do and can move only as far and as fast as legislation, public opinion, and private agency prodding push them.

Further, one of the principal differences between cities, counties, and states in the South and in other parts of the country is the lack, generally speaking, of human rights legislation or ordinances. Due to this fact and the prevailing political climate in many places built on traditions, folkways, mores, which instutionalize and sanction discrimination, it would not be considered wise to agitate for official and public committees or commissions dealing with human relations without the most careful preparation by a citizens' council and the performance of a continuing "watch-dog" function by the private agency.

3. <u>What are the steps in organizing a council and getting started in the human relations field?</u> There are two concerns here: one is to call together persons concerned with the problems of human relations, especially the public

school situation and the other is to organize a council for continuous work in this field. Both of these concerns are kept in mind in these suggestions.

Step One. The initiative can be taken by any interested citizen.

Step Two. Call together a few other persons to discuss the matter. This informal discussion group should include both Negroes and whites and might meet in an appropriate public building, church, etc.

Step Three. After talking over the situation and studying this manual, the small group should issue invitations, by word of mouth or letter, to a larger group of leaders for a meeting to discuss community relations problems, especially the public school situation, and the possibilities of setting up a council. A representative of the Southern Regional Council or of the state council might be secured for this meeting. To this meeting should be invited members, if any, of the local interracial committee or local members of the SRC. These persons could form the nucleus of interest and information around which to move ahead. Also, other interested leading citizens and heads of organizations and agencies concerned with these problems should be invited.

Step Four. Hold the "invitation" meeting to discuss further the problems of community relations and preliminary organization. The purpose of this meeting would be to discuss the needs and purposes of such a council and to inform a larger number of citizens of the possibilities of organization. One result of this meeting should be a decision to appoint a temporary committee to explore further the details of organizing a council. Another result should be to keep before the group in an exploratory manner the public school situation or whatever problem in community relations was most pressing. Another decision of this meeting might very well be to appoint another temporary committee to prepare for a fuller discussion of the tension situation at the next meeting.

It is strongly urged that local citizens' councils, representing both races, be formed before tensions become acute and lay the groundwork for a constructive approach on a continuing basis to the problems of intergroup relations before critical stage is reached in the new situation in the South.

Step Five. The temporary organizing committee would make a fuller study of the possibilities of setting up a council. It might get in touch with a larger number of citizens and all the appropriate agencies with invitations to an organizational meeting. At the same time, the other temporary committee might prepare for a panel discussion of the school problem, or some other, as a part of the program for the organizing meeting.

Step Six. These two committees would hold the organizing meeting. Here one-half the period would be given to the community relations problem and the other half to preliminary organization. This later step should be very simple and flexible. Perhaps the selection of a continuation committee authorized to set up the necessary details of organization, after agreement on principles, would be sufficient. The purpose of this council is to better community relations, not to build an elaborate organization.

Step Seven. The continuation committee would arrange for a simple statement of by-laws and the Council would be formally and officially organized at the next meeting, with charter memberships.

(insert p. 66a)

4. What are the purposes of a citizens' council? Obviously, each local group will want to hammer out its own purposes. These items may serve as an "anvil" for the discussional process.

(1) To deal with immediate intergroup problems of tension and difficulty in the local community.

(2) To carry on, in cooperation with others, a self-survey or study of community problems in this area.

(3) To concentrate on the major problem of the local community, such as school integration, while laying the foundation for dealing with discrimination and lack of equality of opportunity in housing, employment, law enforcement, and public accommodations.

(4) To coordinate and strengthen the work of all cooperating agencies and groups concerned with intergroup relations.

(5) To cooperate with all public agencies and officials in reducing tension and increasing good relationships.

(6) To provide common meeting grounds and channels of communication for all persons and agencies of both races in dealing with community problems and in efforts to make the community a better place to live for all its people.

(7) To press for anti-discrimination ordinances, placing the full weight of local government behind efforts to implement democratic ideals as expressed in the Bill of Rights, the Constitution, and Supreme Court Decisions.

(8) To work for a public and official county or municipal Commission on Community Relations (or Human Relations) and, where one exists, to support it and urge it to full activity.

(9) To use research, discussion, intercultural education, and public relations methods to make and keep the community aware of its opportunities and obligations in human relations, especially in the public school field.

(10) To work in cooperation with various state agencies, especially the new office established by the Southern Regional Council.

(11) To form a permanent citizens' city or county council to give continuing leadership in this important field of human relations in the changing South.

(12) Above all else, to start where the community is and to move it in the direction which, under God and democracy, it ought to go in providing equality of opportunity regardless of race, religion, or nationality background.

5. Who should be involved in such a council? It should be clearly understood that this is not the place for "radicals" or "subversives" on the one hand, and "reactionaries" and "stand-patters", on the other hand. Rather,

this type of council should be composed of leading liberal citizens of both races who are concerned about and responsible for the best interests of the total community and its future. Members of the local interracial committee or of the SRC might well form the nucleus of such a council. Persons likely to be interested in the immediate issues growing out of the Supreme Court Decision are public school officials and teachers, PTA leaders and parents and patrons of the schools. Other persons in the community would include leaders in the fields of religion (clergy, lay and, especially, lay women), civic clubs, business, labor, agriculture, industry, health, welfare, recreation. Also, such public officials as county commissioners, mayors, city councilmen, public school superintendent, sheriff, police officers, agricultural agents, judges, social welfare workers, city planners, parks and recreation officials and others who have public responsibility which involve intergroup relations. Not all these types of persons or agencies are to be found in every local community or county. Also, individuals or agencies not in sympathy with the purposes of the council should not be "pressured" to join. Care should be taken that Negroes and other groups are adequately represented on the council.

It is suggested that organizations and agencies interested in human relations, as well as interested citizens, become members and participants in the Council.

6. What should be the program of activities of the council? Naturally, this will depend on the local community situation and problems, the nature of the council, and the resources (finances, status, leadership) available to it. Any concrete program should be developed gradually and tailored to the needs and possibilities of each community. Therefore, only general suggestions can be made here for discussion.

(1) In the light of the purposes of the council, the focus of all phases of its program would be on efforts to secure equal rights and opportunities for all citizens of the community without bias or discrimination based on racial, religious, and ethnic factors.

(2) Activities should concentrate on the central areas of discrimination, rather than attempt to cover the "waterfront." It will be found that work in any vital field sooner or later involves all others of significance for human relations.

(3) Critical areas of tension may differ from community to community, but it is likely that the field of public school education in the face of the Supreme Court Decision outlawing segregation will be of immediate concern in most cities and counties of the South for some time to come. This would likely be the place to start in the program of a new council.

(4) Regardless of the particular field of human relations which happens to be of most immediate concern, the perspective and prospects for the council should be laid in such a way as to enable it to deal with intergroup relations at other points as they become critical. This should be done not only on an emergency but, also, a continuous basis.

(5) As the documentary evidence from other groups shows there are certain recurring areas in which programs of activities will need to be developed in the long run. These are (a) Public schools and education, (b) Employment and job opportunities, (c) Housing, (d) Law enforcement and legislation, and (e) Public accommodations in various fields, such as transportation, recreation, and health facilities. In these and other areas recurring problems of discrimination arise and programs must be developed to deal with them.

7. <u>What are the principal methods of action and work?</u> Informality and flexibility of approach should dominate work for better human relations, especially on the part of private agencies without the force of law. The following methods may be discussed in determining which ones are useful and workable in any particular group.

(1) Informal group discussion in the council and in all committees and sub-groups of it is the most important method in involving members in the process of understanding the problems, setting goals, deciding on methods, and committing themselves to action. The methods of small group discussion should be understood and utilized.

(2) Quiet, friendly, behind-the-scenes conversations between the "right" citizens or officials and individual members of the council about concrete problems are among the most valuable and widely used methods of getting things done in this field. It is especially helpful in private agencies with little or no paid professional help but with leading citizens as members.

(3) Work through members who are employed in other agencies. For example, there may be discrimination in the handling of county welfare cases because of race but the matter may be partially or completely corrected because the welfare worker is a member of this group discussing the matter and proposing solutions.

(4) Assist in coordinating and strengthening the human relations work in member agencies. This may be done through human relations committees in member agencies, by having representatives of these agencies in group discussions of problems and ways of meeting them, by rendering direct intercultural educational services to the agencies as requested and as resources are available, and by serving as a clearing house for these agencies. For

example, official and teachers from Negro and white schools may be members of the council or the county or city school board may be represented in it. The assistance of the council may be available to these leaders as they face problems of interrelationships, integration, and intercultural education.

(5) Special discussion groups, workshops, and training groups may be stimulated or sponsored by the council. This might be done with parents and teachers regarding school problems. It could be done with police officers in the matter of handling intergroup relations in law enforcement. The leaders of Negro and white churches might come together for a study of religion and human relations and its implications for the practices of their churches and for the total community life. Other examples of specialized education and training efforts will suggest themselves in various communities.

(6) Another approach along this line but with community-wide implications would be a citizens' conference on civic unity or community relations. Here public meetings, attended by all groups in the community, with addresses, panels, and discussions would draw the attention of the entire community to its situation and obligations. This is one way to get an open airing of these things with its public opinion making and publicity values. Some communities hold such conferences annually.

(7) The calm gathering of facts about community situations is needed everywhere. Research and study are universal methods of these councils. Local or nearby colleges or universities, as well as other local agencies, may have workers who can assist in this job. However, one of the best approaches is the community self-survey. Here citizens with little expert help find out the facts for themselves. The Southern Regional Council has

pioneered in this field and help is available upon request.

(8) Publications and publicity are important methods in educating the citizenry. The findings of self-surveys, reports of committee work and other affairs of the council, stories of experiences in other localities, use of newspapers, radio, television and other media--all these efforts help create a public opinion within which human relations can be improved.

A mimeographed newsletter circulated to individuals and agency members and, by subscription to others, is helpful. The Community Reporter of the Los Angeles County Conference on Community Relations is a good example.

(9) Efforts should be made to get Negro representation in all community-wide endeavors and especially on the public boards and institutions. Perhaps the first moves should be to secure Negro members on the school board and Negro police officers where needed. Through education and persuasion, Negroes, whites, and all other citizens should be encouraged to vote. Election of Negroes to school boards and city councils has already been done in many cities of the South, and this council should lend its support to such efforts.

10. Several councils give citations and awards to individual citizens and organizations or agencies of the community who have rendered outstanding service during the year in the field of better community relations.

11. Studies should be made in the field of human rights ordinances with appeals and pressure for enactment by local governments.

12. Again, through education and persuasion, efforts should be made to get mayors and commissioners to back up such ordinances through the establishment of public commissions on community relations (of human relations).

13. A final suggestion about methods would be to work closely with the state council on human relations which is affiliated with the Southern

Regional Council. The professional leadership of this state council will be available to assist in local community plans and actions.

8. What about the organizational structure of the council? These suggestions are made for a private or quasi-official human relations agency in the county or city. Decisions will have to be made on several items of organizational structure. Simplicity and flexibility should guide the organizational set-up.

(1) The name may vary from place to place, but one suggestion would be Council on Community Relations.

(2) Membership should be composed of individuals, private groups, and organizations, and public agencies interested in better community relations. Persons from both races and all other groups of the community should be eligible for membership.

(3) Each member, whether as an individual or as a representative of an agency, would have one vote in the Council as a whole.

(4) An executive committee should be selected by the Council to carry on the program. Each agency or organization should be represented on the executive committee and an equal number of individual members.

(5) In the beginning the executive committee might carry the total program with ad hoc or temporary committees appointed as needed. However, it is likely that standing committees will be necessary as the Council grows into its task. These might be set up as required for the program rather than attempting to perfect an organization in the beginning. The executive committee could be given the authority to name temporary or standing committees as and when necessary, provided that standing committees should be approved at the next meeting of the full Council.

(6) Standing committees may eventually be needed in some of all of these

fields: Public schools and education, employment and job opportunities, law enforcement and legislation, housing, public accommodations, research and self-survey, publications and publicity, membership and finances, and others. New groups should be cautioned against setting up any of these standing committees unless and until needed, and they should be discarded if they do not function or if their particular job has been completed. The committee structure should be as simple and as flexible as possible to get the job done.

(7) It is suggested that there be three types of memberships in the council: individual membership, agency membership, and sustaining membership with the understanding that either individuals or agencies may become sustaining members. The annual dues for each type of membership would need to be decided. The membership rates of the Dade County Council on Community Relations are recommended for consideration.

(8) Provision should be made to receive additional gifts and grants for the purposes of the council.

(9) It is strongly urged that the local council be affiliated with the state council which, in turn, is affiliated with the Southern Regional Council. As an affiliate of the state council, interlocking memberships and dues might be worked out.

(10) If possible, the local council might employ a part time or full time professional worker, use volunteer professional help from local agencies, and use volunteer citizen assistance. Also, the council may call on the professional services of the state council office and the Southern Regional Council.

Meeting the Situation in the States of the South

The final part of this section contains, in briefer compass, some suggestions regarding the organization and activities of state agencies in the field of human relations. It is anticipated that the primary use of this material will be the guidance of the SRC staff in planning and setting up state offices, including the orientation of state staff personnel.

More complete details of the organizational structure could be developed for the state councils, but it appears that these matters should grow out of SRC staff discussions and the situations and leadership in each state.

This section should be read in connection with the material on local councils since many recommendations which apply at both levels are not repeated here.

The Need and the Situation

1. The situation, needs and problems will vary from state to state. These differences should be taken into account in setting up each state organization and plans tailored to meet the problems and possibilities in each state.

2. The experiences of the state interracial commissions indicate that the health and vitality of the work in the state and in local communities is largely dependent upon professional leadership in the state organization.

3. This experience is supported by that of states with public human relations agencies. Like the Illinois Commission on Human Relations, many other states have seen this work go forward and the number of local city and county agencies increase under a competent and adequate state staff and program.

4. The situation is such in most of the states of the South that human rights legislation and public human relations agencies are a long way in the future. The advances in these areas in the Federal Government, Supreme Court Decisions, and in most of the northern and western states have left the states of the South largely untouched. The recent Supreme Court Decision on segregation in public schools is the most direct challenge to state governments in the field of equality of opportunity for all citizens regardless of race. As evidenced by the reactionary political developments in some of the states and the quandry in other states as to public opinion, procedures, and patterns in the public school field, there is an immediate and pressing need for the mobilization of liberal citizens and agencies and the projection of educational and action programs to aid the states, and all the people of the states, in meeting this situation. Experience in other states, also, points to the need for public human relations agencies to have the support and prodding of private agencies. This means that there will be a continuing need for the type of agency contemplated here.

5. On the basis of these experiences and this situation, the SRC plans to help establish and support professional human relations leadership in each of the southern states.

Types of Agencies

Here, again, there are three types of state agencies dealing with human relations.

1. State or regional offices of national organizations, such as the NAACP, Anti-Defamation League, religious organizations, especially women's groups, etc.

2. Private state organizations dealing with human relations on a coordination and service basis, such as the California Federation for Civic Unity, and state interracial committees.

3. Public state agencies set up by legislature and financed by public funds, such as the Illinois Commission on Human Relations.

In view of the situation in most of the southern states, it is obvious that the first and second types of agencies must carry the load of human relations work until state legislatures and governors feel the pressure of public opinion to make this the business of the state as it should be.

Also, since "straight-line" private agencies are largely without paid and professional leadership in this area, there is need for a private co-ordinating and service agency with professional workers to focus and strengthen the human relations activities of the state.

This is the type of state agency proposed here, and it will be called a state council on community relations (or human relations) in this document.

Purposes

Naturally the state council will have the same types of purposes as the local councils except at the state level.

(1) To help work out any immediate intergroup problems or tension and difficulty at the state level or to assist any local council with such problems, such as the public school situation.

(2) To assist local councils with research and self-studies into human relations problems and to make a survey, in cooperation with appropriate state agencies, of these situations in the state as a whole.

(3) To concentrate at the state level on the major issue of school integration and equality while, at the same time, laying the foundation for dealing with discrimination and lack of equality of opportunity in housing,

employment, law enforcement, and public accommodations.

(4) To coordinate and strenghen the work of all cooperating private state-wide agencies and groups concerned with intergroup relations by serving as a clearing-house and a channel of communication for all persons and agencies of both races.

(5) To cooperate with all public state agencies and officials in reducing tension and increasing good relationships.

(6) To work for anti-discrimination and human rights state laws, placing the full weight of state government behind efforts to implement democratic ideals as expressed in the Bill of Rights, the Constitution, and Supreme Court Decisions.

(7) To work for a public and official Governor's commission on community relations (or human relations) and to cooperate with one, if and when established.

(8) To use research, discussion, intercultural education, and public relations methods to make and keep the state aware of its opportunities and obligations in human relations, especially in the public school field.

(9) To stimulate, organize, and render service to local county and city councils on community relations throughout the state.

(10) To work for a permanent and self-supporting state council on community relations.

(11) To labor for the best interests of the state, within the highest democratic tradition, and to help make it a better place for all its people to live in freedom, equality of opportunity, and in the pursuit of happiness.

Membership

The state council is an instrument of liberal and outstanding citizens of both races and of agencies devoted to better human relations. It is not an organization for reactionaries and "stand-patters" or for radicals and subversives.

The members of the state interracial committee or the state division of SRC might well make up a nucleus around which to form the council.

The council should be made up of individual members, state agency memberships and local council memberships. Annual dues for each class of membership would have to be determined with the understanding that individuals, agencies, or local councils could become sustaining members by the payment of an appropriate sustaining membership annual fee. The agency memberships should be open to private and public agencies involved in human relations problems. No individual or agency not in sympathy with or interested in the purposes of the state council should be urged to join.

Methods and Programs

The methods of work and the program of activities would be similar to those recommended for the local councils. The major difference would be that these would operate at the state level, that professional workers would be available to carry on the activities of the state council, and one of the main jobs would be service to the cooperating agencies and, especially, to the local councils.

The state council staff and members of the executive committee, after reviewing the needs and problems of the state in the field of human relations, would plan a definite program of action to carry out the purposes of the council.

The advice of the SRC and its central staff would be available to state staffs in planning and carrying out programs. Also, the experiences and special talents of state council workers would be an asset to the SRC in its total operations. The closest cooperation and consultation would benefit human relations work throughout the region.

In developing definite programs and deciding on specific methods for the state council, a critical review of the suggestions made for the local councils is recommended.

Organizational Structure

The suggested type and name of organization is a private, permanent, membership state council on community relations (or human relations).

The council would be composed of all individual members, agency members, and local council members. It would be made up of Negroes and whites, as well as all other persons and groups interested in joining and in harmony with its purposes.

There should be a central committee selected by the council and composed of one representative of each member agency, of each local council, and an equal number of individual members, plus the officers of the council. The central committee, along with the council staff, would make and carry out the policies and programs of the council.

The committee structure should be simple and flexible and develop as the program demands. Temporary committees could be set up for special purposes until the need arose for standing committees. These might eventually be needed in all the areas suggested for local councils and, perhaps, some others.

The officers of the council, chairmen of standing committees, and the staff would make up an executive committee to supervise the activities of the council and to act on all matters between meetings of the central committee and the council as a whole. The entire council should meet at least annually, and perhaps in connection with a state-wide conference on community relations. The central committee should meet semi-annually or quarterly and the executive committee on call of the chairman.

The council office should be located in the capital city of the state unless there is adequate reason to the contrary.

Decision should be made about membership fees and the way left open to secure grants and subscriptions in support of the council program. The state council should gradually assume full responsibility for the total budget of the council in accordance with arrangements with SRC.

State Council Staff

The staff of the council should consist of professional and clerical persons of both races.

The duties of the staff would include the following items:

(1) To lay the ground work for the organizational meeting of the council and to initiate its organization.

(2) To start work on pressing problems in the field of human relations in the state, especially the public school situation.

(3) To set up and administer the affairs of the council office.

(4) To answer calls for service on the part of public or private agencies dealing with human relations.

(5) To initiate and answer calls to assist in organizing local city or county councils on community relations.

(6) To assist local councils in self-surveys, discussion groups, policy

making, program activities, and in other ways.

(7) To work with executive and central committees for a permanent organization of the state council on a self-sustaining basis within a given period of time.

(8) To represent the council and its interests in meetings over the state as invited.

(9) To serve as a clearinghouse for individuals, agencies, and local councils in the field of human relations. This would be done through correspondence, information, publications, and in other ways.

(10) To work with the executive committee in developing and carrying out a continuing and comprehensive program of activities in keeping with the purposes of the council.

(11) To cooperate with the staff of SRC to lift the level of human relations work in the region and to join with them in various enterprises of mutual concern.

(12) To participate in an annual meeting and planning conference on a regional basis.

(13) To refrain from purely political activities, such as endorsing particular candidates in the state or local communities.

(14) To cooperate in setting up standards of membership and to assist in screening individuals and agencies who apply for membership.

The qualifications of the staff should include the following:

(1) The clerical staff should be of a high quality and experienced enough to carry on office routines in the absence of the professional staff in view of the amount of travel involved.

(2) The professional staff should include one Negro and one white worker in each state, or as close to that arrangement as possible.

(3) The professional staff should have formal training, including graduate work

in the social sciences, education, social work, or related fields. Training in intergroup relations and community organization would be important.

(4) The professional staff should have several years experience in teaching, educational administration, public administration, character building agencies, or in agencies dealing with human relations or social action. Experience in community organizations and public relations work would be important.

(5) The following minimum requirements for persons undertaking work in the field of intergroup relations has been suggested.

> A basic minimum without which no one should undertake to work in this field is:
>
> a knowledge of the facts concerning race (biological), free from folk superstitutions and generalizations regarding a relation between race and culture of "inevitable" stages in the cultural evolution of races;
>
> a knowledge of minority communities and their relation to the larger community; the physical basis of the community life, its organization and cultures, and the various relationships and contacts at different levels;
>
> an understanding that race prejudice is not instinctive and a knowledge of the agencies and institutions that perpetuate stereotypes and attitudes;
>
> an acceptance of variation in the structure of race relations without perpetuation of static concepts of a "natural pattern" and with appropriate definitions of each situation and sectional variations;
>
> a knowledge of the dynamics of intergroup relations and of the nature of tensions and conflicts as social situations - unrest, frustration, desire for status, etc. - not explained by any one isolated factor such as the economic;
>
> an understanding of one's own economic, social, and cultural background as it determines one's outlook, "role" and philosophy about the ends to be achieved - complete and unqualified integration of all minorities into the total American community;
>
> an imaginative and scientific approach, free from dependence upon cliches, such as mores, caste and class, frustration, "scapegoat", and based upon the accumulation of knowledge of processes and techniques, recorded and tested;
>
> a defined relationship between the intergroup organization and the community itself, other agencies and institutions with the emphasis upon cooperation rather than competition and with avoidance of extraneous issues; and
>
> a constant realization that the situation is one of social change,

never static, and influenced by various factors, each significant and related to others.

Report of Second National Conference on Intergroup Relations, 1948, pp. 3-4.

A training conference for all state staffs should be held by SRC as soon in the year as possible.

The success and permanence of this program will depend largely upon the adequacy of the organizational structure of the state councils and on the qualifications, experience and training of the professional staff, the wisdom with which the programs of activities are developed, and the skills used in performance of activities planned in this crucial and critical field of human relations.

British Teachers

18 - in Sou
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Southern Regional Council

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
U. S. Office of Education
Washington 25, D. C.

July 27, 1947

SELECTIONS FOR 1947-48 BRITISH-AMERICAN TEACHER EXCHANGE
ANNOUNCED BY COMMISSIONER JOHN W. STUDEBAKER

Selection of 246 exchange teachers for the 1947-48 school year program of the Committee on Interchange of Teachers Between Great Britain and the United States was announced today by John W. Studebaker, U. S. Commissioner of Education, Federal Security Agency. The 123 United States teachers selected this year are from elementary schools and high schools in 31 States. Last year's program, the first since the war, provided for 74 exchanges of positions for teachers from 29 States.

On August 18, the 123 United States exchange teachers will sail from New York on the MARINE TIGER. On August 20, the 123 British teachers will arrive in New York on the MARINE JUMPER.

Greater provision for families or close relatives to accompany exchange teachers is made in this year's exchange program. Twelve U. S. teachers are taking their wives and children or mothers with them. Similarly, twelve British teachers will be accompanied by their wives or mothers.

In announcing this year's exchange program, Commissioner Studebaker said: "Enthusiastic reports from last year's exchange teachers indicate the value of the program in interpreting our education and our way of life to the people of Great Britain. From the standpoint of the individual exchange teacher, the experience is stimulating and enriching."

The Committee on Interchange of Teachers Between Great Britain and the United States consists of representatives of the U. S. Office of Education, the Department of State, and eight national educational organizations--The American Association of University Women, American Council on Education, National Education Association, English Speaking Union, Institute of International Education, National Association of High School Supervisors and Directors of Secondary Education, Association of School Administrators, and American Federation of Teachers. The exchange program began last year when Great Britain requested the State Department to initiate a teacher exchange.

INTERCHANGE OF TEACHERS BETWEEN

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

1947-48

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SUMMARIES -- The number of United States exchange teachers from each State is as follows: Michigan and New York, 13; Illinois, 11; California, 10; Indiana, 8; Minnesota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Texas, 6; Massachusetts, 5; South Carolina and Utah, 4; Kansas, Nebraska, and Tennessee, 3; Iowa, New Jersey, North Carolina, Oregon, West Virginia, and Wisconsin, 2; Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, and Vermont, 1. The following U. S. cities are represented by more than one exchange teacher: Evanston, Ill., 3; Fullerton and San Diego, Calif., 2; Springfield, Ill., 2; Gary and Indianapolis, Ind., 2; Wichita, Kansas, 2; Jackson, Muskegon, and River Rouge, Mich., 2; Gloversville, N. Y., 2; Barberton, Ohio, 2; Portland, Oreg., 2; Pittsburgh, Pa., 2; Nashville, Tenn., 2; Orange, Texas, 2; Provo, Utah, 2.

United States Teacher	British Teacher
CALIFORNIA	
Miss Delight Smith Herbert Hoover School San Diego 4, California	Miss Isabel Barron The Aylwin School London S. E. 16
Miss Eugenia Tolson San Diego City Schools 825 Union Street San Diego 1, California	Miss Winifred Sabey Sussex Road Junior Mixed School Worthington, Sussex
Miss Ruth Knowlton Chapman School Fullerton, California	Mr. J. S. Whitaker Ashton Old Road Junior School Manchester 11
Miss Maude Minnick Wilshire Elementary School Fullerton, California	Miss Beryl Cole Hillfields Junior Mixed School Fishponds, Bristol 5

United States Teacher	British Teacher
CALIFORNIA (Cont.)	
Mrs. Priscilla Braden El Monte High School El Monte, California	Miss Margaret Gray Lipton Hall Lipton, Wirral, Cheshire
Miss Mildren Lindroth Lafayette School 25th and Chestnut Long Beach, California	Miss Margaret Brown Mearns Street School Greenock, Renfrewshire Scotland
Mrs. Pauline Varnum Glen Alta School 3410 Sierra Street Los Angeles, California	Miss Agnes Connor DeFohun Infants School Greenroad Scotland
Mr. Charles Dunson Monrovia-Arcadia-Duarte High School Monrovia, California	Mr. Robert Hudson Drayton Manor County School Hanwell, London W. 7
Mrs. Dorotha Kimberlin Roosevelt Junior High School San Jose, California	Miss Mary Giblin St. Joseph's School Camberwell, London
Mr. Donald Bourdon M. G. Vallejo Jr. High School Vallejo, California	Mr. Donald S. MacVitie St. James C.E. Boys Primary School Friern Barnet, Middlesex
COLORADO	
Miss Grace W. Finley Greeley Public Schools Greeley, Colorado	Miss Madge Prince Woodheys Primary School Meadway, Sales
CONNECTICUT	
Miss Gracelna Taylor Center School East Hartford, Connecticut	Miss Eunice Whitwam Firs Hill Infant School Sheffield 3
FLORIDA	
Mrs. Fleeta H. Haskins Edison Senior High School Miami, Florida	Miss Olga Smith Hebden Bridge County Grammar School Hebden Bridge, Yorkshire
ILLINOIS	
Miss Thelma Boyd Willard School Evanston, Illinois	Miss Kathleen M. Collingbourne Park Walk Junior Mixed School Chelsea, London W.
Miss Ruth O. Groteluschen Haven School Lincoln & Prairie Evanston, Illinois	Miss Kathleen Miller Spencer School Northampton

United States Teacher	British Teacher
ILLINOIS (Cont.)	
Miss Lota Jacobey Haven School Evanston, Illinois	Miss Marjorie Harrison St. Phillip C. of E. School Girlington Road, Bradford
Miss Gladys Gewe Iles School Springfield, Illinois	Miss Isabella Thompson London County Council School Charlton, London
Miss Mildren Weed Enos School Springfield, Illinois	Miss Mary A. Caygill New Malton C. of E. Infants' School Malton
Miss Alice Flickinger The Laboratory School University of Chicago Chicago, Illinois	Miss Kathleen Mann Southlands College 65, Wimbledon Parkside London, S. W. 19
Mr. Arthur Njaa Community High School Crystal Lake, Illinois	Mr. T. C. Edgell Penhale Road School for Boys Portsmouth
Miss Elizabeth S. Eldred Joliet Township High School Joliet, Illinois	Miss Laura Hancock Rookery Road Secondary Modern School Handsworth, Birmingham
Mr. Winfield S. Davis White School Peoria, Illinois	Mr. John Nolan Stobswell Junior Secondary School Dundee, Angus
Mr. Stanley Tomkovick Waukegan Township High School Waukegan, Illinois	Mr. George Harrison Colsterworth School Grantham
Miss Laura Durgin New Trier High School Winnetka, Illinois	Miss Margaret Dean Sale County Grammar School for Girls Sale, Cheshire
INDIANA	
Miss Mary E. Albrecht Indianapolis Public School No. 30 40 N. Miley Avenue Indianapolis, Indiana	Miss Freda Bennion Oldfield Brow Primary School Taylor Road Altrincham, Cheshire
Miss Wallace Montague Frances Willard School No. 80 920 E. 62nd Street Indianapolis 5, Indiana	Miss Florence Judd Malmesbury Park Junior School Bournemouth
Miss Eunice I. Johns Horace Mann School 524 Garfield Street Gary, Indiana	Miss Joy P. Rovingdon Rosebery County Grammar School for Girls, Whitehorse Drive Epsom, Surrey

United States Teacher	British Teacher
INDIANA (Cont.)	
Miss Violet Sipavich Emerson School 7th and Carolina Gary, Indiana	Miss Constance Tooke Kentisbury Primary School Nr. Barnstaple N. Devon
Miss Alma Cole Central School Bedford, Indiana	Miss Linda Edwards Tyderwen Jr. Mixed Primary School Caeran, Nr. Bridgend, Glam.
Miss Mary M. Schweitzer Crawfordsville Junior-Senior High School Crawfordsville, Indiana	Miss J. L. Banks Whitley Bay Grammar School Northumberland
Miss Margaret Walk Chestnut Street School Jeffersonville, Indiana	Miss D. R. C. Beer Cyprus Terrace Infants' School Newport, Barnstaple, N. Devon
Miss Helen M. Amos Batell School Mishawaka, Indiana	Miss Joan Smith Belmont Junior School Chiswick, W. 4
IOWA	
Miss Laura M. O'Bannion Lincoln School Cedar Falls, Iowa	Miss Winifred Austin Wrexham Road Jr. Mixed Council School Slough, Bucks
Miss Florence Gritzner Hayes School Cedar Rapids, Iowa	Miss Mary Smartt Whitehawk Junior Mixed School Brighton, Sussex
KANSAS	
Miss Marguerite Allen Wichita Public Schools Fairmount Wichita, Kansas	Miss Monica Bishop Fairlight Infant School Brighton, Sussex
Miss Jess Bryant Ingalls School Wichita, Kansas	Miss Marjorie Winsor Bidston Avenue Council School Birkenhead
Miss Elizabeth R. Berglund McKinley School Clay Center, Kansas	Mrs. Ruth Short Helions Bumpstead Primary Vol. School Haverhill, Suffolk
MARYLAND	
Miss Frances Shores Frederick High School Frederick, Maryland	Miss Lucy Wilde St. Georges Road School Wallasey

United States Teacher	British Teacher
MASSACHUSETTS	
Mr. A. R. Blackmer Phillips Academy Andover, Massachusetts	Mr. Edward Malins Christ's Hospital Horsham, Sussex
Miss Dorothy Pearson Weymouth High School East Weymouth, Massachusetts	Miss Betty Gill The High School for Girls Gloucester
Miss Ruth Richards Framingham High School Framingham, Massachusetts	Miss Annie Dick Hutcheson's Girls Grammar School Glasgow S. 2
Miss Evelyn Martin Stephen Palmer School Needham, Massachusetts	Miss Mary Allan Ann Street School Dundee, Scotland
Miss Mary S. Kelly King's Highway School West Springfield, Massachusetts	Miss Jennie Weinberg Wellington Way Jr. Mixed School Bow, London, E. 3
MICHIGAN	
Miss Lorraine Mayhew Pearl School Jackson, Michigan	Miss Monica Hartley Kirn Public School Argyll, Scotland
Miss Marjorie Schmidt East Main School Jackson, Michigan	Miss Kathleen Brown Oliver Goldsmith School Kingsbury, N. W. 9
Mr. John H. Caesar Angell Junior High School Muskegon, Michigan	Mr. Mark Price East Oxford Council School Oxford, England
Miss Bessie D. Haan Oak View School Muskegon, Michigan	Miss Violet M. Blair Blagh Public Elementary School Coleraine, Northern Ireland
Miss Joyce Crothers Ann Visger School River Rouge, Michigan	Mrs. Hilda Lister Western Road Infant School Sheffield 10
Miss Willamine Powderly Ann Visger School River Rouge, Michigan	Miss Margaret Hands Garlet School Watford, Herts.
Miss Hazel E. Hoot Ferris School Highland Park, Michigan	Miss Mary E. Bedford Cherry Grove Council Infants School Chester
Miss Madeline Beute Vine School Kalamazoo 43, Michigan	Miss Eileen Brooke Haverdashers Askes School West Acton, London W. 3

United States Teacher	British Teacher
MICHIGAN (Cont.)	
Miss Patricia Rust Eastern High School Lansing, Michigan	Miss Doris M. Lacy Girls' High School Southport, Lancs.
Miss Helen J. Fenstermacher Marysville High School Marysville, Michigan	Miss Phoebe H. Somers Berkhamsted High School for Girls Berkhamsted, Herts.
Mrs. Douglas Selby Eastlawn School Midland, Michigan	Miss Eileen Phillips Priestmead Infants School Kenton, Middlesex
Miss Altadine Van Alstine Franklin School Royal Oak, Michigan	Miss Christina Johnston Waid Academy Anstruther, Fife
Miss Ruth Phelps Webber School Saginaw, Michigan	Miss Margaret Tulloch Urafirth Public School Urafirth, Shetland
MINNESOTA	
Miss Beulah N. Buswell Austin High School Austin, Minnesota	Mr. Alfred Farmer Holy Trinity Vol. Mixed Primary School Halstead, Essex
Mr. Gerald Hansen Bemidji High School Bemidji, Minnesota	Miss Ishbel Offord Park Modern Secondary School Sandringham Rd., Barking, Essex
Miss Florence J. Leary Edison High School Minneapolis 13, Minnesota	Miss Irene McKibbin Malone Public Elementary School Belfast
Miss Henrietta Ryan Senior High School Rochester, Minnesota	Miss Helen Labrum Wakefield Girls' High School Yorkshire
Miss Helene Alland Technical High School St. Cloud, Minnesota	Miss Megan Jones Watford Technical and Art Institute Queen's Road, Watford, Herts.
Miss Laura Foster Winona State Teachers College Winona, Minnesota	Miss Mary Murray Torryburn Junior Secondary School Dunfermline, Fife
MISSISSIPPI	
Miss Jeffye Harmon Camp School Hattiesburg, Mississippi	Miss Dorothy Green Brookdale Park School Manchester

United States Teacher	British Teacher
MISSOURI	
Miss Maxine Blaine Community School Clayton 5, Missouri	Miss Mary C. Lawes Goodrich Road Infants School Dulwich
NEBRASKA	
Miss Mertie Cook Senior High School Grand Island, Nebraska	Miss Miriam Cunliffe Kearsley West Council Domestic Subjects Centre, Lancester
Miss Gwendoline Birky Hastings Public Schools Hastings, Nebraska	Miss Jessie Jagger Hill View Road Jr. Council School Bournemouth
Miss Evelyn Nelson Franklin Junior High School North Platte, Nebraska	Miss Constance Merry Eastcote Lane Secondary Modern Girls' School, South Harrow, Middlesex
NEW JERSEY	
Miss Gwendolyn Carpenter Englewood Junior High School Englewood, New Jersey	Miss Anna W. Cooper High School for Girls Dudley, Worcs.
Mrs. Helen Davis Summit High School Summit, New Jersey	Miss Mary Cavenagh Nonsuch County School for Girls Cheam, Surrey
NEW YORK	
Miss Margaret O'Conner McNab School Gloversville, New York	Miss Jennie Ross Sketty County Primary School Swansea
Miss Helen V. Pursell Kingsboro Avenue School Gloversville, New York	Miss Helen Burgess Royston Junior Girls' School Near Barnsley, Yorks.
Miss Alma Whitford The Buffalo Seminary Buffalo, New York	Miss Irene Meaker Queenswood Hatfield, Herts.
Mr. Charles R. Salit Sewanhaka High School Floral Park, New York	Mr. John Parker The Wordsworth Secondary Modern School Stoke Newington, N. 16
Miss Mary Smith Carr Great Neck High School Great Neck, New York	Miss Dora Joyce Cullen Clapham County Secondary School London, S. W. 11
Miss Marion Dryer Hornell High School Hornell, New York	Miss Eva Daws Grammar School for Girls Watford, Herts.
Miss Adelaide C. Wright Frank David Boynton Jr. High School Ithaca, New York	Miss Dorothy Forshaw Claremont Girls' Modern School Blackpool

United States Teacher	British Teacher
NEW YORK (Cont.)	
Miss Lucille Kemp Charles Street School Jamestown, New York	Miss Madge C. Smith Skene Square Infant School Aberdeen
Miss Helen Sheahan No. 5 Main Street School Olean, New York	Miss Mildren Duckworth Heyhouses Endowed Infants' School St. Anne's-on-Sea, Lancs.
Miss Addie M. Golledge School No. 3 Renesselaer, New York	Miss Florence Bean Farrance Street Secondary School Limehouse, London, E. 14
Miss Elizabeth O'Brien Riverside School Rockville Centre, New York	Miss Alexandra Wells Haydn Road Nursery Nottingham
Miss Agnes Kennedy Waverley School Tuckahoe, New York	Miss Alison Henderson Tynecastle Child Garden Edinburgh 11
Mr. Robert George Hoffman Valley Stream Central High School Valley Stream, New York	Mr. Walter Westcott Townfield Secondary Modern Boys Sch. Playes, Middlesex
NORTH CAROLINA	
Miss Mary Cannon Broughton High School Raleigh, North Carolina	Mr. Edward Blakeway of Old Moat Secondary Modern School Withington, Manchester
Miss Sara L. Sowell Central School Tarboro, North Carolina	~~Miss Minnie Clothier~~ St. Marys School Finchley, Middlesex
NORTH DAKOTA	
Miss Kathleen Duffy Public School Devils Lake, North Dakota	Miss J. M. Cole The School, Hobden (C. E.) Nr. Skipton, Yorks.
OHIO	
Miss Mildred Kirchberg Hazelwood School Barberton, Ohio	Miss Ruth Shurey St. Mary's C. of E. School Weymouth
Mr. James S. McAnlis Barberton High School Barberton, Ohio	Mr. Donald Taylor Queen Elizabeth Grammar School Horncastle, Lincs.
Mr. Albert L. Daugherty Roosevelt Junior High School 1771 Lee Road Cleveland Heights, Ohio	Mr. George Schofield Lidget Green Junior School Cemetery Road Bradford, Yorks.

United States Teacher	British Teacher
OHIO (Cont.)	
Miss Eva B. Smith McKinley School Lakewood, Ohio	Miss Doris R. Willeter J. G. & I. Primary School Hammersmith, W. 6
Miss Vera Griffith South High School Lima, Ohio	Miss Grace George The Grammar School, Chipping Sodbury Near Bristol
Miss Mary Pennock Piqua City Schools Piqua, Ohio	Miss Margaret Millar Wolfhill Public Elementary School Belfast
OKLAHOMA	
Mrs. Floy J. Campbell Culbertson School Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	Miss Minnie Sampson Green Lane Sr. School Leeds 12
OREGON	
Miss Eunice Anderson Laurelhurst School 840 N. E. 41st Avenue Portland 13, Oregon	Miss Margaret Jordan Pitmaston Road Secondary Modern, Girls School Birmingham
Miss Mary H. Carney Shattuck School 1914 S. W. Park Portland, Oregon	Mr. John Turner Parish Church School Skipton, Yorks.
PENNSYLVANIA	
Miss Dorothy Keefer Foster School, Mt. Lebanon Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	Miss Annie Dalton Coltishall County Infant School Norwich, Norfolk
Miss Grace E. Wood Allen School Pittsburgh 10, Pennsylvania	Miss Jean Brady St. Thomas C. E. School Islington, London, N. 1
Miss Clementine McKenna Shaler High School Glenshaw, Pennsylvania	Miss O. G. Rees Barry Girls County School Barry, Glamorgan
Mrs. Evelyn H. Heberling Bauerstown School Millvale, Pennsylvania	Miss Marjorie Hart Hatfield Secondary Modern School Near Doncaster, Yorks.
Miss Margaret R. Sechrist New Cumberland High School New Cumberland, Pennsylvania	Miss Marguerite Court Alma Road Secondary Girls School Bournemouth
Miss Catherine S. Baxter Junior High School Upper Darby, Pennsylvania	Mr. Ronald G. Bateman Acton County School Acton, London, W. 3

United States Teacher	British Teacher
RHODE ISLAND	
Miss Katherine Perkins Senior High School East Providence, Rhode Island	Miss DeCourcy MacDonnell N. Hammersmith County School for Girls Bryony Road, London W. 12
SOUTH CAROLINA	
Miss Caroline Skelton Glenn Street School Anderson, South Carolina	Miss Eva Carmichael Oxford Street Infant School Bridlington, Yorks.
Miss Mary C. Boykin Hand Junior High School Columbia, South Carolina	Miss Olive M. Bruce Selective Central School Shipley, Yorks.
Miss Rachel E. Lee Greenville City School Greenville, South Carolina	Miss Vera Spain Infant School, Mawney Road Romford, Essex
Miss Octavia Yates Junior High School Sumter, South Carolina	Miss Nora Heory Silverlands Girls' Secondary Modern Sch. Buxton, Derbyshire
TENNESSEE	
Miss Mildred E. Campbell Cockrill School 600 - 49th Avenue No. Nashville 9, Tennessee	Mrs. Edna D. West Wigston C. of E. School Wigston Magna ~~Nr.~~ Leicester
Miss Sara M. Smith Eakin School 2400 Fairfax Avenue Nashville 5, Tennessee	Mr. Francis West Birstall Junior County School Leicester
Miss Eleanor Robertson East Tennessee State College Johnson City, Tennessee	Miss Rhoda Lowson Primary III North School Forfar, ~~Angus~~, Scotland
TEXAS	
Miss Virginia L. Chaney Carr Junior High School Orange, Texas	Miss Sybil Davies Cart. Sart Primary Modern Sec. School Briton Ferry, S. Wales
Miss Essie Richardson Anderson School Orange, Texas	Miss Eileen McHale St. Charles Junior School Leeds
Miss Lillian McElroy North Elementary School Odessa, Texas	Miss Robina Dawson Castlehill School Cupar, Fife
Miss Bertha O. Chambers Port Arthur Independent School Dist. Port Arthur, Texas	Mr. Leonard D. Ferguson Ripon Secondary Modern School Ripon, Yorks.

United States Teacher	British Teacher
TEXAS (Cont.)	
Miss Willie M. Parr San Angelo Jr. High School San Angelo, Texas	Miss Mary E. Masson Mountpottinger Public Elementary Sch. Belfast
Miss Katherine Smith Alamo School Wichita Falls, Texas	Miss Eveline Jackson Billesley Secondary Modern School Birmingham
UTAH	
Miss Dorothy Richmond Provo High School Provo, Utah	Miss Christina Burrowes Froebel Educational Institute Southampton, S. W. 15
Miss Alzada Wilmott Maeser School Provo, Utah	Miss Joan M. Weller Catford Girls Secondary School London, S. E. 6
Miss Helen A. Larsen Bonnyview School Murray, Utah	Miss Dora Logue St. Eugene's Girls P. E. School Rosemount, Londonderry
Miss Clara Doherty Bonneville School Ogden, Utah	Miss F. Morley Goldbeaters Junior Mixed School Burnt Oak, Edgware, Middlesex
VERMONT	
Miss Leona Ryan East School Springfield, Vermont	Miss Joan Randall Purley Oak Infant School South Croydon, Surrey
WEST VIRGINIA	
Mr. Lawrence W. Smith Charleston High School Charleston, West Virginia	Mr. Thomas Sedgwick The Grammar School Gateshead
Mrs. Reba May Barr Mercer School Charlestown, West Virginia	Miss Dorothy M. Fowler Lord Pontypridd Hospital School Cardiff
WISCONSIN	
Miss Mary E. Elliott Central High School Superior, Wisconsin	Miss Betty Beatson Selhurst Grammar School for Girls Croydon, Surrey
Miss Helen M. Brandt Central High School West Allis, Wisconsin	Miss Frieda Pearce Harben Secondary Modern School West Hampstead, N. W. 6

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Br
British Teachers

December 17, 1947

Dr. John W. Studebaker
U. S. Commissioner of Education
Federal Security Agency
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Dr. Studebaker:

Thank you very much for the release sent us through your office concerning the interchange of teachers between Great Britain and the United States.

We have taken the liberty of addressing a letter of welcome to British teachers who will be located in Southern States, and of entering for them a complimentary, six-months subscription to our monthly magazine, New South.

It is our fervent hope that this interchange of teachers between the two countries will result in the mutual benefit envisaged by its sponsors.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:ee

British Teachers

Walter Fuller :

British Teachers

Central School,
Tarboro,
N. C.
Jan. 5th.

Dear Mrs McKoy,

Thankyou so much for your good wishes during my exchange year, and for sending me your magazine, New South, which I much appreciate & I am sure I shall enjoy reading.

I am thoroughly enjoying my visit to the States, and have found people most helpful, kind and hospitable. My school work, too, has been most enjoyable.

Yours sincerely,
Minna M. Clother

RECEIVED
JAN 7 1946
Southern Regional C

RECEIVED
JAN 1 1948
Southern Regional Council

101 Norch Ave.,
Anderson, S. C.
Dec. 31.

Mrs. A. McKoy, Sec.-Treasurer,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mrs. McKoy,

Thank you for your letter of December 17 with the pamphlets enclosed.

I shall appreciate your monthly magazine, I am sure.

People of America have been so kind. It is a privilege to be able to live among such good neighbours.

Sincerely yours,
Eva Carmichael.
(British Exchange Teacher)

Bo-
British Teachers

December 17, 1947

Miss Olga Smith
Edison Senior High School
Miami, Florida

Dear Miss Smith:

News of your visit to the United States and to the South has reached us through our national Office of Education. As an organization devoted to Southern progress at all levels, -- social, economic, and educational, -- we should like to extend our greetings and to welcome you most warmly to our part of the country.

No doubt there will be many questions concerning this country, and especially its Southern Region, which will arise during your visit here. It has occurred to us that since the work of the Council is concerned with problem areas of this Region, it might be of interest to you to know that these areas are conceived to be and what is being done by people of the Region toward solutions. We are therefore entering for you a complimentary, six-months subscription to our monthly magazine, New South, and are attaching a few of our publications which we hope will prove helpful.

We have taken the liberty of announcing your arrival in our magazine so that our membership may be informed and may offer you any courtesies which may be possible to them.

With every good wish for you personally, and with the hope that your visit here may help to strengthen the ties of good will and mutual understanding between our two Countries, I remain

Most cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:ee

December 17, 1947

Miss Dorothy Green
Camp School
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Dear Miss Green:

News of your visit to the United States and to the South has reached us through our national Office of Education. As an organization devoted to Southern progress at all levels, -- social, economic, and educational, -- we should like to extend our greetings and to welcome you most warmly to our part of the country.

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Most cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:EE

December 17, 1947

Mr. Edward Blakeway
Broughton High School
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Blakeway:

News of your visit to the United States and to the South has reached us through our national Office of Education. As an organization devoted to Southern progress at all levels, --social, economic, and educational, -- we should like to extend our greetings and to welcome you most warmly to our part of the country

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Most cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:ee

December 17, 1947

Miss Minnie Sampson
Culbertson School
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Dear Miss Sampson:

News of your visit to the United States and to the South has reached us through our national Office of Education. As an organization devoted to Southern progress at all levels, -- social, economic, and educational, -- we should like to extend our greetings and to welcome you most warmly to our part of the country.

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Most cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:ee

December 17, 1947

Miss Eva Cammichael
Glenn Street School
Anderson, South Carolina

Dear Miss Carmichael:

News of your visit to the United States and to the South has reached us through our national Office of Education. As an organization devoted to Southern progress at all levels, -- social, economic, and educational, -- we should like to extend our greetings and to welcome you most warmly to our part of the country.

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Most cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

Attachment

AM:ee

December 18, 1947

Miss Vera Spain
Greenville City School
Greenville, South Carolina

Dear Miss Spain:

News of your visit to the United States and to the South has reached us through our national Office of Education. As an organization devoted to Southern progress at all levels, -- social, economic, and educational,-- we should like to extend our greetings and to welcome you most warmly to our part of the country.

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Most cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:ee

December 18, 1947

Miss Nora Heery
Junior High School
Sumpter, South Carolina

Dear Miss Heery:

News of your visit to the United States and to the South has reached us through our national Office of Education. As an organization devoted to Southern progress at all levels,-- social, economic, and educational, -- we should like to extend our greetings and to welcome you most warmly to our part of the country.

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(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

Attachment

AM:ee

December 18, 1947

Mrs. Edna D. West
Cockrill School
600 - 49th Avenue, North
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. West:

News of your visit to the United States and to the South has reached us through our national Office of Education. As an organization devoted to Southern progress at all levels, -- social, economic, and educational, -- we should like to extend our greetings and to welcome you most warmly to our part of the country.

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Most coridially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

Attachment

AM:ee

December 18, 1947

Mr. Francis West
Eakin School
2400 Fairfax Avenue
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Dear Mr. West:

News of your visit to the United States and to the South has reached us through our national Office of Education. As an organization devoted to Southern progress, at all levels, -- social, economic, and educational, -- we should like to extend our greetings and to welcome you most warmly to our part of the country.

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Most cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

Attachment

AM:ee

December 18, 1947

Miss Rhoda Lowson
East Tennessee State College
Johnson City, Tennessee

Dear Miss Lowson:

News of your visit to the United States and to the South has reached us through our national Office of Education. As an organization devoted to Southern progress at all levels, -- social, economic, and educational, -- we should like to extend our greetings and to welcome you most warmly to our part of the country.

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Most cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

Attachment

AM:ee

December 18, 1947

Miss Sybil Davies
Carr Junior High School
Orange, Texas

Dear Miss Davies:

News of your visit to the United States and to the South has reached us through our national Office of Education. As an organization devoted to Southern progress at all levels, -- social, economic, and educational, -- we should like to extend our greetings and to welcome you most warmly to our part of the country.

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(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

Attachment

AM:ee

December 18, 1947

Miss Eileen McHale
Anderson School
Orange, Texas

Dear Miss McHale:

News of your visit to the United States and to the South has reached us through our national Office of Education. As an organization devoted to Southern progress at all levels, — social, economic, and educational,— we should like to extend our greetings and to welcome you most warmly to our part of the country.

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(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

Attachment

AM:ee

December 18, 1947

Miss Robina Dawson
North Elementary School
Odessa, Texas

Dear Miss Dawson:

News of your visit to the United States and to the South has reached us through our national Office of Education. As an organization devoted to Southern progress at all levels, -- social, economic, and educational, -- we should like to extend our greetings and to welcome you most warmly to our part of the country.

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(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

Attachment

AM:ee

December 18, 1947

Miss Eveline Jackson
Alamo School
Wichita Falls, Texas

Dear Miss Jackson:

News of your visit to the United States and to the South has reached us through our national Office of Education. As an organization devoted to Southern progress at all levels, -- social, economic, and educational, -- we should like to extend our greetings and to welcome you most warmly to our part of the country.

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Most cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

Attachment

AM:ee

December 18, 1947

Miss Mary E. Masson
San Angelo Junior High School
San Angelo, Texas

Dear Miss Masson:

News of your visit to the United States and to the South has reached us through our national Office of Education. As an organization devoted to Southern progress at all levels, -- social, economic, and educational, -- we should like to extend our greetings and to welcome you most warmly to our part of the country.

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(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

Attachment

AM:ee

December 18, 1947

Mr. Leonard D. Ferguson
Port Arthur Independent School Dist.
Port Arthur, Texas

Dear Mr. Ferguson:

News of your visit to the United States and to the South has reached us through our national Office of Education. As an organization devoted to Southern progress at all levels, -- social, economic, and educational, -- we should like to extend our greetings and to welcome you most warmly to our part of the country.

No doubt there will be many questions concerning this country, and especially its Southern Region, which will arise during your visit here. It has occurred to us that since the work of the Council is concerned with problem areas of this Region, it might be of interest to you to know what these areas are conceived to be and what is being done by people of the Region towards solutions. We are therefore entering for you a complimentary, six-months subscription to our monthly magazine, New South, and are attaching a few of our publications which we hope will prove helpful.

We have taken the liberty of announcing your arrival in our magazine so that our membership may be informed and may offer any courtesies which may be possible to them.

With every good wish for you personally, and with the hope that your visit here may help to strengthen the ties of goodwill and mutual understanding between our two Countries, I remain

Most cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

Attachment

AM:ee

December 17, 1947

Miss Olive M. Bruce
Hand Junior High School
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Miss Bruce:

News of your visit to the United States and to the South has reached us through our national Office of Education. As an organization devoted to Southern progress at all levels, -- social, economic, and educational,-- we should like to extend our greetings and to welcome you most warmly to our part of the country.

No doubt there will be many questions concerning this country, and especially its Southern Region, which will arise during your visit here. It has occurred to us that since the work of the Council is concerned with problem areas of this Region, it might be of interest to you to know what these areas are conceived to be and what is being done by people of the Region toward solutions. We are therefore entering for you a complimentary, six-months subscription to our monthly magazine, New South, and are attaching a few of our publications which we hope will prove helpful.

We have taken the liberty of announcing your arrival in our magazine so that our membership may be informed and may offer you any courtesies which may be possible to them.

With every good wish for you personally, and with the hope that your visit here may help to strengthen the ties of goodwill and mutual understanding between our two Countries, I remain

Most cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

Attachment

AM:ee

Set up file: "Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc."

September 20, 1967

Mr. Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director
Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York 10018

Dear Norm:

Please forgive me this long delay in responding to you about the proposed migrant study. A series of important meetings and a bout with a germ have slowed me somewhat.

Here finally is a reaction at length.

In summary, and at this point, I don't think we are in a position to participate as a co-sponsor and co-administrator. I regret this especially since I would like to see SRC and Brotherhood-in-Action involved in a joint program and keep open the hope we can do so. Rather our decision is based on very practical internal situations. Our administrative and research staffs - not up to full strength already has more commitments and studies under way than we can handle adequately with desired timing. Our policy group is involved in major decisions about the agency and its future and this, too, is requiring an inordinate amount of staff time. For these and other reasons we just don't have the staff resources and it would be foolish for us to commit ourselves on something on which we could not deliver.

As an aside but in light of priorities and the need for fast actions in this problem (and somewhat

related to the last clipping you sent and the Kennedy proposal) I wonder if we don't already know a great deal more than you suggest. More importantly, I wonder if we aren't in a position to now make major proposals on the basis of what we know even if it were desirable to know more in more detail.

For instance, the profile of the ghetto living migrant in last Sunday's Times magazine by Bob Coles is as good a summary as I have seen of the problems, situation, and needs of these people - men and women. Bob worked in the South under our auspices for two years. Now he is doing intensive work of the same nature in the North. He undoubtedly is one of the most knowledgeable people in this country on this subject.

What of Brotherhood-in-Action considering a well planned one-day meeting drawing on people like Coles and perhaps like the group at Rutgers for the formulation of concrete proposals for immediate action, - state, local and federal - long range and short range? Certainly I would welcome the opportunity to participate.

Thereafter, Brotherhood-in-Action could publish the summary findings and recommendations and they might have some impact.

Honestly wish we could participate in your original suggestion and should you decide to go ahead anyway we will certainly assist in any way possible.

Let me hear . . .

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

BROTHERHOOD·IN·ACTION, INC.

560 Seventh Avenue (at Fortieth Street) New York, New York 10018

LW 4-0350

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Executive Director
NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

August 29, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

So good to see you in Washington! Now that we have mastered all the problems of the city, I come back to mundane things such as figuring out where much of it starts.

Attached is a copy of the article in the New York Times about which I spoke.

What I am suggesting is that a really serious effort be made to do some early tracking on the rural southern migrant to the North. This could be invaluable for cities like Newark, Detroit, New York, etc.

Here is my plan in essence: That Brotherhood-In-Action, in cooperation with the Southern Regional Council, functioning as the data gathering and analysis mechanism, attempt to more clearly define the profile of the rural migrant from the South. It is simple enough to say what he needs and wants, but I am not so sure that these simple answers are in themselves complete. Also, a more sophisticated look at the migrant in the context of today's convolutions may well yield surprisingly new insights.

Some work similar to this was done, as you know, for the Appalachian whites who migrated to Chicago, etc. But we are really scratching in the dark and playing what may well be old hunches when it comes to charting the new migrations, not only for patterns but the nature of the person. I envision a network of field agents working out of Atlanta, checking bus stations and other egress points and then coming up with the kind of information which would be invaluable not only to welfare departments of the cities, but also for intergroup relations purposes.

Several of our colleagues are more than passingly interested. In Newark I have talked with persons who have made studies of the southern migrant at the northern end. Two recent documents, "On the Welfare," and "Social Needs and Social Resources: Newark 1967" suggest, as recently as the riots, what I am talking about. Rutgers University, through its Extension Division, is interested in cooperating.

Incidently, the Rutgers University participation can be invaluable because they have an Urban Studies Center that can participate, as well as an active research arm to relate to the problems of New Jersey's cities.

If this seems to be a project which can be realistically undertaken, please come back at me quickly with your thoughts. A more refined and cogent description of the project is certainly easy enough to prepare, but the broad outlines are as I suggest.

To be specific, if the idea merits "hot pursuit," we could gather a few knowledgeable persons here at Brotherhood-In-Action, which you could join. This would be preliminary to exploring the feasibility of the project.

And as I said in Washington, I would like to think of this as something we could begin almost at once.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director

NHP:LS
Encs.

From the desk of

NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

9/8/67

Dear Paul:

Further to the idea in my letter to you, I thought you would be interested, if you had not seen it, in Ylvasaker's comments.

Look forward to hearing from you.

NP

LS

NY Post 9/6/67

Kennedy Asks Fast Ghetto Action

Sen. Robert F. Kennedy today called for speedy passage of his program to induce private enterprise to help rebuild the nation's ghettos through tax incentives.

Appearing as a witness before the National Commission on Urban Problems at the opening of three days of hearings here, the Senator declared in prepared remarks:

"No government program can substitute for the skills and resources that private enterprise can bring to bear on the problem of urban poverty."

Cites Widening Gap

He said government efforts to deal with housing, employment and educational problems "have just not worked fast enough, and well enough, to ease the mounting urban crisis."

Referring to recent rioting in the cities, he said:

"It is brutal evidence of our failure to deal with the crisis in urban America, and of our failure to bridge the widening gap between the affluent and poor, black and white Americans."

Paul N. Ylvasaker, commissioner of the New Jersey Community Affairs Dept., told the commission that Northen ghettos are swelling by about 450,000 per year.

Ylvasaker was one of the key peacemakers in the summer riots that rocked New Jersey.

The bulk of new arrivals he said, are from the recaying system of southern tenant farms.

He called for establishment of a national urban migration policy to resettle arrivals to the North in places other than large city slums.

View Supported

The alternative, according to Ylvasaker, is "increasing tension and more outbreaks . . . in declining areas of our cities."

Jack E. Wood, associate executive director of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, agreed with Ylvasaker, saying, "The building of better ghettos will not resolve the nation's racial crisis."

The Senator said one of his two bills now before the Senate would provide incentives to lure private industry into the ghettos to create employment opportunities.

"The industries would guarantee that the bulk of employes would be drawn from the ranks of the unemployed ghetto-dweller,'" he said.

"Dovetailed with other training programs, and with poverty projects in the ghetto, this pro-

From the desk of

NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

Mr. Anthony:

An oversight. These should have been enclosed with the letter.

Lee Struminski

Lee Struminski
Secretary to Mr. Perlstein

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, AUGUST 1[illegible]

[illegible]ation of Rural Poor to Nation's [illegible]

Expected to Continue for Decade

By [illegible]

New studies by several Federal bureaus have indicated that the migration of white and Negro poor from the country's rural areas, mainly in the South, to New York and other cities, will continue [illegible] the mid-[illegible]

Mayor [illegible] boast that New [illegible] response to [illegible] the "[illegible] of the influx of relatively unskilled persons to New York City from Puerto Rico and the American South."

Jonathan Lindley, deputy assistant secretary of the Economic Development Administration, summed up the migration studies in a report now being circulated to development specialists.

Blame Rural Conditions

According to the report, "it has been the push of poor rural conditions rather than the pull of urban economic opportunities" that produced the migration of more than 10 million persons from rural to metropolitan areas in the 1950-60 decade.

Mr. Lindley said that it was the rapid growth of productivity in agriculture, mining and other extractive industries, effected through the introduction of labor-saving equipment and techniques, and the depletion of mineral and other resources

Continued on Page 49, Column 3

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

in many rural areas that produced the migration.

"There is every indication that the growth in productivity in agriculture and extractive industries will continue over the next 10 years," he declared, "and consequently that the migration of people from rural to urban areas will also continue."

Mr. Lindley said that the Economic Development Administration had undertaken projections of where people and jobs would be situated in 1960-1975.

According to some of the preliminary results of this work, he said, a "startling" potential "mismatch of jobs and people" threatens the major urban complexes like New York with a serious problem in the decade ahead.

Poor Ill-Treated

Also in social terms, Mr. Lindley said, many agricultural communities have ill-treated the poor, especially the Negroes. On the other hand, big cities have traditionally attracted the impoverished and the minority groups, and Negroes have flocked to the large cities because a friendly Negro community exists there.

In this manner, he said, migration to the large cities becomes self-reinforcing, but it does not have the prospect for job growth that earlier waves of migration have had because many of the old urban industries that offered work for the unskilled have moved out of the central city.

One "economic" pull of the large cities is public welfare, necessary for temporary support of a migrant, Mr. Lindley noted. Few such amenities exist in rural towns, he said, and many small rural towns have shown hostility rather than empathy for the disadvantaged.

Pressures in Rural Areas

Some economists argue, Mr. Lindley reported, that the recent increase in urbanization has not been in response to attractive economic advantages in the large cities.

Rather, he said, it "is the result of the very severe economic and social pressures in the rural areas." On this account, he held, it is likely that a large flow of migrants "will continue to move from the hinterlands to the urban complexes."

The abject poverty of nonwhites now living in the country's rural areas, and also of whites there, has been measured by the United States Public Health Service's National Center for Health Statistics in reports just published. The service studied a national sample of 259,000 persons from 80,000 households between 1961 and 1963, obtaining estimates from the sample for the population of the entire United States.

The 1962 farm population studied in the health survey totaled 14,367,000, with 12,628,000 whites and 1,739,000 nonwhites. Since then the farm population has declined further.

The Current Population Survey in 1965 found the farm population to be 12,633,000, with 11,115,000 whites and 1,518,000 nonwhites.

Records show that the farm population had been cut in half in 20 years. In 1942 the farm population was estimated at 28,914,000.

The health survey found that 34.1 per cent of nonwhites in the 1962 farm population, living in families of 2 to 7 or more persons, had total family incomes of less than $1,000 a year. The corresponding figure for whites was 8.7 per cent. Of nonwhites living alone on farms, 80 per cent had annual incomes of less than $1,000.

Most of the nonwhites in the farm population have family [illegible] less than $2,000 a year, the health survey indicated. Of the nonwhites living in families, [illegible] per cent fell into this [illegible] and a substantial number of whites, 23.4 per cent.

Headed by Women

The [illegible] 300,000 [illegible] families [illegible] a woman [illegible] Of these, [illegible] families [illegible] income of less than $2,000 a year and [illegible] families with annual income of less than $1,000.

A [illegible] is presented in the fact that about 213,000 [illegible] on the farms live in families of which the head was [illegible] and over.

Of them [illegible] are in families [illegible] $2,000 [illegible] and 35.4 per [illegible] with less than $1,000.

The health survey, [illegible] health measures to family characteristics, [illegible] income, produced [illegible] by-product new data on the comparative incomes of nonwhites and whites, urban as well as rural.

Thus of the 19,771,000 nonwhites living in families, 48.2 per cent had family incomes under $3,000 a year. Of the corresponding group of 150,161,000 whites, only 15.7 per cent fell in this class.

In the income levels above the poverty line but below the level of affluence—levels between $3,000 and $6,999 in annual family income—there is relatively little difference between whites and nonwhites. Such modest incomes supported 40.9 per cent of nonwhites and 48.2 per cent of whites.

Great disparities mark the distribution of higher incomes.

While 36 per cent of whites had annual family incomes of $7,000 and over, only 11 per cent of nonwhites fell into this group.

Nonwhite families with incomes of $10,000 a year and over include 711,756 persons. They number only 3.6 per cent of all nonwhites living in families. At this income level are 15.3 per cent of whites.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

NYT 8/24

G.O.P. SEEKS HELP FOR RURAL AREAS

Proposes 5-Point Program Designed to Stem Migration to Overcrowded Cities

By MARJORIE HUNTER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 23 — Republican leaders proposed today a five-point program to help stem migration to troubled cities by rejuvenating rural America.

They recommended better schools, more training and jobs, improved welfare and health services and the channeling of Government defense and supply contracts into poor rural areas.

The proposals came in a report approved by the Republican party's National Coordinating Committee on July 24 and released today by Ray C. Bliss, Republican National Chairman.

Double-Edged Problem

Members of the coordinating committee include former President Dwight D. Eisenhower; two former Republican Presidential nominees—Richard M. Nixon and Barry Goldwater—Republican leaders in Congress, and eight Republican Governors, including Governor Rockefeller of New York.

The report was prepared by the Republican party's Task Force on Job Opportunities and Welfare, headed by Don Paarlberg, professor of agricultural economics at Purdue University.

The Republican report described the rising migration from farm to city as a "double-edged problem," contributing to city ills and depleting the countryside.

Blaming the Democrats for largely ignoring rural areas by doing little to create jobs for those forced out of agriculture by mechanization, the report states:

"Farm programs, largely designed by the Democratic party, have continually sought parity of prices as an objective, when they should have sought parity of opportunity."

To revitalize rural areas, the Republicans proposed the following:

¶Economic incentives for factories to locate in poor rural areas to provide more jobs, and channeling more Government defense and supply contracts to such areas and building Government installations in such areas.

¶Increased aid for schools, including more vocational-technical schools in rural areas.

¶Enactment of the rural community action section of the Opportunity Crusade, the Republican alternative to the Administration's antipoverty program. The Republican proposal would seek to coordinate Federal and private efforts in education and training, welfare and health projects and research and planning.

¶Providing rural areas with the same kind of employment services as those available to urban workers.

¶Stepping up the work of the Economic Development Administration in poor rural areas to attract new industries.

The Economic Development Administration was established by Congress two years ago to help economically depressed areas lure new industries and thus create new jobs.

Under the program, Federal loans and grants are provided for water and sewer systems and other public works. Loans are also made to businesses and plants, and technical assistance is offered.

Earlier, Congress set up a separate program to assist the economically depressed Appalachia region, extending from southwestern New York to north Alabama, and including such areas as West Virginia and Kentucky. The emphasis in Appalachia is on road-building.

Both these Democratic-sponsored programs were fought by House Republican leaders, including most of those now serving on the Republican Coordinating Committee.

File Brotherhood - Inc - Action

October 27, 1967

Mr. Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director
Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York 10018

Dear Norm:

Regrettably, I will be out of the office on November 13 and 14 and all of that week. What of the following week, specifically November 20, 21 or 22? Certainly a visit from you would be most welcome.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

BROTHERHOOD·IN·ACTION, INC.

560 Seventh Avenue (at Fortieth Street) New York, New York 10018

LW 4-0350

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Executive Director
NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

October 25, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Sorry you were unable to get up here this last month, but I would like to move ahead on the one-day meeting here, and I think the best for me is to visit you. There are some other points along the way where I can combine several tasks.

Will you be available at your shop November 13 or November 14? Please let me know.

All good regards.

Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director

NHP:LS

1.

See Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc.

October 3, 1967

Mr. Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director
Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue at 40th Street
New York, New York 10018

Dear Norm:

There is a slight possibility I shall be in New York on October 12 or 13. I will certainly check with you if I am.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

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560 Seventh Avenue (at Fortieth Street) New York, New York 10018

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Executive Director
NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

September 28, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I am still optimist enough to hope I can ride two horses at once. While I am naturally--but understandably--sorry that we and SRC cannot work out something on a long-range study, I am pursuing other possibilities in that regard and maybe I can get it off the ground.

Meanwhile, I like very much your idea about a well thought-out one day meeting to act on what we already know. I will talk to some of the people at Rutgers to see if we can get together enough staff to plan that one. Then I will be back at you because I would certainly want you involved. What might be helpful is a chance to get together with you once, either here or in Atlanta, after I have done more spade-work.

I am fairly certain we could publish concise findings of some specific recommendations national, regional and local. At that stage, we might well work out an endorsement by SRC to give the programs more weight. But that's later.

Let me know if you are planning any trip to New York in the near future.

I, too, look toward a joint program and I am sure we are going to find one.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director

NHP:yg

File
Brotherhood-in-Action

November 10, 1967

Mr. Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director
Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue at 40th Street
New York, New York 10018

Dear Norman:

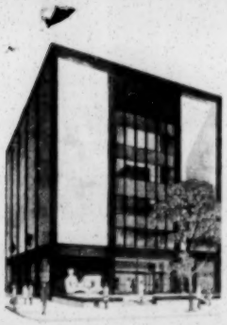
November 27th, 28th, or 29th are all clear for me. The 29th is a little better at this moment, but any of them will be fine.

Looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj



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Executive Director
NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

October 30, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thanks for your note. The week of November 20 th is impossible, but now I'll try another. How about November 27, 28 or 29? Please let me know and we'll work this out.

Cordially,

Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director

NHP:LS

file

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Executive Director
NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

November 13, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Okay on the 29th. I will probably arrive on the 28th, and would want to see you that afternoon also, if possible.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Norman Perlstein
Executive Director

NP:LS

P.S. I know we will probably run into each other at the NAIRO Conference, but we will discuss our idea in Atlanta.

See Brotherhood-in-Action

December 13, 1967

Mr. Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director
Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue at 40th Street
New York, New York 10018

Dear Norm:

It was, to wit, too dry and too quick a visit, but we got something accomplished.

I look forward to your further comments and will make every effort to respond promptly.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

BROTHERHOOD·IN·ACTION, INC.

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NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

December 5, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Much thanks for the warm good visit to SRC.

As Jim may have told you, we pushed along the discussion the three of us began about the question of rural migration to the cities.

As you recall, we agreed that a small March meeting, sort of a feasibility session, might critically examine the data we now have. The hope is we could agree that with what we now know, it may be appropriate and useful to look toward recommendations for national and regional policies and strategy.

We felt that it would be wise to concentrate on a few major issues, have short 20-minute papers from experts in the morning, and then spend the afternoon seeing whether it was worthwhile: (a) convening a larger meeting and (b) developing guide lines based on our analysis and discussions.

We felt that a small, carefully chosen group should be assembled for this March session.

I said I would begin the process by suggesting some of the areas I had in mind, then you would add to it, and both of us would throw together names.

You said that you would be pretty much tied up in the next couple of weeks with internal SRC matters.

This note is just a reminder that I will try to get back at you soon with the outline mentioned above.

My visit to Atlanta was too short, too wet, too cold but not too hungry and thirsty. I can always say that the seat next to the Garden at the top of the Mart is the best place to contemplate the problems of the South--or anything else.

All good regards and much thanks to Jim for having given me the tour of the agency after you left.

I think we are squared away on an important issue and we merely have to get our outline in order.

Cordially,

Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director

NHP:yg

Jim Wood
Ret MMG files

January 16, 1968

Mr. Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director
Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York 10018

Dear Norm:

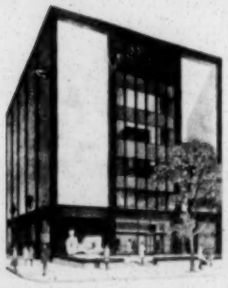
Finally I have had an opportunity to go over your draft outline. It is extremely well done.

I plan to be in New York February 7-9. Is it possible we could arrange our planning session during that time? What about giving me a call at your convenience.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km



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NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

January 3, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Here's a draft outline for a conference call. I have tried to cover the waterfront. Let me know whether this seems to be on target, with any changes you think necessary. I look forward to hearing from you.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director

NHP:ls
Enc.

come to think of it, I guess there is a lot of redoing on this. But do come back at me quickly with your thoughts. Happy New Year!

N

Brotherhood · In · Action, Inc.

DRAFT

A CONFERENCE

TO DEVELOP NATIONAL STRATEGY AND PROGRAMS AIMED AT THE CYCLE OF RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

In the years 1960-1965 more than two million Negroes left the South; one million went to New York City alone. Most of the others went to urban centers such as Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, Washington and Philadelphia. Recent studies indicate that because of present conditions of poverty in the rural South this migration can be expected to continue unabated for another ten years or so. The problems of Northern urban areas are in coping with the rural migrant already living there, and in planning for those who will inevitably come. The picture in the South is self-evident.

Several proposals for government policy on migration to the cities have been advanced by congressmen, governors, other public officials and private foundations. These remain in limbo, requiring analysis and hard evaluation.

The national dimensions of the problem are thus a major domestic issue.

Because of the urgent need for policy and an assessment of strategies, Brotherhood-In-Action proposes a one-day conference to consider possible courses of action. Realizing that it is impossible to deal with the complexities of urban poverty without a concern

for its rural cause, Brotherhood-In-Action is asking that the Southern Regional Council, an organization of concerned Southerners, join as a co-sponsor of such a conference. The Conference would consider the issues and options facing both rural and urban areas in relation to the trek from farm to city, South to North--and then, in some instances, back again.

The Conference would have this starting point:
Fourteen million rural persons still living in abject poverty in this country are potential migrants to urban areas. Most of these live in the south and most are white. However, the poverty of the rural Negro is apt to be far more serious.

*Despite a declared War on Poverty, now in its fourth year, little help has reached the hard core poor in rural areas. In fact, the extra services provided by the OEO programs to the cities may have even served as a lure to more rural migrants. Furthermore, most of the traditional Federal assistance programs are inappropriate to the current problems.

> The President's Commission of Rural Poverty, in its report released in early December, concludes that "because we have been oblivious to the rural poor, we have abetted both rural and urban poverty, for the two are closely linked through migration." It was the opinion of this same Commission that "the urban riots of 1967 had their roots, in considerable part, in rural poverty," and that,

furthermore, effective programs for solving the problems of rural poverty will contribute to the solution of urban poverty as well.

A Symposium, called by six cabinet members to consider rural-urban problems, has recently been held in Washington. This meeting has further focused attention of national planners on the fact the urban centers' problems are inextricably linked to rural areas.

*As of this date there are no national policies or plans in action to regulate or control or facilitate migration. Likewise, there is no viable national program to meet the needs of large numbers of the rural poor where they are living now.

There are a number of options in any national planning which such a Conference could consider. Should the effort be to:

1. Stop migration?
2. Reverse migration to suburban or underpopulated rural areas?
3. Control migration by encouraging only those who have had intensive preparation for urban living to migrate?
4. Open up job training and job opportunities to persons in rural areas so they may remain where they are if they choose?
5. Develop a deliberate relocation program?
6. Permit migration to continue without controls or planning but seek to meet needs in urban centers more adequately.

Other issues which might be raised, but which more properly fall into the category of action programs or means of implementing the migration policies, are:

1. A national manpower policy for rural and urban areas alike.

2. A national program of public assistance and other services, including health, education and housing, in order to avoid luring persons from one place to another on the basis of superior benefits alone.

3. Area development and urban renewal programs to provide better living conditions in both rural and urban areas.

FORMAT OF CONFERENCE

The conference would bring together no more than 50 carefully selected persons involved in rural and urban affairs. The participants would explore in depth what immediate action must be taken by the public and private sectors to develop policies and programs related to the unending cycle of rural-urban migration. This would include an evaluation of several proposals advanced by public officials throughout the North and South. (The Conference would be limited to the south-north migration and would not attempt to deal with the special problems of the Spanish-speaking migrations from Puerto-Rico and the Southwest.)

The conference may well be expected to recommend:

1. Regional and national strategies and programs, or

2. That it would be more feasible to call a large national migration conference to develop such policies and programs.

Three or four persons would be asked to prepare papers for distribution to conferees before the meeting. The morning session of the conference would be devoted to 30-minute excerpts from these papers. The afternoon session would draw reactions to the papers and would focus on developing specific recommendations.

Suggested topics and authors for papers:

An Overview of Rural Poverty in the South, Dr. C. E. Bishop, Vice President, North Carolina Consolidated Universities, former Executive Secretary of the President's Commission on Rural Poverty.

A Profile of the Ghetto Life of the Migrant, Dr. Robert Coles, Research Psychiatrist, University Medical Servies, ~~Howard~~ Harvard University.

A National Migration Policy--

An Urban Perspective--Paul Ylvisaker, Director County Services Administration, State of New Jersey.

A Rural Viewpoint--Dr. Vivian Anderson, Economist and President, Clark College, Atlanta.

Urban Services for the Migrant to the Cities, Mitchell I. Ginsberg, Human Resources Administrator, New York City.

It has been suggested that former Governor Breathitt, of Kentucky, might well make an excellent conference Chairman.

SUGGESTED PROGRAM

9:00 - 9:30	Registration
9:30 - 10:00	Greetings--Mayor Lindsay (Kennedy, Javits)
10:00 - 11;00	Profile of Ghetto Migrant (papers) Overview of Rural Poverty
11:00 - 11:20	Coffee Break
11:20 - 12:15	National Migration Policy
12:15 - 1:45	Lunch
1:45 - 2:45	Reaction Panel

Moderators:
Paul Anthony and/or
Norman H. Perlstein

Participants:

Jonathan Lindley, Deputy Assistant to the Secretary of the Economic Development Administration.

James G. Maddox, Economist, University of North Carolina, Author, "The Advancing South."

Dr. Kenneth Clark, Social Psychologist, President Metropolitan Applied Research Council, New York.

Herbert M. Hamlin, Vocational-Technical Educational Specialist, University of California, Berkeley, co-author, "The Advancing South."

(An urban expert from the staff of Rutgers University involved in the Newark studies.)

2:45 - 3:30	Group Reactions
3:30 - 4:00	Formulation of Recommendations
4:00 p.m.	Adjournment

PRE-PLANNING

It seems advisable that a pre-planning conference meeting be held in late January in New York. Participants would include staff of Southern Regional Council, Brotherhood-In-Action and possibly Rutgers University.

POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS

Those persons invited to the Conference would be specialists in the fields of welfare services, social psycology and sociology, economics, education, and health.

There should also be representation of such private groups as Council for the Southern Mountains (Appalachia), the National Sharecroppers" Fund, the Citizens" Crusade Against Poverty, the National Committee on the Education of Migrant Children, the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, the Department of Social Justice of the National Council of Churches, and the American Friends Service Committee.

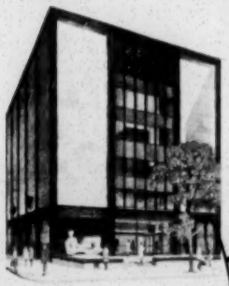
Representatives of public agencies should be drawn at federal, state and local levels and should represent a cross-section of health, welfare, education, labor, employment, manpower, agriculture, commerce, housing, urban development and the OEO.

Time and Place

It is anticipated that the conference would be held sometime in March, in New York at the Brotherhood-In-Action Human Relations Conference Center, 560 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

#

PA



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Executive Director
NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

February 13, 1968

Mr. James H. Wood, Jr.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Jim:

It was good seeing you the other day.

This is just a reminder that we will begin sharing names to fill out the potential list for those who will present papers and those who will attend the phase I meeting of some 40 persons on migration problems.

You did say that you might pick up some possibilities from the conference you will be having with the A. Philip Randolph Institute, February 23-25, in Atlanta. Quite apart from that, I suggest two other ideas:

I would hope that Paul would still be able to get here for preliminary conversations, but in any event, would you people see value in a meeting in Washington within the next few weeks where we can really trade names, fill out our lists and take substantial new steps.

Please do let me know.

Again, I am more than ever convinced that we are on to something very important (last Sunday's New York Times on page 1 is only another kind of ammunition. Clipping attached)

All good regards.

Cordially,

Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director

NHP:yg
enc.

See Sec-Brotherhood in Action Conf. Apr. 29, 1968

AN OVERVIEW OF RURAL POVERTY

by

LEWIS W. JONES
TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

(Symposium on Rural-Urban Migration sponsored by Brotherhood in Action and the Southern Regional Council, New York, April 29, 1968)

In its report, The People Left Behind, the President's Commission on rural poverty provides a broad base for consideration of the condition and prospects of the rural poor. A more precise description of these fourteen million people and a more definitive analysis of their prospects where they are, together with unreserved identification of the social and political forces that shape their prospects, become imperative.

The analysis called for requires locating people on the land and the economic resources at their disposal in a demographic description. A second feature of this analysis is reexamination of the concept "Rural" because its connotations make questionable its value as an analytical tool. A third feature of this analysis is a search for understanding through examination of social and political processes as they influence the economic condition. Professor Robert MacIver long ago directed sociologists to seek explanation of the event in the process that produced it rather than in the event or condition itself.

The report of the President's Commission points out that most of those left behind are not on farms but in villages, small towns, and in open country communities and they are classified in census reports as "non-farm". Three-fifths of the rural poor are non-farm and one of every four persons in rural areas is poor. Where the rural poor

are is important. They are to be found in all sections of the United States but they have to be searched out because they are invisible to the metropolitan areas and may not be seen from the high-speed "limited access" throughways that connect metropolitan areas.

Ten years ago, I wrote describing the view from the highways then. The highways, smooth belts of concrete or asphalt, connect the cities to each other and the larger towns to cities. Highway markers point to the villages and small towns that the highways by-pass as they are no longer important to trade and commerce. The small towns and villages do have an importance however. They are the refuges for workers that the tractors and harvesters have pushed out of the fields. Big towns, little towns, and villages have grown since 1930. Small houses that have extended their boundaries are home for workers the farms have expelled and that city industries don't need.

The long-abused and misused lands of the South are faring better than the long-abused and misused people who have inhabited them. No policies and specific practices ensure the constructive use of these people. Many of them who should be regarded as assets have been callously marked 'expendable'. This waste of human resources is the South's great unsolved problem. Soils in the South are being planned for in terms of their highest and more constructive purpose, whether it be forest, grass, or field. None of the land is regarded as waste and expendable. For every acre there is a use that in time will prove to be an asset. Sleek, well-fed cows graze on hillsides where gaunt, ill-fed people once scratched for a meagre living. In

fertile fields where children and their parents toiled without hope of security or comfort, machines sow, tend, and harvest bounteous crops.

Now the super-highways obscure the view of change. They emphasize a complete newness. At the ten-mile apart exits, newly built service facilities and hostels are available for the motorists' convenience. These rest spots for the affluent urban travelers belong to the urban American complex where 70 percent of Americans live and particularly for the 50 million Americans who live in suburbs where only 7 percent of the population is poor. The affluent traveler is reassured by so much newness and the sense of having left behind the American disadvantaged in the inner city slums.

Some of the inner-city slum people also travel to funerals "back home" or for visits, especially for annual home comings at rural churches. The annual visitor finds the nearest superway exit to his destination and winds his way by a seldom traveled black-top road to the town where he once lived or where he used to come to shop on Saturdays. Huddled about the closed railroad station or the spot where a railroad station once stood is the cluster of buildings that appear more dilapidated than they did last year. A few families may still be living in the community where he grew up but there is a good likelihood it isn't there anymore. The few relatives and friends left behind have come into "town" in many cases and this place is as near "home" as he can get.

The Demographic Profile

Counting and summation of numbers followed by their division into sub-totals has been done more than a few times by more than a few reputable demographers. These facts, statements about the phenomenon of poverty in the hinterland, are not questioned: they are rationalized and deprecated. Deprecation of the rural poor is an exploitative gambit of long-standing. When the tenant system in the South was in full bloom apologists described tenancy as a stepping-stone to ownership. When some of us argued that tenants were not being helped by the Cooperative Extension Service the apologists sneered "they are not farmers, they are laborers receiving deferred wages". When, at the nadir of the great depression following World War I, the late Aubrey Williams went to the then Governor of Mississippi to plead with him to permit hungry tenants to plant garden seed furnished by the federal government, the Governor argued that garden seed were an assault on free enterprise generally and the plantation commissaries in particular, the same commissaries that charged 300 percent interest on white pork and corn meal for deficiency diets for tenants.

The phenomenon of rural poverty exists; the way we look at it and react to it is a matter of our several ideological orientations. The following profile of rural poverty is from the report of the President's Commission and government documents and other reports:

There are:

14 million rural poor.

11 million of these are white.

3 million of these are Negro.

If we accept these numbers from the report of the President's Commission, 3 1/2 million poor have left rural areas since 1959. Agricultural Economic Report No. 63, Poverty in Rural Areas of the United States, by Alan R. Bird, reported 17 1/2 million poor people in rural areas; 12 million were white including 350,000 Spanish Americans; over 4 million were Negroes, and 250,000 were American Indians. If this be so, 3 1/2 million poor people in rural America have gone somewhere.

In 1959, the number of United States families with net cash incomes under $3,000 according to geographic areas was:

	Farm	Non-farm
	(In thousands)	
Northeast	72	330
North Central	581	625
South	830	1,647
West	87	251

From the report of the President's Commission the rate of unemployment in rural areas averaged 18 percent and underemployment in some areas as high as 37 percent. We may safely assume that these are short-counts and the dimensions of the unemployed and underemployed sector of this population to be considerably greater.

Table 14 -- Ratio of population to number of people employed, by area and residence, United States, 1960

Type of employment and area	Number of people pre employed worker in the --			
	Area as a whole	Urban population	Rural nonfarm population	Rural farm population
Civilian only				
United States	2.77	2.64	3.23	2.88
Northeast	2.61	2.54	2.97	2.58
North Central	2.73	2.63	3.12	2.76
South	2.95	2.74	3.40	3.08
West	2.80	2.70	3.37	2.77

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1960 (16, tables 100, 102, 103, 104).

In the same year, the proportion of nonworkers to workers averaged 25 percent higher for counties with no town of 2,500 people or more than for counties with at least one city of 25,000 to 50,000. This higher proportion of nonworkers in rural communities reflected more than the high proportion of very young and very old in these communities. Most particularly, female labor force participation in counties with no town of at least 2,500 averaged only 26.6 percent. On the average, the percentage of females participating in the labor force increased steadily as the size of the largest town in the county increased. For counties with a city of 25,000 to 50,000, the average participation of women in the labor force was 32.9 percent in 1960.

Even to attain these lesser employment opportunities, the average rural worker commuted farther in 1960 than his city cousin. (He may

have done so in less time, of course.) For 1960, 13.2 percent of the workers in counties with no town with a population as large as 2,500 worked outside their county of residence. Of the workers who lived in counties with a city of 25,000 to 50,000 people, an average of only 8.8 percent worked outside their county of residence.

In a 1967 report to her board of directors, Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary of the National Sharecroppers Fund, writes:

> Housing. More than a million rural homes are dilapidated; many are unsafe and beyond repair. That is 27 percent of all rural dwellings, contrasted with 14 percent in urban areas. In the southern states, only 36.5 of farm and 47.2 percent of nonfarm rural dwellings are sound and contain all plumbing facilities. What this means for the majority is a common pump up the road, shared by many families, unsanitary privies, windows without screens, walls and floors with cracks, no central heating. It means bitter cold and constant danger of fire in winter; insect-borne disease the year-round. For farm workers and migrants it may be worse: a duck coop, an automobile, a tent.

The President's Commission agrees when it concludes "Most of the rural poor live in atrocious houses. One in every 13 houses in rural America is officially classified as unfit to live in."

Poor people living in inadequate housing have the greatest burden of dependents. From the Bird report we get the following dependency ratios, the ratio of persons not in the labor force (including children under 14) to total labor force.

Size of Major Community in County	Depending Ratio
0 - 2,499	998
2,500 - 4,999	980
5,000 - 9,999	929
10,000 - 24,999	897
25,000 - 50,000	841

One of the most significant changes making the current reality so disparate with the romantic memory is farm employment. The yeoman farmer with the faithful hired man who was practically a member of the family does not describe the farm and farm labor today. In her report referred to above, Fay Bennett spells out the current farm labor situation:

> Nearly 2.8 million people worked on farms for cash wages during 1966, the last year for which full records are available. This represented a decline of 11.7 percent from 1965. Casual laborers, who worked less than 25 days, numbered about 1.1 million and noncasual workers about 1.6 million. Of these, 32 percent were young people 14 to 17 years of age, nearly three fourths of them boys. Nearly half (47 percent) of the total lived in the South, 8 percent in the Northeast, 19 percent in the Northcentral states, and 26 percent in the West. The total number of foreign workers was 23,600, up 100 from the preceding year, with about 12,000 of them working at peak employment periods. Half the nation's farmers do not hire any workers at all, and 89 percent of all expenditures for hired labor in 1964 were on the 29 percent of farms that sold products valued to $10,000 or more.
>
> For an average 85 days of farm work, hired farm workers earned $731 in cash wages in 1966. The 1.6 million noncasual

workers average 138 days and earned $1,188. The 1.1 million casual workers averaged 63 days of work and earned $521. Domestic migratory workers averaged 121 days of work and earned $1,307. About 1.7 million people did farm work only; they averaged 104 days' work and earned $894. Those who were employed at both farm and nonfarm work averaged 109 days of nonfarm and 55 days of farm work with average earnings of $1,880.

The Vanishing Sharecropper

Since 1960, the total number of farm residents in the United States has dropped by 4 million, from 15.6 to 11.6 million people. The rate of decline is about 4 percent for white and 10 percent for Negro farm people. In eight southern states the number of Negro farmers -- owners, part-owners, and tenants -- dropped from 210,591 in the agricultural census of 1959 to 142,506 in the 1964 census. This was a loss of 32.4 percent. In the same states the number of white farmers dropped 15 percent in the same period, from 679,692 to 576,394. The exodus of rural Negroes in the sixties can be related directly to the number of mechanical cotton pickers. Alabama had 734 in 1960; 2,490 in 1964. South Carolina had 455 in 1960; 2,048 in 1964. Figures are similar in other states. Mechanization and use of chemicals have started the same process in tobacco production.

The out-migration is related, also, to the persistent difficulty marginal farmers -- those who need help most -- have in obtaining government assistance. Only 12 percent of Farmers Home Administration loans in 1966 went to farmers who earned less than $4,000 -- and most Negro farmers earn far less. In Hinds County, Mississippi, evictions

are related directly to the tenant farmers' attempts to share in federal programs; to their asking for receipts in business dealings; to the election of Negro members of Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service committees. Tenant farmers were evicted in Alabama because they would not sign over their ASCS checks to the plantation owners. Some evictions can be attributed to voter registration drives and to fear of the growing Negro vote in the blackbelt counties. Landlord-employer attempts to evade application of the minimum wage have also speeded up evictions and in some cases spurred the shift from cotton to cattle.*

Fewer and Richer Farms; Fewer and Poorer People

Between 1939 and 1964, 2.4 million farms disappeared; 95 percent of them were small farms with less than $2,500 in annual gross sales, and about a fourth of them were worked by sharecroppers. Only about 1.5 million small farms are left now. In the same period, the number of farms with gross sales of $10,000 and more rose two and one-half times.*

A most significant study is summarized in the following table. Just living takes most of the income of the rural poor. They spend about $5.00 per month in personal care and recreation, and $2.00 per month on reading and education. Still they spend more than their incomes of less than $2,000.

---

*National Sharecroppers Fund Annual Report, 1966.

SPENDING PATTERN OF LOW INCOME FAMILIES*
BY RESIDENCE, U.S., 1961

	Urban	Rural-nonfarm	Farm
Characteristics			
Median age of head, years	60	60	56
Education of head, grades	8	7	7
Average size of household, persons	1.9	2.6	3.1
Average full-time earners per family	0.2	0.2	1.0
Percent home owner	37	61	67
Percent auto owner	27	54	81
Average income after taxes	$1900	$1800	$1600
Average amount spent	2200	2000	2200
Deficit spending	285	160	700
Spending patterns			
Food	$ 618	$ 585	$ 604
Eating away from home	99	68	81
Home produced	0	0	403
Clothing	81	53	75
Personal care	67	57	67
Medical care	186	176	214
Recreation	50	46	61
Reading and education	29	17	28
Automobile	106	243	293
Other transportation	42	16	12
Gifts and contributions	101	85	107
Personal insurance	60	50	86
Housing	776	580	573
Shelter, fuel, electricity and water	569	384	357
Household operation	127	101	95
Furnishings and equipment	80	95	121
Other expenditures	84	97	108

*Includes one-person families.

Source: A report on "Spending Patterns of Low-Income Families (1961)" by Emma Holmes in 1964: Sample of household Units under $3000 after Taxes, United States, 1961. Reported in Adult Leadership, May 1965, p. 16ff.

The Bird report list 250 counties where rural families had the lowest median incomes only 8 counties were outside the South. The report of the President's Commission says:

> Many of the rural poor live in chronically depressed poverty-stricken rural communities. Most of the rural south is one vast poverty area. Indian reservations contain heavy concentrations of poverty. But there also are impoverished rural communities in the upper Great Lakes region, in New England, in Appalachia, in the Southwest, and in other sections.
>
> The community in rural poverty areas has all but disappeared as an effective institution. In the past the rural community performed the services needed by farmers and other rural people. Technological progress brought sharp declines in the manpower needs of agriculture, forestry, fisheries, and mining. Other industries have not replaced the jobs lost, and they have supplied too few jobs for the young entries in the labor market. Larger towns and cities have taken over many of the economic and social functions of the villages and small towns.
>
> The changes in rural America have rendered obsolete many of the political boundaries to villages and counties. Thus these units operate on too small a scale to be practicable. Their tax base has eroded as their more able-bodied wage earners left for jobs elsewhere. In consequence the public services in the typical poor rural community are grossly inadequate in number, magnitude, and quality. Local government is no longer able to cope with local needs.

Unfortunately too many local governments are unwilling to do even that of which they are capable. The political structure and process in the poor non-metropolitan areas, in the hinterland, must not be excluded from consideration. One of the most formidable obstacles to elimination of rural poverty, if it is not the most formidable, is the presence of people in the congress and in government bureaucracies who misrepresent the people in these very areas of poverty.

The antipoverty program itself has been urban-oriented, but the rural roots of poverty are beginning to be understood. In fiscal 1966, less than one-seventh of total Community Action Program funds went into rural program development and administration. In Department of Labor programs, only 20 percent of Manpower Development and Training Act funds went for projects in rural areas. In 1964, the Rural Community Development Service found that only 3.4 percent of MDTA training projects were conducted in small towns under 10,000 population of their surrounding rural areas, and only 3.1 percent of the number of trainees who participated were in rural and small-town projects. In fiscal 1966, 164 MDTA agricultural projects were approved for 7,100 trainees, a decrease from previous years.

The Political Process Maintaining Rural Poverty

Political orders become oppressive when threatened with extinction and the more autocratic they were in their periods of strength the more irresponsibly they behave (under threat of destruction) in their desperation. The sad plight of rural local government units, particularly the county units, is constantly lamented. The weak tax base and the

feeble services structure on that base are repeatedly deplored. Poor schools, poor health services, poor welfare services -- all are lamentable and to be deplored, but they and the tax base are not viable or self-generating. They are the work of people, people who operate the political machinery, as county officials and as representatives from the local area in state and national governments. It we can't come to grips with the hard political facts our deliberations here will end as have so many others in so many places over such long a time: as an exercise in futile fulminations.

This paper must deal with the subject of the political process, first because poverty may not be explained without doing so, and second because it takes our concern away from the mystique of impersonal economic processes and the massive glacially moving cultural processes. The political process involves the manipulation of the governmental structure by people in the interests of some people and against the interests of other people. We can see the people acting in their political roles and see the consequences of their acts. They can be held accountable if anyone wants to require an accounting.

The county courthouse gangs can give the city hall gangs lessons in effective conduct of government in favor of the vested interests of those who suborn them. It is of passing interest that it was Representative Landrum of Georgia who secured amendment of the OEO Act to give greater control to local government.

Harry Caudill has effectively described how local governments and mining interests in the Appalachians have connived to exploit the mineral resources, destroy any productive potential of the earth cover,

and leave destitute people in the wake of their depredations -- all such exploitation accomplished without taxation at the source of wealth for contribution to the common welfare.

Evidence is available on collusion of local governments to service the lumbering interests, the livestock interests, and the agricultural cartels.

Only recently has the travesty of representative government been seriously attacked in the one-man one-vote doctrine. The county political apparatus (not in the South only) has determined state policies and has misgoverned by controlling state legislatures. In congressional district combines these county groups have sent to the congress men who have used their powerful committee positions to bend federal agencies to their will, a will serving the affluent and penalizing the poor. A long list of high crimes and misdemeanors of county governments against the poor might be given here. To recount for just the past 35 years since the initiation of the Roosevelt New Deal agricultural reforms the flagrant distortion and negation of federal policies at the local level would be a recital of disgusting political perversions.

Perhaps the operation of the Cooperative Extension Service may best illustrate the operation of the political process against the interests of the rural poor. With its Siamese twin, The Farm Bureau Federation, this agency has practiced a midwifery on federal programs to insure that those conceived for the welfare of the poor on farms should be still-born. The extension service is an appropriate agency to examine because it emphasizes its being a "cooperative" enterprise involving local, state and federal governments.

The extension service operation in the local area depends upon the pleasure of the county government. The county extension service office conducts its affairs and interprets any directives from the state headquarters or from Washington to the satisfaction of the local power structure.

In the South the extension service has been desegregated and the poor Negro farm people get less service now than they were given before desegregation. Before desegregation the local Negro farm and home agents had offices somewhere in the Negro community far from the white extension service offices in the courthouse and they could act with whatever freedom they dared to exercise. Now that they are desegregated they have no freedom of action. Every meeting they hold and every letter they write must be approved by the county chairman. In the reorganization the former white county agent position is the county chairmanship. The former white home demonstration agent position is the associate chairmanship. The Negro farm agent and home agent are carefully supervised and work with a few Negro families that may be shown to inspectors from Washington or other hurried visitors who may come to take a look see. Many of these Negro agents are better trained and more experienced than their white supervisors by any criteria applied but whiteness.

The poor farm people, white and Negro, do not avail themselves of the services designed for them in federal legislation because the extension service cunningly secures for itself the information function and the poor farm people are not informed. A pasture development program, in one county I had experience with, had crimson clover seed to distribute. The little farmers knew nothing about it. They did not apply

for them. So, by default, at the end of the period of distribution the biggest dairy farmer in the county applied for and got enough crimson clover to sow 850 acres of pasture.

In this brief presentation, I am at a disadvantage that poses a dilemma: if I generalize on the basis of my information, you will accuse me of wild charges; if I cite cases you will decide I have picked the dramatic atypical. Just the same, I shall mention a couple of other cases that you may consider.

The agricultural program has a political and bureaucratic dualism. The bureaucratic structure is clearly evident. In the county seat there are offices of the several agencies staffed by persons whom we may consider to be technically competent. They know the program they represent and follow the directives from Washington through region and state. These men can check an application and discuss the act and the administrative directives and memoranda. There is also a committee system shadowy but powerful. These committees pass on the applications the agency representatives present to them. They make decisions that the bureaucrat announces.

Let us take a case from the Farmers Home Administration. A farmer seeking to purchase a farm was having difficulty. A very influential man held a mortgage on the property. The farmer applied for a loan, and was rejected for failure to qualify. Specification of his disqualifications enabled him to remove them and reapply. The FHA agent explained to him that he was again refused because the committee did not consider him to be a good risk since he had a reputation of not paying his bills. In this case, the Masonic Lodge to which the applicant

belonged made known its interest in his application and the lodge's support of him. He made a third application and the loan was granted.

Just one more case. This has to do with the food stamp program. On one of our adult training programs at Tuskegee Institute, there is a trainee with a family to support while he learns a new occupation. He was granted $100 a month to help him support his family while in training. He arranged to buy $75 worth of food stamps for $35. When it was discovered he was receiving the $100 the decision was made that he must buy $90 worth of food stamps for $75.

A careful scrutiny of the Department of Agriculture is in order. Perhaps this might be undertaken before the departure from office of present Secretary who has been referred to as "that good man who is prisoner in a bureaucratic maze". Secretary Freeman's commitment is clearly stated in his testimony before the House Committee on Education and Labor, June 10, 1967. His information, however, was feeble and sparse because he saw what local USDA personnel wanted him to see as they ushered him about their show pieces.

He reported that there were at the time of his testimony 3,150 community resource development committees and 562 multi-county committees. He said nothing about the composition of these committees where poor and minority group representation is notoriously lacking.

His assertion that local USDA personnel are servicing the rural poor as stated below in theory is not borne out in fact.

The Department of Agriculture has at least four programs in every rural county, operated by the Soil Conservation Service, the Farmers Home Administration, the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation

Service and Extension Service. These agencies have joined together to form county and state Technical Action Panels. Other Federal Departments and state and local leaders have been invited to participate.

The TAPs have the machinery to answer any inquiry in the field of rural areas development. This means that any rural individual, family, or community seeking access to anti-poverty or development services can get one-stop service at the county level.

Poor people are forming their own committees to fight for their interests against those organizations controlled by the power interests in these areas.

On April 1, 1968, the USDA Office of Information issued a release that had Secretary Freeman announcing that full-time Negro workers in county offices of the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service had risen to 310, 307 of whom were in the South where they were 5 percent of the South's total. This is progress, puny progress indeed, as most of these workers were clerical help.

The USDA has highly trained Negro professional workers in its Washington offices captured by very good salaries to serve as window dressing in a liberal facade that camouflages its gross discriminations.

Before we urge enactment of new legislation by the Federal Congress we need to take a look at the basic laws in local areas and the interpretation and administration of those laws. Off on the byways the political process pushes people into the stream of migration and reduces people to a low state where they are. There are many people in urban slums who do not want to be there. They were shoved off land where they enjoyed living into slums. A visitor to Tuskegee recently looked at the green beauty of grasses and forest and said very quietly,

"They say America is becoming crowded. It is on the Eastern Seaboard but look at all this living space." All of the living space may not be lived on. It is private property sown in grasses with federal seed and planted to trees by federal subsidy, and local government protects the right of all this land to be empty of people.

The people left behind may not decide to increase the clutter in the slums or have their children become adept looters. Why can't the people who chose to do so live on the gracious land? The Department of Agriculture says one person can provide food and fiber for forty; production is its interest, not people.

Politics not economics is the key to elimination of rural poverty.

The Hinterland Reconsidered

The old concept rural in terms of which most statistical information is reported has outmoded connotations and evokes archaic notions that no longer describe the now in what is familiarly referred to as "Rural America". To deal effectively with the land and the people living on it reconceptualization of rurality so as to express realism is a hard task. Too many of us whose origins were on the farm or in small town America are reluctant to surrender the romantic memories of our community of origin and avoid admitting that it no longer exists.

In economic terms the rural area is defined as the hinterland, which is the area of raw-materials-production having a high land-to-man ratio. In contrast to the implied exclusiveness of the term "rural", "hinterland" implies interdependence of that area and the

"center" to which it is hinterland. "In its simplest spatial aspects the community is comprised of two generalized unit parts, the center and the adjoining outlying area. In the one are performed the processing and service functions, and in the other are carried on raw-material-production functions. The two develop together, each presupposing the other. But while the center is compact and readily visible, the second component, the outlying area, is diffuse of precise observations."[1] It is to be noted that the community is here considered in economic rather than in social terms. It seems that the difficulty of precise observation has led the human ecologists to study less thoroughly the outlying area and its raw-materials-producing functions than they have the center and its service and distributive functions.

Logical argument and empirical evidence suggest a three-way classification of population: Metropolitan areas, Urban Hinterland and Rural Hinterland. Two observations that have been advanced about the pattern of occupancy of the rural hinterland that may contribute to this definition. These concern: (1) residential concentration of population in neighborhoods or villages which serve as the focus of primary service functions while the performance of productive functions are widely diffuse; and (2) residental dispersion of farmsteads which are the focus of productive functions while service functions are widely diffuse. The efficiency of either pattern of occupancy depends upon time-distance or time-space in which people move in terms of functional relationships. Geographic distance loses meaning when the focus of service functions and the locus of performance of productive functions are readily

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[1]Amos H. Hawley, Human Ecology: A Theory of Community Structure, New York: The Ronald Press, 1950, pp. 245

accessible and convenient in terms of time and energy required in moving from one point to another. This conception which places emphasis on function and process rather than form and structure seems to be a more fruitful analytical tool than that which emphasizes the dispersion of rural institutions and services.

The rural hinterland is a raw-materials-producing area characterized by high land-to-man ratio and having a population whose occupations are agriculture or extractive. The primary social interests of this population are expressed in associations and institutions located within a delimited residential spread of population.

The urban hinterland is that sub-area within a raw-materials-producing area whose population has other economic functions than those of raw-materials production. The primary social interests of this population are expressed in associations and institutions other than those of the surrounding or adjacent rural hinterland population. These are the commuters whose work and recreation are not in the immediate area.

Some support for our argument for reconsideration of the hinterland conceptually is given in Recent Population Trends in the United States with Emphasis on Rural Areas.[2]

"The vast non-metropolitan territory grew only at the rate of 7.5 percent, or only about 28 percent as fast as the SMSA's. This is merely a replication (1950-60) of the 1940-50 experience which saw about 80 percent of the total national increase absorbed by even faster metropolitan areas. . . .

---

[2] Agricultural Economic Report No. 23, 1963, by Calvin L. Beale and Donald J. Bogue.

The total territory of the nation that was rural in 1950 experienced a net inmovement of population in the decade, despite the heavy losses from the farm population.

... However, if we consider the rural population as currently defined in each decade, then rural people remained almost stationary in numbers and lost an amount equivalent to their natural increase from outmovement, and change in the character of communities from rural to urban."

The hinterland continues to be the people producing area and it behooves us to be concerned about the physical, educational, and emotional quality of this product.

To rethink the hinterland involves economic planning and political reorganization. Regionalism has been demonstrated to be more effective than the outmoded county system. Poverty is the consequence of ruthless exploitation of natural resources and people. Traditional claims made by present day exploiters are another instance of the "big lie".

"The myth has been carefully fostered that independent family farmers, themselves struggling for survival, would be hard hit or even bankrupt, by raising standards for farm workers. But small farmers are not the prime employers; rather, since their products compete in the market with the products of the corporate gains who hire most farm workers, their own incomes are driven down toward the level of the hired farm workers.

The top 9 percent of all farms pay more than 70 percent of the total annual farm wage bill. More than 30 percent of all expenditures for hired farm labor is made by one-half of one percent of the very largest farms.

The first federal minimum wage bill including agricultural wo[illegible] passed in 1966, covers fewer than 390,000 farm workers, most of wh[illegible] employed by the large "agribusiness" farms. Similarly, the propo[illegible] extension of the National Labor Relations Act to cover workers in agriculture would affect only 3 percent of the farms -- those whc[illegible] shipments in interstate commerce amount to more than $50,000 a ye[illegible]

It is time these great commercial establishments met the sta[illegible] dards and responsibilities that their industrial counterparts -- [illegible] in the same corporate structure -- must meet.

American agriculture has changed. Public awareness has char[illegible] as well. The past two years have seen repeated evidence that thi[illegible] time the efforts of farm workers to organize and build a place fo[illegible] themselves in our national life will not fail."[3]

Poor people in organizations such as the South East Alabama [illegible] Help Association and the South West Alabama Cooperative Associatio[illegible] are asking the federal government and industry and educational institutions to join them in a cooperative effort to build an economically productive order and bring political democracy where th[illegible] futures are uncertain without their desired implementation of the American dream.

We are painfully aware of what happens when people are ignored by the industrial system and ignored by old-line politicians. We are here to do our homework on the American hinterlands. We have the opportunity to prevent the non-metropolitian areas becoming trouble spots comparable to the inner city ghettos. We have the facts, we know the problems, we are all too familiar with the forces in our national life that create the climate and stimulate the mood for destructive action by desperate people. The poor people in the hinterland are becoming desperate; and there, mark the spot, is our next major trouble area unless somebody comes up with the right action based on the right answers.

---

[3] Farm Labor Organization 1905-1967: A Brief History, National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor, New York: July 1967, p. 7.

file
Sec - Brotherhood
in - Action Corp
Apr. 29, 1968

May 3, 1968

Mr. James Gibson
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jim:

Thanks again for your participation in the meeting last week, and your contributions to it. The afternoon session was a very good one and I am sorry you could not be with us.

Hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

See SCC - Rockefeller in-Action Conf. Apr. 29, 1968

May 3, 1968

Dr. Lewis Jones
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Lewis:

Thanks again for your participation in the meeting last week, and for your considerable contributions to it.

I look forward to being with you again in about a week.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File
Sec - Brotherhood in Action Conf
N.Y.
Apr. 29, 1968

May 3, 1968

Mr. Norman H. Perlstein
Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York 10018

Dear Norm:

Thanks for the copy of Cassandra's summary which seems quite adequate to me.

I am, today, writing the major participants to express my thanks also.

I'm having some second thoughts about a big conference doing the job we all want done, and about the money that would be involved. However, this is obviously a major part of our purpose of the next meeting.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

BROTHERHOOD·IN·ACTION, INC.

560 Seventh Avenue (at Fortieth Street) New York, New York 10018

LW 4-0350

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Executive Director
NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

April 30, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Just a quick note to tell you that I am quite pleased with the start we made. I have a few pages of a brief summary from Cassandra which I will try to work over immediately. I am enclosing a copy of her material with the hope that you can come back to me quickly with your thoughts so we can get something out.

I have already sent a memo to all those who were involved (those who attended and those who could not make it but wanted to attend), asking for a choice of dates in June and additional names, as we agreed, for the second meeting.

The New York Times did send a man with whom Dr. Jones and I talked, but I think the story was lost in the shuffle with the news from Columbia University. However, there may possibly be something on Sunday.

Most importanlly, I am genuinely convinced that we are on to something significant.

Give me a day or two to catch my breath and I will be back at you with more details.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Norm

Norman H. Perlstein

P.S. I have sent "thank you" letters to Dr. Lewis Jones, James Gibson, Paul Ylvisaker. You may want to send them an additional note.

Notes on Symposium on Rural Urban Migration

Representatives of rural and urban interests came together for the first time on April 29 to discuss policy and strategy for migration. The symposium was sponsored by the Southern Regional Council and Brotherhood-in-Action and met at BIA's conference center in New York.

It was the consensus of the group that further discussion and work was needed. Consequently another meeting was called for within a month to draft a document which would establish priorities related to migration. The document would also project costs and sources of funding. Possible uses of this document were (1) present to a much larger group who might in turn (2) present it to the political candidates.

Also accepted as a consensus by the group was that, in relation to migration, people should have honest options. It was pointed out that many would prefer to remain in or return to rural areas if life were possible for them there. Likewise it was pointed out that life in the city was not all bad and that with proper planning of services and facilities many might well opt for the city.

Other points of view expressed by individuals were:

The key to rural poverty is politics, not economics.

National resources are skewered toward encouraging migration. We have a schizophrenia about investing resources in slightly populated areas.

There is need for more organization in rural areas which

~~which~~ must be led by such private groups as civil rights and community development organizations. Leadership can be recruited and trained and sent into rural areas.

In the smaller urban growth centers of our nation, we must begin preventive measures before they become Newarks. The programs of the USDA spend millions in subsidy, etc. which goes to affluent. If these funds could be used for economic development among poor could achieve progress in the South.

Some of the group called for the actual abolition of the USDA or at least its reduction to the status of a Bureau in another department. It has shown inability or unwillingness to implement Civil Rights Laws and Rural Development programs. It was felt that facts re expenditures of vast sums for subsidy should be publicized and that support of key Eastern and urban congressmen whose constituency is other than large farm-based should be sought in order to bring pressure for change.

Romanticism in regard to value of rural living should be abolished.

Uncoordinated pop shots will not do the job. We must look on rural and urban crisis as a whole--as one world. There must be a connection made between what is happening in urban areas and the rural hinterland. We must hook into what is happening in present treatment of civil disorders.

Migration will eventually come to a halt of its own force. It cannot continue at the same rate for the next 20 years.

There aren't enough people.

A political strategy based on creation of new towns has its place. Use of Federal funds could build in protections and controls.

The possible value of the Report of the President's Commission was discussed. It was agreed that for political reasons we could not expect Commission to meet again as a Commission. An opinion was expressed that no action would be taken on the recommendation of the report. It was felt that a summary of the Report would be a useful document.

File
Soc - Brotherhood -
in - Action Conf
Apr. 29, 1968

May 3, 1968

Mr. Paul Ylvisaker
Commissioner
New Jersey Department of Community
Affairs
State Capitol
Trenton, New Jersey

Dear Paul:

While we were all sorry you could not be with us at our meeting last week, your paper was extremely helpful to our discussions. I appreciate your sharing it with us.

Hope to see you one of these days.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

From the desk of

NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

File Brotherhood-Inc
action

Paul —

This is Harris' program. Note Bishop & Lindley.

Will call you Monday.

N

Tentative Program

National Manpower Conference

on

THE RURAL TO URBAN POPULATION SHIFT--A NATIONAL PROBLEM

Oklahoma State University
Stillwater, Oklahoma
May 17-18, 1968

Thursday, May 16, 1968

3:00-9:00 p.m.	Registration.....	Lobby Student Union Hotel
7:00 p.m.	Final Coordinating Session .... (for conference speakers and assessors)	Regency Room 2nd Floor, Northeast Wing, Student Union

Friday, May 17, 1968

(All meetings except Luncheons and Dinner: Student Union Theatre, 2nd Floor, Northeast Wing)

7:30 a.m. Registration ..... Student Union Theatre

9:00 a.m. WELCOME
Robert B. Kamm, President, Oklahoma State University

OPENING STATEMENT: "Why We're Here--Causes of Concern"
Senator Fred R. Harris (Oklahoma)

9:20 a.m. I. THE CONTEXT (DESCRIPTIVE)

1. PEOPLE ON THE MOVE: THE RURAL TO URBAN POPULATION SHIFT--A DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS
   Dale Hathaway, Michigan State University (paper)
   Calvin Beale, Department of Agriculture (assessor)
   Otis Dudley Duncan, University of Michigan (assessor)

2. CHANGES IN LOCATION OF EMPLOYMENT AND OPPORTUNITY
   Jonathan Lindley, Director, U.S. Economic Development Administration (paper)
   Edgar Dunn, Resources for the Future (assessor)
   John F. Kain, Harvard University (assessor)

Noon LUNCHEON ..... Ballroom, 2nd Floor Student Union

Speaker: Gunnar Myrdal
Institute of International Economics, Wenner-Gren Center, Stockholm

1:45 p.m. 3. BASIC CHANGES IN THE STRUCTURE OF RURAL AREAS

C. E. Bishop, Vice President, University of North Carolina (paper)
Luther Tweeten, Oklahoma State University (assessor)
Albert Shapero, University of Texas (assessor)

4. THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE MIGRATION

A. FOR URBAN AREAS

Sterling Tucker, Director, Washington Urban League (paper)
Saul Alinsky, Industrial Areas Foundation (assessor)
Nathan Glazer, University of California (assessor)

B. FOR RURAL AREAS

Douglas Marshall, University of Wisconsin (paper)
Marian Wright, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (assessor)
Wilbur Mackey, University of Iowa (assessor)

6:00 p.m. RECEPTION

7:00 p.m. DINNER ..... Ballroom

Speaker: Orville Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture

Saturday, May 19, 1968

9:00 a.m. II. A PROPOSED PLAN OF ACTION (PRESCRIPTIVE)

Suggested Approaches for Dealing with the Problem

Panel

Labor: Woodrow Ginsburg, Director of Research, Industrial Unions Department, AFL-CIO

Business: Charles Kimball, President, Midwest Research Institute

Education: A. Wade Martin, Director, South Carolina Technical Education Commission
Calvin Gross, Dean, School of Education, University of Missouri

11:00 a.m. PANEL ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Jules Bergman, Science Editor, ABC-TV
Athelstan Spilhaus, President, The Franklin Institute
Donald Schon, President, Organization for Social and Technological Innovation

1:00 p.m. LUNCHEON ..... Ballroom
Speaker: Senator James B. Pearson (Kansas)

2:30 p.m. PANEL ON GOVERNMENT

City Programs: Theodore R. McKeldin, former Mayor of Baltimore

State Programs: Edward Breathitt, former Governor of Kentucky

Federal Programs: Senator Fred R. Harris

CLOSING STATEMENT: Senator Fred R. Harris

5:00 p.m. ADJOURNMENT

LW 4-0350

BROTHERHOOD-IN-ACTION, INC.
560 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York 10018

file

5/16/68

For your information.

Notice of the second meeting sent to all those on the attached sheet with a copy of Miss Stockburger's notes on the previous meeting.

Paul Anthony

Fay Bennett

Herbert Bienstock

Clay L. Cochran

Constance Curry

Charles Davis

Eleanor A. Eaton

James Gibson

Dr. Lewis Jones

Bayard Rustin

Brendon Sexton

Dr. John Slawson

Dr. Georgina Smith

Dr. Charles H. Stember

Dewitt Sullivan

Dr. Robert Coles

Msgr. Laurence Concoran

Dr. Dan W. Dodson

Harry Fleishman

Mitchell Ginsberg

Jack Goldberg

Hylan Lewis

Rev. Larold Schulz

Dr. John Turner

Jack Wood

George L. Wilber

Seymour Samet

William Barr

Dr. J. Cammarosano

Paul G. Conlan

Jack Conway

Mark A. Cannanaugh

Kenneth Clark

Gen. James Gavin

Herbert Hamlin

Ernest McMahon

William H. Robinson

Roy Wilkins

Rev. John J. Wright

Paul N. Ylvisaker

William G. Campbell

Eli Ginsberg

Whitney Young

Albert Vorspan

Loyal Jones

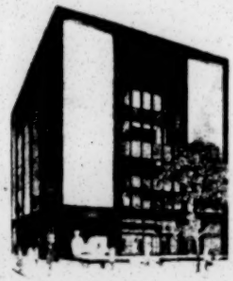
Dr. C. E. Bishop

Dr. Joseph Maloney

Dr. L. D. Reddick

Dr. James Maddox

special letter sent to each of them



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SAMUEL D. LEIDESDORF

—

Executive Director
NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

MEMO

TO: PARTICIPANTS IN RURAL-URBAN SYMPOSIUM ON MIGRATION

FROM: NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

As a result of our mail query, most of you have indicated a willingness to come together again on Friday, June 7 at Brotherhood-In-Action in New York City. We will meet at 9:30 a.m. and finish about 4:00 p.m. Lunch will be served.

We are greatly encouraged by the sharp interest shown in our initial attempt to sift strategy for national migration policy in a rural-urban context.

Enclosed are brief notes on our first meeting on April 30.

Paul Anthony, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, has agreed to draft a working document on migration policies which will be the main item on our agenda on June 7.

In view of recent political events, it was the consensus that there is a new sense of priority which we can give to this effort to come to grips with migration options and strategy.

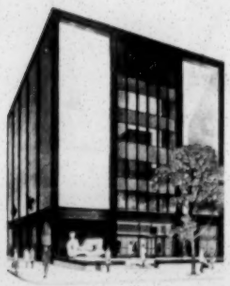
In addition, I will report on developments which come out of a manpower conference called by Senator Harris in Stillwater, Oklahoma this month. While some of the issues in the Oklahoma conference parallel our original concerns, it is clear that we are talking about a sharply different initiative in the national arena.

Would you kindly return the enclosed card immediately so we can plan on your participation.

We look forward to seeing you on June 7.

5/15/68

MJ-file



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LW 4-0350

Rec'd 5/27/66
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Executive Director
NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

May 25, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thanks for your letter and your suggestion that I come to Atlanta to discuss in more detail some of the possible program plans which can be developed jointly by the Southern Regional Council and Brotherhood-In-Action. We are anxious, of course, to have national impact in our work, and I welcome the opportunity to talk with you.

One of the specific problems in our whole field is the lack of knowledge about the southern migrant to northern cities. Perhaps if we could work out more adequate arrangements for understanding this great national migration, it will help the northern cities in dealing with a whole host of human relations problems.

But we will talk more about this when I see you.

I will let you know in advance so that I can meet with the appropriate southern and Atlanta leaders.

Cordially,

Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director

NHP:jc

SOME PROPOSALS FOR DISCUSSION

1. That the U. S. Department of Agriculture be recognized as a department of the federal government largely serving the agricultural business of the nation and, therefore, that it be abolished and its functions placed in the U. S. Department of Commerce.

2. Recognizing that the U. S. Department of Agriculture has a longstanding record of inadequate programs and administration which concern themselves with the small farmers and particularly with the rural poor, we strongly urge that these functions be removed from USDA and placed in a new or already existing department of the federal government which would deal more humanely with the problems of the poor.

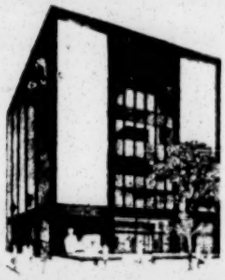
3. We note and commend the Board of Inquiry on Malnutrition and Hunger and its report, HUNGER, USA. We call this report and its recommendations to the attention of all concerned citizens and to the attention of our political leaders, especially.

4. We urge that massive payments of subsidies to large land-owning individuals and firms and the ensuing encouragement of having land unused be sharply reduced, more preferably discontinued altogether, and that these funds be used for more adequate programs with the poor.

5. We urge that a new national program of federal assistance to the newly arrived migrants to our cities be established under the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

6. We urge that specific programs be immediately developed to assist those in rural areas who wish to remain where they are. We note deliberate efforts on the part of some of the leadership in rural areas to force people off the land. It is intolerable and wasteful to citizens of this nation not to be given an opportunity to choose their places of residence.

6/4/68



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AGENDA

SECOND SESSION
OF
SYMPOSIUM ON RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION POLICY AND STRATEGY

Friday, June 7, 1968

BROTHERHOOD-IN-ACTION

9:30 Review of initial session (April 29) decisions

10:00 Report on National Manpower Conference--
Oklahoma State University--May 17-18
"The Rural to Urban Population Shift--a National Problem"

Eleanor A. Eaton, Ass't. Sec'y.
American Friends Service Comm.

10:30 Discussion on implications, North and South

11:00 Assessment of new developments

Paul Anthony, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council

Norman H. Perlstein, Exec. Dir.
Brotherhood-In-Action

12:00 Buffet Luncheon

1:15 Proposals for national policy and strategy

2:00 Adoption of policy statement

3:00 Plans for action--
-political process
-leadership support

4:00 Adjournment

SECOND SESSION

SYMPOSIUM ON RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION
BROTHERHOOD-IN-ACTION
560 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York 10018

Friday, June 7, 1968

Participants

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Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
404-522-8764

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National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.
112 East 19th Street
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Herbert Bienstock, Director
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U.S. Department of Labor
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Institute for Urban Studies
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Seymour Samet
American Jewish Committee
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New York, New York 10022
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Director for Anti-Poverty
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Dr. John Slawson
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Dr. Charles Herbert Stember
Professor of Sociology
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Cassandra Stockburger, Director
National Committee on the Education
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Dr. John Turner
Joint Center for Urban Studies
Harvard-M.I.T.
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Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139
617-864-6900 ext. 4406

Dwayne Walls
The Charlotte Observer
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Charlotte, North Carolina 28201
704-375-8885

Dr. George L. Wilber, Director
Institute of Urban and Population Research
Louisiana State University
Agricultural and Mechanical College
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70803
504-388-5011

2

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FOR YOUR

INFORMATION

We would be interested in

your comments or publicity.

Paul - I really think we've done something. Would value your comments.

— Norm

ls

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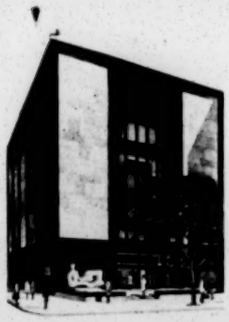

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Executive Director
NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

ANNOUNCEMENT

The first off-campus VISITING FELLOW PROGRAM to stimulate creative research in intergroup relations by university experts was announced today by Brotherhood-In-Action, a Human Relations Conference Center and Training Facility at 40th and Seventh Avenue in New York City.

Charles H. Tuttle, President of BIA, said that the initial scholar to be selected for this Program is Professor Charles Herbert Stember, head of the Department of Sociology at University College, Rutgers University in New Jersey. The Program will be conducted in cooperation with participating universities.

A special advisory panel of social scientists will recommend Fellows to the Directors of Brotherhood-In-Action.

The Program will select scholars who are on sabbatical leave, or who otherwise have been freed by their universities of academic responsibilities to pursue independent research. The aim will be to attempt to gain vitally needed insights in the field of civil rights and race relations.

"BIA's new Program," Mr. Tuttle said, "has been designed with the knowledge that improved race relations is at the heart of insuring a more equitable society."

Norman Perlstein, Executive Director of BIA, said that the facilities, personnel and resources of BIA's Human Relations Center would be used to assist the Visiting Fellow in his research. "We see our Center, located as it is in the heart of Manhattan, as a unique laboratory for studies of this kind," he said.

Professor Stember, the first Visiting Fellow, is the author of "Education and Attitude Change," a study of the effects of schooling on prejudice against minority groups, and "Jews in the Mind of America." Dr. Stember, whose previous training has been in the field of social psychology in which he holds a Ph.D. from Columbia University, is the author of other studies on prejudice. He has worked for many years in attitude research, including five years as Studies Director for the National Opinion Research Center. He has been granted a faculty fellowship by Rutgers for the academic year 1968-69. During the period of the fellowship, Dr. Stember will work at the Conference Center of Brotherhood-In-Action.

Dr. Stember noted that previous research into major attitudes toward minorities has left unexplained the sources of anger (frequently resulting in violence) attending the resistance of whites to full integration of Negros. It is in this direction that his study would be undertaken, he said.

Brotherhood-In-Action, a non-profit organization committed to improving human relations, acts as a catalyst in helping to

develop new strategies and approaches for involving the various civil rights and human relations organizations. Its Conference Center provides appropriate resources for national and local programs aimed at creating new patterns of leadership exchange in collaborating on urban problems.

6/17/68
ls

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Executive Director
NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

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June 24, 1968

TO: PARTICIPANTS IN RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION SYMPOSIUM

FROM: NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

Attached are notes on our second session which was held June 7 here at Brotherhood-In-Action in New York City.

We are now firming up arrangements and plans for our third session on July 11-13 at the Quail Roost Center outside Durham in North Carolina.

Would you kindly advise us what time you expect to arrive at Raleigh-Durham Airport so that we can arrange for you to be met by our host, the North Carolina Manpower Developmemt Corporation. Please get us this information by return mail.

We are enclosing a reprint of Dwayne Walls's article on "The People Left Behind".

We will have a specific agenda in the mail to you within a few days.

—NP

enc. (2)
yg

SYMPOSIUM ON RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

Discussion Notes on Second Session, 6/7/68

The second session of the Symposium on Rural-Urban Migration met on June 7 at Brotherhood-In-Action, Inc., New York City.

Miss Eleanor Eaton and Norman Perlstein reported on the Manpower Conference at Oklahoma State University, May 17-18, which was keyed to the question of Rural-Urban Migration.

Paul Anthony reviewed some of the new developments related to the migration problem. Among those mentioned were the Poor People's Campaign, the development of a Southwest Council to carry out concerns of Mexican-Americans, Indians and Negroes in the Southwest, and an emerging change in policy of philanthropic groups relating to rural areas. An example of this is a proposal under consideration which would buy land and return it in small farm plots to farmers. These would be bound together through a cooperative superstructure.

The Nature of the Problem

The discussion of the implications of these new developments, as well as of the migration issue in general, raised some basic questions about the present status of the problem. Such questions were raised as: Who has remained and why? Have the most capable persons deserted the rural areas? Are those who remain hard-core "stayers" who, despite economic deprivation, will continue to stay? Are there people trapped in rural areas who should be elsewhere? Do people stay because they are afraid to try to cope with the urban environment? It was generally agreed that more

information is needed on the nature of the overall problem as well as on the present rate of, and trends, in migration.

Factors in Mobility

It was pointed out that migration, under present circumstances, is not really voluntary. It was felt that government agencies may in fact be supporting migration through:

1. failure to provide housing and other services in rural areas.
2. failure to include certain concepts in development of legislation. (Example: No provision for moving to job sites in training programs because it would move trainee out of Congressman's constituency.)
3. provision of more services in urban areas, which may, in themselves, serve as a lure to rural people.

It was recognized that hard myths still surround both rural and urban life. The man on the land is not necessarily happy. The migrant to the city does not receive all the jobs and services he may have expected.

Options

Two options repeatedly appeared in the discussion. One was planned mobility, which would move persons from areas of limited opportunity to areas where jobs were available. Arrangements would thus be made, not only for training and job placement, but for multiple services to the family which would assist their adjustment to a new environment.

The second option was the possibility of rehabilitating rural areas to make them desirable places in which to remain. This would involve development of comprehensive services and job opportunities where people are now living.

Re: Migration Policy

Although there are many programs related to migration, there has never been more than "piece-meal" policy and strategy. It was felt there is very little real opportunity for choice open to the rural person today. Therefore, a first step would be to remove the blocks to free exercise of options.

Anything short of a fundamental, massive, national policy cannot be effective. Attitudes and agencies must be changed. Agencies are among the major obstacles.

Policy is needed which will be designed to:

1. maintain opportunity in the rural areas.
2. protect the rights of migrants.
3. provide increased opportunity for employment and education generally.

Above all, a coalition of urban and rural political and social forces is needed.

Implementation of Policy

The view was expressed that we will have to rely on government at all levels to assume responsibility for implementing policy. Private efforts should be encouraged, but cannot be expected to carry major responsibility.

One recurring view was that in developing priorities, the equality of

rural and urban areas should be asserted. It was suggested that it may be necessary , at this time, to give an even greater priority to rural poverty because of the interconnection between rural poverty and migration to urban areas.

At the same time it was pointed out there is real need for really adequate federal support for programs for the poor in urban areas.

Suggested Strategies

Planning should be both short and long range. It was emphasized that we must distinguish between assistance which is perpetual and that which will create a self-sustaining economy through development of capital and human resources.

Suggestions for Action:

1. The creation of a National Migration Policy Commission to set national policy. The Commission to be under private auspices.
2. Train and subsidize entrepreneurs for developing opportunity in non-urban areas.
3. Provide incentives to industry to locate in areas of need.
4. A program of land reform, including control and use of resources and regional economic redevelopment plans.
5. Tax reform.
6. Income maintenance.
7. Provide needed services--jobs, health, education, etc.--in areas where people are.
8. Reassessment of the farm subsidy system.

9. Provide self-help housing loans.

10. Massive public works programs in rural areas.

11. Cooperatives to provide economic tool.

Proposals for Discussion

Six proposals presented by Paul Anthony were discussed by the group. Much of the thinking is reflected in the above notes. However, the group did not feel it was ready to adopt any of the proposals at the time.

* * *

The Symposium participants felt unequivocally that we should meet again, preferably outside of New York City, early this summer, at which time a definitive statement on policy would be sought.

From the desk of

NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

Paul:

I forgot to mention to you on the phone, did you talk to the guy at the Wall Street Journal? If so, are they going to do anything on our meeting? Please let me know.

—NP

6/14/68

LW 4-0350

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New York, New York 10018

FOR YOUR INFORMATION.

The letter and the card went to all the names on the enclosed sheet

Dear M. Perlstein:

I will ____ will not ____ attend the third session of the Symposium on Rural-Urban Migration July 11-13 at Quail Roost near Durham, N.C.

I plan (yes) ____ (no)____ to arrive in time for dinner Thursday night.

Dr. Joseph Maloney

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560 Seventh Avenue (at Fortieth Street) New York, New York 10018
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June 13, 1968

TO: PARTICIPANTS IN RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION SYMPOSIUM

FROM: NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

As so many of you requested, we have given priority to setting the date and place for our third session.

We have accepted the invitation of the North Carolina Fund to meet Thursday into Saturday, July 11-13, at Quail Roost, the Conference Center of the University of North Carolina near Durham.

The North Carolina Fund has graciously agreed to take care of all accommodations, meals, and facilities at the Conference Center during our stay.

We selected the North Carolina site because of its easy accessibility for those coming from various parts of the country. Ample air transportation is available directly to Raleigh-Durham Airport. Arrangements for transportation from the Airport to the Conference Center, which is about an half hour away, will be given to you in a later mailing.

We are hoping that as many as possible will be able to be present for dinner Thursday night, July 11 so that we will have a full day Friday, and possibly into Saturday morning. Feel free to arrive Thursday afternoon as swimming and sports are available.

A summary report of our second session is being prepared and will be mailed to you shortly with other pertinent materials.

We are aware that at this next session we must pinpoint our objectives and what we intend to do about them. An agenda tailored to this goal will be also sent along later.

Kindly return the enclosed card as soon as possible so we can plan on your attendance.

Received formal invitation to third session

Paul Anthony

Fay Bennett

Herbert Bienstock

Constance Curry

Charles E. Davis

Eleanor A. Eaton

Dr. Lewis Jones

Dr. John Slawson

Dr. Georgina Smith

Dr. Charles H. Stember

Jack R. Goldberg

Rev. Larold Schulz } not mailed

George Wilber

Dr. J. Cammarosano

Dr. Joseph Maloney

Mrs. Martha McKay

Dwayne Walls

James O. Gibson

Bayard Rustin

Brendon Sexton

Dewitt Sullivan

Rev. Will Campbell

Paul N. Ylvisaker

Herbert Hamlin

Hylan Lewis

C. E. Bishop

Clay L. Cochran

William Robinson

James Maddox

Cassandra Stockburger

Norman H. Perlstein

Dan W. Dodson

Jack Wood } not mailed

John Morsell

See Brotherhood in Action

June 25, 1968

Mr. Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director
Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue at 14th St.
New York, New York 10018

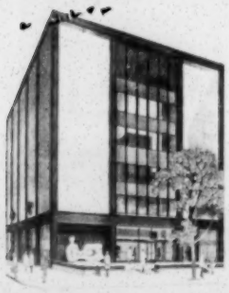
Dear Norm:

The gal is Mrs. Patricia B. Miller, Louisiana Council on Human Relations, First Federal Savings and Loan Building, 7986 Scenic Highway, Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807.

Sincerely,

James N. Wood, Jr.
Executive Assistant

JNW/km



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—

Executive Director
NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

June 20, 1968

Mr. James H. Wood, Jr.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Jim:

Could you tell me the name of the gal who was here representing the Louisiana Council of Human Relations?

All good regards.

Cordially,

Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director

NHP:ls

file
Brotherhood in Action

July 2, 1968

Mr. Norman Perlstein
Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York 10018

Dear Norm:

You have probably discovered by now that the Raleigh-Durham Airport is undergoing repairs and that no jets are landing there. Consequently, schedules, at least from Atlanta, are substantially changed.

I am now scheduled to arrive on Thursday, July 11th on Eastern Airlines, Flight #2528, at 12:30 p.m. Let me know your schedule.

The Visiting Fellow Program sounds very interesting. I would like to ask you some more questions about it, and give you some reactions when we are together. At that time, also, we can discuss the latest proposal from AFSC.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

FUNDS RECEIVED BY Bruce Joyce

DATE July 10, 1968

July 9, 1968

Father Bryce Joyce
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
303-A Foster Street
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Dear Father Joyce:

Enclosed is our check for $2,500 in support of the Southern Rural Research Project. The check is made out as you requested this morning in your conversation with Edwin Stanfield.

At your convenience please acknowledge receipt of these funds on the enclosed carbon copy of this letter and return it to us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check: $2,500)

cc: Mr. John Heyman
New York Foundation

Mr. Don Jelinek
Southern Rural Research Project

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NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

July 15, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I was really concerned with your lousy break on the flight troubles and I do hope you arrived in Atlanta without too much weariness. As a matter of fact, just before we got on our plane, I think they announced that they were trying to work out an Atlanta flight.

I have thanked Esser on behalf of both of us for the hospitality at Quail Roost. I also wrote to Louise Ingram and Martha McKay in the same vein.

As soon as I get the 'polished' statement, I will circulate it for minor corrections to all those who attended the third session. After we get their comments, we will then send the document for their signature to all the persons who participated in the three sessions.

I do hope you have a good rest in the Islands.

I will be in touch by phone if need be.

I think I would agree with you that we have come out of this thing already with more than we could have anticipated. The larger questions you and I discussed still remain to be answered.

Just a reminder that you will send me a copy of Eleanor's letter and also some comments for our Visiting Fellow Program.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director

cc: C. Stockburger

NHP:yg

See Brotherhood-In-Action

July 15, 1968

Mr. Norman Perlstein
Executive Director
Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue at 40th Street
New York, New York 10018

Dear Norm:

We did have a good meeting and my thanks to all of you who made it so. I am today writing Martha to thank her.

I do hope Dwane will have his final version of the statement by the end of the month. And, I think, BIA and SRC should reserve the right to do any further editing we feel necessary.

Enclosed is a separate letter about your Fellows Program.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

July 15, 1968

Mr. Norman Perlstein
Executive Director
Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue at 40th Street
New York, New York 10018

Dear Norm:

Thank you for sharing with me the information about your new Fellows Program. It sounds as if it could be a very galuable thing.

My only other comment would be that I think your selection committee should be representative of several disciplines rather than just Sociology. For that matter, perhaps the most exciting part of the program would be the lack of restrictions placed on your fellows and their research.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

July 15, 1968

Mrs. Martha McKay
Director
North Carolina Manpower Development
Corporation
137 E. Rosemary Street
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514

Dear Martha:

Thank you again for your gracious hospitality at Quail's Roost. It was a good meeting, and certainly a pleasant one.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THIRD SESSION

OF

SYMPOSIUM ON RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

QUAIL ROOST CONFERENCE CENTER
DURHAM, N.C.

PARTICIPANTS

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Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director
Brotherhood-In-Action, Inc.
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212-594-0350

Rev. Larold K. Schulz
Director for Anti-Poverty
Department of Social Justice
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
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202-544-2350
212-870-2487

Dr. John Slawson
Executive Vice President Emeritus
American Jewish Committee
220 E. 57th Street, Suite 2 C
New York, N. Y. 10022
212-PL 1-4000

Cassandra Stockburger
Director
National Committee on the
Education of Migrant Children
145 E. 32nd Street, 12th Fl.
New York, N. Y. 10016
212-Mu3-4545

Dwayne Walls
The Charlotte Observer
P. O. Box 2138
Charlotte, N.C. 28201
704-375-8885

George Autry
N.C. Manpower Devel. Corp.

July 19, 1968

Mr. Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director
Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York 10018

file

Dear Norm:

Enclosed is our check for one-half of the expenses incurred, to date, in our joint program.

I was able to get to Atlanta last Friday night by driving to Greensboro and catching a plane there. So, everything worked out very well.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check: $328.69)

BROTHERHOOD·IN·ACTION, INC.

560 Seventh Avenue (at Fortieth Street) New York, New York 10018

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NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

July 17, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I guess our letters crossed in the mail.

Yes, of course, you and I will exercise the right to edit the copy we get from Dwayne before we get it out for minor editing changes. Incidentally, Dwayne said that he will have the thing to me very soon, and I assume it is well before the end of the month.

Thank you for the note on the Visiting Fellow Program. It is helpful.

I am sending you a recapitulation to date of the expenses we have incurred. I would appreciate a SRC check for half the amount of the bill.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director

NHP:yg
enc.

A SYMPOSIUM

on

Rural-Urban Migration: Policy and Strategy

April 29, 1968

Brotherhood-In-Action
560 Seventh Avenue (40th Street)
New York, N. Y. 10018

Sponsored by:
Brotherhood-In-Action, Inc.
The Southern Regional Council

"The problems of rural America and central city America are closely linked through migration. . . . The senseless piling up of refugees from rural America in our central cities provides no solution to the problems of rural areas or of the cities."

—Report of the President's Commission on Rural Poverty

AGENDA

9:00 Registration

9:30 Greetings: Brotherhood-In-Action

9:40 "An Overview of Rural Poverty"—Dr. Lewis W. Jones, Research Director, Research and Training Program, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama

10:00 "National Migration Policy—A Rural Viewpoint"—James O. Gibson, Staff Associate, Potomac Institute, Washington, D. C.

10:20 Coffee

10:40 Group Discussion

12:00 Buffet Luncheon

1:15 "Profile of the Ghetto Migrant"—Dr. Robert Coles, Research Psychiatrist, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

1:35 "National Migration Policy—An Urban Perspective"

1:55 Group Discussion

3:30 Formulation of Recommendations

4:00 Adjournment

CONFERENCE CO-CHAIRMEN

Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Norman H. Perlstein, Executive Director
Brotherhood-In-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue (40th Street)
New York, N. Y. 10018

CONFERENCE LIAISON

Cassandra Stockburger, Director
National Committee on the Education
of Migrant Children
145 East 32nd Street
New York, N. Y. 10016

EXPENSES FOR RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION SYMPOSIA

Printing of Conference Call (3/68)	$ 12.15
Printing of original program for first session April 29, 1968	108.00
Luncheon and liquor for first session April 29, 1968	92.80
Luncheon and liquor for second session June 7, 1968	125.28
Coffee and Danish for second session June 7, 1968	13.30
Plane and Hotel for Dr. Lewis W. Jones for first session April 29, 1968	154.35
Air transportation from New York to Raleigh, N. C. and return for two persons (Dr. John Slawson Cassandra Stockburger) 2/3	151.50
	$ 657.38

50 % to be reimbursed to BIA by SRC

To be paid by Southern Regional Council $ 328.69

A CONFERENCE

TO DEVELOP NATIONAL STRATEGY AND PROGRAMS AIMED AT

THE CYCLE OF RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

In the years 1960-1965 more than two million Negroes left the South. One million went to New York City alone. Most of the others went to urban centers such as Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, Washington and Philadelphia. Recent studies indicate that because of present conditions of poverty in the rural South this migration can be expected to continue unabated for another 10 years or so. The problems of Northern urban areas are in coping with the rural migrant already living there, and in planning for those who will inevitably come. The picture in the South is self-evident.

Several proposals for government policy on migration to the cities have been advanced by congressmen, governors, other public officials and private foundations. These remain in limbo, requiring analysis and hard evaluation.

The national dimensions of the problem are thus a major domestic issue.

Because of the urgent need for policy and an assessment of strategies, BROTHERHOOD-IN-ACTION, an organization committed to clarifying issues in the urban crisis, and the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, a group of concerned Southerners, are calling a one-day conference, as a first step, to consider possible courses of action. Not more than 40 persons from across the nation who possess knowledge and experience in rural-urban affairs are being invited to participate.

The Conference would have this starting point:

> Fourteen million rural persons still living in abject poverty in this country are potential migrants to urban areas. Most of these live in the South and most are white, although the poverty of the rural Negro is apt to be far more serious.

Despite a declared War on Poverty, now in its fourth year, little help has reached the hard core poor in rural areas. In fact, the extra services provided by the OEO programs to the cities may have even served as a lure to more rural migrants. Furthermore, most of the traditional Federal assistance programs are inappropriate to the current problems.

> The President's Commission on Rural Poverty in its report released in early December, concludes that "because we have been oblivious to the rural poor,

we have abetted both rural and urban poverty, for the two are closely linked through migration." It was the opinion of the same Commission that "the urban riots of 1967 had their roots, in considerable part, in rural poverty," and that, furthermore, effective programs for solving the problems of rural poverty will contribute to the solution of urban poverty as well.

A Symposium, called by six cabinet members to consider rural-urban problems, was held in Washington in December. This meeting has further focused attention of national planners on the fact that the urban centers' problems are inextricably linked to rural areas.

As of this date there are no national policies or strategies which are directed to the migration question. Likewise, there is no viable national program to meet the needs of large numbers of the rural poor where they are living now.

There are a number of options in any national planning which such a Conference might consider. Should the effort be to:

1. Stop migration?

2. Reverse migration to suburban or underpopulated rural areas?

3. Control migration by encouraging only those who have had intensive preparation for urban living to migrate?

4. Open up job training and job opportunities to persons in rural areas so they may remain where they are if they choose?

5. Develop a deliberate relocation program?

6. Permit migration to continue without controls or planning but seek to meet needs in urban centers more adequately.

Other issues which might be raised, but which more properly fall into the category of action programs or means of implementing the migration policies, are:

1. A national manpower policy for rural and urban areas alike.

2. A national program of public assistance and other services, including health, education and housing, in order to avoid luring persons from one place to another on the basis of superior benefits alone.

3. Area development and urban renewal programs to provide better living conditions in both rural and urban areas.

The Conference may well be expected to recommend:

1. Regional and national strategies and programs, or

2. That it would be more feasible to call a large national migration conference to develop such policies and programs.

Four persons are being asked to prepare papers which will be presented to the group. The morning session will hear two papers whose proposed titles are---An Overview of Rural Poverty in the South, and A Profile of the Ghetto Life of the Migrant. These presentations will be followed by reactions from a panel of rural-urban specialists and from the group as a whole.

In the afternoon two papers dealing with the concept of a National Migration Policy will be presented. One will present An Urban Perspective, the other A Rural Viewpoint.

Group reaction and recommendations for future action will complete the Conference agenda.

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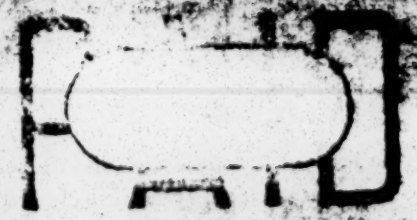

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August 20, 1968

Mr. Dwane Walls
Charlotte Observer
Charlotte, North Carolina

Personal and Confidential

Dear Dwane:

Norm has shared with me your revision of the statement, and I think it is a good job. Receipt of the statement did, however, remind me that I have never sent further comments about your interest in a grant. My apologies for this.

While I certainly do not want to discourage you, very unorthodox things happen in the world of philanthrophy. I think you will find it very difficult to get the grant you want, especially at the level you indicated was necessary. The following will offer an alternative if this proves to be the case.

As a start you may recall that I mentioned that Raymond Wheeler has a very close friendship with Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director of the

Field Foundation. On occasion the Field Foundation has made grants to authors (I gather that they are not too happy with the results). You may want to discuss this idea with Raymond. I have told him you may be getting in touch with him. Should there be any opportunity at the Field Foundation your best approach would be through him.

As I mentioned, the Rockefeller Foundation does have a small program of making one-year grants to writers. They do not appept applications, but rather select writers whom they invite to apply. About one-half of those who apply get grants. The grants for this year are made, so this oneswould crank up again in the spring of next year, I believe. I know two members of the selection committee -- Dr. Robert Coles and Robert Penn Warren. If nothing has happened by next spring, I would be happy to see if they were interested.

Scuttlebutt has it that George Esser is going with the Ford Foundation, and I am almost certain that this is true. Ford does not have a formal policy of fellowship of this kind, but at times, on a very informal and relatively personal basis, they do make grants to individuals (such as the current one for Peter Edleman and his bride to tour Europe). I assume you know Esser pretty well, and if you sold him on your idea I think he could probably do something with it. In fact, this is the first place I would try.

Finally, if none of these work, I think you are going to have to go the piece meal route. I know how difficult this is and how difficult part-time writing can be, but this may be the choice you will have to take.

I can imagine that several chapters of your book will make very interest articles. Certainly we would be willing to consider them, but I would hope you could find a more lucrative market for them.

Do keep me posted.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

August 20, 1968

Mr. Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director
Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York 10018

Dear Norm:

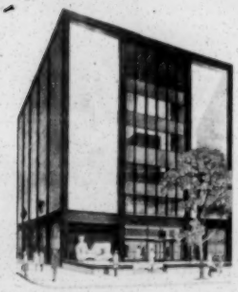
Here is Dwane's statement returned as is. I don't particularly see the need for any more drama, though for a writer this piece seems rather jumpy and disorganized to me. I would rather you go ahead and get the reactions of others with the understanding that you and I reserve the right for some slight editing that would not affect the meaning and content before the final version is done.

I hope to be in New York next week and, if so, will certainly call you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.



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—

Executive Director
NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

August 14, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Finally received the draft statement from Dwayne. As I told you, I was away for two weeks and just got back. Frankly, I think it could be more dramatic, but I will leave the option to you. I have made some small editing changes, as you will note. Please indicate your own changes and return the statement to us. We will then mail it first to all those who attended the North Carolina meeting for signature and then, with those signatures as a starter, to all those who have participated in any of the symposia.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Norman

Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director

P.S. If you can give this some priority, we can get it in the mail quickly.

August 29, 1968

Mr. Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director
Brotherhood In Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue at 14th St.
New York, New York 10018

Dear Norman:

Your covering memo on the Walls' statment is quite good. I shall be interested in the response.

Quite obviously, my trip to New York of this week was cancelled, but I shall be anxious to know of the response. Sometime in September I will have to be in New York and will certainly let you know ahead of time.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Brotherhood · In · Action, Inc.

August 26, 1968

TO: PARTICIPANTS IN RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION SYMPOSIUM

FROM: NORMAN PERLSTEIN

At our last session in North Carolina we agreed that the Statement of Concern drawn up by our sub-committee would be polished by Dwane Walls and then submitted to each person who attended for your reaction.

What we are asking is your approval of the basic statement, with the understanding that Paul Anthony and I will reserve the right for whatever slight editing is required without affecting the meaning and content.

After we hear from you and the others, we will then submit the final version to you for your signature.

Please do respond as soon as you can so that we can move this along.

Our intention is not only to have the signatures of those who attended the North Carolina session, but also those who attended any of our other meetings.

N. P.

NP/ac

STATEMENT OF CONCERN
OF
SYMPOSIUM ON RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

"Because we have been oblivious to the rural poor we have abetted both rural and urban poverty, for the two are closely linked through migration" -- The President's Commission On Rural Poverty, November 1967.

It is now nearly one year since a panel of distinguished citizens challenged the nation's conscience to the awesome plight of "The People Left Behind," those hapless Americans for whom life is an empty choice of grinding deprivation on rural farms or soul-deadening existence in urban slums.

Yet the swollen streams of rural-to-urban migrants, the most massive human exodus man has even known, continue to flow unchecked into the nation's already, crowded cities.

The President's Commission warned that rural poverty is a root-cause of urban riots. Several attempts have been made since to dramatize the significant link between urban and rural conditions.

Yet the response from government and private agencies alike has been piece-meal and palliative. No single, comprehensive program has been developed to deal with the trauma and tragedy of

millions of migrants forced off of land that cannot support them into cities that cannot absorb them.

The problem is neither rural nor urban; neither exclusively private nor solely public. It is a national phenomenon demanding national attention. The fourteen million rural Americans still living in abject poverty as potential migrants to urban areas present a forceful reason for immediate and total national attention.

A symposium to assess the issues was convened by BROTHERHOOD-IN-ACTION, an organization committed to clarifying questions in the urban crisis, and the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, a group of concerned Southerners.

The symposium addressed itself to a broad range of basic questions on rural-to-urban migration -- among them the nature of a viable, rural America, the shifting demands of the urban environment, and the possibility of devising a flexible policy geared to the changed dimensions of the migration cycle.

The symposium found it imperative that a national strategy to cope with the consequences of continuing rural-urban migration be presented to the American public. What is clearly needed is a new mechanism to replace the old techniques, the ancient formulas and the fragmented programs with their inherent weaknesses.

Across the nation today there are inequalities and inequities in public welfare assistance which put government, itself, into a position of pressuring large numbers of rural poor to relocate

where the opportunities for a productive life are the least. Adequate federal financing to provide a decent family life would remove an unjust and intolerable burden from those states and local communities now forced to bear a disproportionate share of a truly national problem.

The dire hunger in large parts of rural America clearly demonstrates the pressing need for a fundamental re-organization of existing federal food distribution programs. An immediate concern must be developed to generate positive congressional action to feed hungry and undernourished Americans.

For the millions of American migrants ill-prepared for the complexities of modern life, the federal government should provide a comprehensive system of services to ease their adjustment into the mainstream of American life. One effect of providing these services would be the expansion of opportunity for productive employment.

There is a need to evaluate the feasibility of several existing population relocation programs in terms of cost effectiveness and whether a series of such programs actually is economically viable.

It might well be that society will find it less costly and more productive to provide adequate social services and jobs to the poor where they are rather than after the poor have been pressured into moving elsewhere.

Where technical and financial assistance to farmer and industrial cooperatives can be an effective device to help these small enterprises and their members successfully enter the mainstream of society, no effort should be spared to provide such assistance. As far

as practical, government's role should be one that will offer a wider range of opportunity so that the potential migrant has a realistic choice of how and where he wants to live.

The vigor which the state governors and the federal government are bringing to interstate regional cooperative programs to improve the present level of housing and other social services is commendable. The national should encourage and further support this type of government cooperation.

Social investment in improving the productivity of our human resources will do more than lift millions of Americans from degrading dependency. It will add billions of dollars annually in the production of valued goods and services to the benefit of all Americans. Thoughtful Americans must recognize the importance of mounting a comprehensive program for the systematic development of neglected human resources.

Clearly, the resources necessary to meet and adequately grapple with the problem are beyond the scale of petty palliatives--in human energy as well as dollar cost. The federal investment alone might well be on the scale of billions of dollars if any lasting solution is to emerge. To encourage such an investment there is a mandate also for private participation. Individuals and national organizations now committed to working on separate facets of the problem must be encouraged to form an effective coalition with urban and rural political forces.

To develop the requisite support and to act as a catalystic force, we therefore urge the creation of a National Migration Policy Commission as a catalystic force.

This national institution, adequately staffed and funded, would be charged with evaluating the entire spectrum of rural-to-urban migration and recommending a national strategy.

In order to insure maximum flexibility, we recommend that the commission be established under private auspices, and given one year in which to complete its work.

LW 4-0350

BROTHERHOOD-IN-ACTION, INC.

560 Seventh Avenue

New York, New York 10018

September 12, 1968

The BIA-NAIRO Intergroup Relations DIRECTORY is going to press.

Attached is the Heading for your organization as it will appear in print.

If we do not hear from you within one week we will assume this listing is correct.

Maureen P. Cassidy
Directory
Coordinator

Returned
Sept 23, 68
MM

October 7, 1968

Mr. Norman Perlstein
Executive Director
Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue at 40th Street
New York, New York 10018

Dear Norm:

Regrettably, I have a meeting here on Saturday, so I would not be able to come to Louisville on Friday. I still will be available late that afternoon by the telephone.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

BROTHERHOOD·IN·ACTION, INC.

560 Seventh Avenue (at Fortieth Street) New York, New York 10018

LW 4-0350

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Executive Director
NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

September 27, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

It was good talking to you. I hope your cold is better.

As I have said, the Grand Jury possibilities are really important, but I do hope you can zero in with us in Louisville.

As a matter of fact, rather than trying to reach you Friday afternoon, October 11 before 3:30--we may not have arrived at enough deliberations that afternoon--maybe you can arrange to come to Louisville Friday night and spend Saturday with us. Let me know.

Much thanks for the invitation to the Southern Regional Council Annual Meeting, November 13-15. I am certainly going to see if I can be with you the first day. Then again, it just occurs to me that the NAIRO meeting will be November 11-15. Were you planning to be at any of the sessions?

All good regards.

Cordially,

Norman H. Perlstein

cc: Paul Anthony
Cassandra Stockburger
Barbara Moffett

October 8, 1968

Norman Perlstein
Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10018

Dear Norman:

I really am very sorry indeed that I cannot come to the meeting in Louisville, but I have been on the road almost steadily since the first of September and came back for a meeting this week which was postponed to Friday and requires intensive follow-up immediately thereafter, but I do hope that you will send to me the results of your deliberations and that you have a good meeting.

A few comments on the draft which you sent me: while I approve of the creation of a Commission, I wish we could do more than just ask for more study. Secondly, it seems to me that we do not want a national migration policy commission, but a national commission to study policies which encourage migration and which could be developed to make migration optional. As you well know, there are many policies in addition to welfare which constitute a very strong pull towards urban areas as well as specific federal and state policies which constitute a push from urban areas.

You talk about relocation programs. I am very nervous about relocation programs because again the element of option is often lost and you get a kind of dehumanization of the individual and a maximization of manipulation. We know of efforts where it would be to the advantage of the economic health of the country and perhaps even to the economic health of individuals if they were transplanted from a county in the rural South where they are currently unemployed. But this is playing into the hands of the very people who want them out of that county because blacks constitute the majority. Relocation programs are subject to this kind of pressure and distortion and I would hesitate to see us pushing for anything in this line or even making any evaluation in economic terms alone.

Finally, I think the wording on page 1 where you talk about "the most massive human exodus man has ever known" should be checked as to its accuracy with some good historian. Frankly I think that one would need to define the period of time and other things before making any such generalization. (My mind, of course, goes to the population swap between India and Pakistan in 1948.)

These are just some comments to show that I am concerned and want to share in your thinking. Please do accept my apologies and keep me posted.

Sincerely yours,

EAE:lw

Eleanor A. Eaton

Migration

CONSERVATION OF HUMAN RESOURCES
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
NEW YORK N.Y. 10027

November 1, 1968

Mr. Norman H. Perlstein
Brotherhood in Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York 10018

Dear Mr. Perlstein:

I regret that I cannot reply affirmatively to your letter of October 22 asking me to sign a Statement of Concern developped by the Symposium on Rural-Urban Migration.

While I have a deep interest in the problem and while I find much merit in the statement, I was unable to participate in the symposium and therefore believe it inappropriate for me to affix my signature.

Sincerely,

Eli Ginzberg

November 7, 1968

Mr. Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director
Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue at 40th Street
New York, New York 10018

Dear Norman:

The new statement is considerably improved. Enclosed is my signed copy.

As you can well understand, even if you are here, next week will be a very hectic one. However, tentatively, I plan to spend several days in New York in early December, and will check with you before hand.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

From the desk of

NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

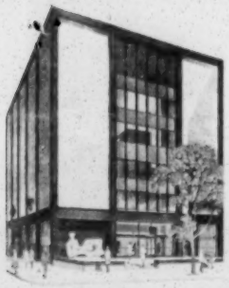
Paul —

as we spoke

will be in touch

& see you Atlanta

Norm



BROTHERHOOD·IN·ACTION, INC.

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LW 4-0350

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NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

October 22, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul,

The enclosed Statement of Concern has emerged from the conference in Quail Roost, North Carolina last July and has been prepared by those of us who attended the conference. The original was sent to those persons for reactions. The suggestions were assembled, and then a small group of us who were invited to the Urban Studies Center in Louisville completed the final editing.

As you will see in the Statement, we recommend the creation of a National Migration Policy Commission, which would make its report available by October 30, 1969. In order to get adequate support for the creation of such Commission, we need your signature as a participant in the SYMPOSIUM ON RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION.

It was agreed that the Statement, with all the signatures, will not be released to the public until the end of November and, in any event, you will be notified before any press release is made.

Please sign one copy and return it to us before November 15 so we can have time to plan on the timing of the publication of the statement.

Sincerely,

Norman H. Perlstein
for the
SYMPOSIUM ON RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

NHP:ap
enc. 2

CC: Lewd
11/7/68

STATEMENT OF CONCERN

Developed by the
Symposium on Rural-Urban Migration

October, 1968

"Because we have been oblivious to the rural poor, we have abetted both rural and urban poverty, for the two are closely linked through migration." -- The President's Commission On Rural Poverty, November 1967

It is now nearly one year since a panel of distinguished citizens challenged the nation's conscience to the awesome plight of "The People Left Behind", those hapless Americans for whom life is an empty choice of grinding deprivation in blighted rural areas or soul-deadening existence in urban slums.

Yet the swollen streams of rural-to-urban migrants continue to flow unchecked into the nation's already crowded cities.

The President's Commission warned that the flight from rural poverty is directly contributing to deplorable urban conditions and, therefore, a root-cause of urban unrest.

No single comprehensive program has been developed to deal with the trauma and tragedy of millions of migrants forced off land that cannot support them into cities that cannot absorb them. Still the response from government and private agencies alike has been piece-meal and palliative.

The problem is neither rural nor urban; neither exclusively private nor solely public.

This national phenomenon demands national attention. Fourteen million rural Americans living in abject poverty are potential migrants to urban areas and present a forceful reason for immediate and total national action.

A symposium to assess these issues was convened by BROTHERHOOD-IN-ACTION, an organization committed to clarifying questions in the urban crisis, and the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, a group of concerned Southerners.

The symposium focused on the need for creating a viable, rural America; its implications for the urban environment; and the possibility of devising a flexible policy geared to the changed dimensions of migration.

A national strategy to cope with the consequences of continuing rural-urban migration is an imperative for the American public. We clearly need new mechanisms to replace old techniques, ancient formulas and fragmented programs.

Because of the inequities in public welfare assistance today, government itself, is pressuring large numbers of rural poor to relocate where the opportunities for a productive life are simply not enough. Adequate federal financing to provide a decent family life would remove an unjust and intolerable burden from those states and local communities now forced to bear a disproportionate share of a truly national problem.

The dire hunger of many Americans clearly demands a fundamental re-organization of existing federal food distribution programs. We need positive congressional and executive action to feed these hungry and undernourished Americans.

For millions of Americans, ill-prepared for the complexities of modern living, the federal government should provide for comprehensive systems of services to ease their adjustment into the mainstream of American life. Wherever these services are provided, there will be an expansion of productive employment.

It might well be that society will find it less costly and more productive to provide adequate social services and jobs to the poor where they are rather than after the poor have been pressured into moving elsewhere.

As far as practical, government should promote a wider range of opportunities so that the potential migrant has a realistic choice of how and where he wants to live.

Where technical and financial assistance to farmer and industrial cooperatives can be an effective device to help small enterprises and their members successfully enter the mainstream of society, no effort should be spared to provide such assistance.

There is also a need to appraise alternative relocation programs in terms of human values as well as cost effectiveness.

We recommend the expansion of interstate regional cooperative programs to improve economic and social services. Further joint effort by state governors and federal government should be encouraged.

Social investment in improving the productivity of human resources will do more than raise millions of Americans from degrading dependency. It will add billions of dollars annually in the production of valued goods and services to the benefit of all Americans. Thoughtful Americans must recognize the importance of mounting a comprehensive program for the systematic development of neglected human resources.

Clearly, the programs necessary to meet and adequately grapple with the problem of neglected human resources are beyond the scale of petty palliatives -- in human energy as well as dollar cost. The investment of federal billions of dollars alone will not bring any lasting solution. Such an investment must be accompanied by massive private participation. Individuals and national organizations now committed to working on separate facets of this problem must form an effective coalition with urban and rural political forces.

To develop the needed support, we therefore urge the creation of a National Migration Policy Commission concerned with the development and deployment of human resources.

This Commission, adequately staffed and funded, would be charged with appraising the entire spectrum of rural-to-urban migration, effects of different distributions of population and economic activity, and with recommending a national strategy for human resources development.

In order to insure maximum flexibility, we recommend that this Commission be established under private auspices, and given a mandate to complete its work by October 31, 1969.

Paul H. Douglas

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE INC.

160 North Fifteenth Street,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102
Phone 215-563-9372

GILBERT F. WHITE
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
BRONSON P. CLARK
Executive Secretary

November 7, 1968

Norman H. Perlstein
Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10018

Dear Norman:

As you know, I was very sad not to get to Louisville, but I appreciate receiving so promptly a copy of the proposed statement.

As you can see, I have signed the statement assuming that no further corrections could be made.

If, however, any editing is still possible, I feel that we could do well to indicate to whom we are talking in the first place. Secondly, I think we would do well to rephrase those places where we talk about the"mainstream". Mainstream has many implications of conformity and does not provide for diversity. Indians, Mexican Americans and certain blacks, to say nothing of young people, don't particularly feel that conforming to "the mainstream" is a healthy move. We in the AFSC certainly believe that there should be equal opportunity for people to make their choices without having to give up their cultural heritage and their diversities. I know that you and others do not imply this, but the word mainstream does.

Finally, a migration policy seems to imply that we want to migrate rather than give people the option of migrating or not.

I realize I should keep quiet unless I have an alternate title to suggest for the Commission, but you may have a bright idea.

As I said in the beginning, I assume that no further editing can take place, but wanted to put on record my suggestions on the odd chance that further work will be done.

Best wishes to you and Cassandra and again thanks for including me in these discussions.

Sincerely yours,

Eleanor A. Eaton
Assistant Secretary
Community Relations Division

EAE:lw
cc: Barbara Moffett
Constance Curry

JAMES M. GAVIN
25 ACORN PARK
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02140

November 13, 1968

Mr. Norman H. Perlstein
Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York 10018

Dear Mr. Perlstein:

Thank you for your memo of 8 November. In your memo you ask me to sign and return "The Statement of Concern" enclosed with your letter of 22 October. In your letter of 22 October you ask for my signature as a participant in the Symposium on Urban-Rural Migration. Since I had not been a participant, it seemed inappropriate for me to sign the statement. That is why I did not sign and return it.

I am entirely in sympathy with the efforts of those who are trying to deal with this very serious migration problem. I hope that you will be able to get something done to alleviate the conditions that it is causing.

Sincerely yours,

James M. Gavin

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
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•
FAY BENNETT
executive secretary
LEONARD SMITH
field director
5 Forsyth Street, N W
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

November 13, 1968

Mr. Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director
Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10018

Dear Norman:

I am sorry to be so slow in getting back to you on the Statement of Concern.

The fact is that I am not happy with it. Somehow in all of this drafting and redrafting, the people have been left out, as well as left behind. I just don't feel like signing a statement that talks about migrants when we mean people, human resources when we mean people, systems of services when we mean something specific, adjustment into the main stream when we mean helping people to have a decent life.

I am against the idea of providing technical and financial assistance to farmer and industrial co-ops <u>only</u> where assistance can be an effective device to help their members enter the main stream.

I note that there is a sentence at the top of page 3 which talks about human values, but the whole emphasis seems to be on planning by experts and I suppose that's the idea.

What I am saying, I guess, is that right now I don't give a darn about the main stream and I don't have much hope in the Establishment. I would rather put my emphasis on working with people where they are to make and do for themselves and shape their own lives.

Good luck with the Statement and the Migration Policy Commission!

Sincerely,

Fay

Fay Bennett
Executive Director

FB:w

LW 4-0350

BROTHERHOOD-IN-ACTION, INC.

560 Seventh Avenue

New York, New York 10018

12/5/68

TO: PAUL ANTHONY

FROM: YANICK GEORGES

Mr. Perlstein told me about your telephone conversation this morning and, as a result, I am sending you copies of the letters we received from a few persons who refused to sign the Statement of Concern. I am also enclosing an up to date list of those who signed it.

A few of us will meet Tuesday to discuss some of the questions you raised and what should be done. We will advise you of the outcome of the meeting.

Yanick Georges

NOV 14 1968

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

SEVENTEEN NINETY BROADWAY • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019 • 212-245-2100

November 13, 1968

Mr. Norman H. Perlstein
Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10018

Dear Mr. Perlstein:

I am returning the draft of the Statement of Concern without my signature.

I wish to make clear promptly that I have no disagreement with the basic problem outlined, but it seems to me:

(1) the statement is diffuse and takes in a great deal of territory;

(2) it has no language which can be said to apply to the particular problems of the Negro migrants who have been displaced from the land - and perhaps the intention was not to deal with ethnic segments of migrants;

(3) the phrase "adequate federal financing to provide a decent family life" could be interpreted as "guaranteed family income" which I do not run from, but which I do not think should be urged just for this migrant section of the poor; and

(4) there is no indication of the person or body to which this statement will be addressed, nor any indication of what kind of commission will be set up and by whom.

Please be assured that the NAACP remains concerned with the critical situation of the rural poor. It may be, as this draft states, that the problems of both the rural and urban poor cannot be treated separately. If so, then the study suggested would be on a scale far wider than is suggested; the time required would be

longer than the period ending October 31, 1969.

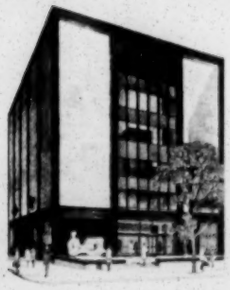
We would not want to endorse with our signature any proposal for a study by a commission until we can study the answers to some of the questions that trouble us.

Very sincerely yours,

Roy Wilkins

Roy Wilkins
Executive Director

RW:fb
enc.



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—

Executive Director
NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

November 21, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

They have such efficient chambermaids in the hotel that the little note I left you was inadvertently thrown out. I know you are busy, but I do want to tell you that the visit with the Southern Regional Council was not only enjoyable but I hope productive.

Now that you are rich and your mind is eased, please look over the migration stuff because we simply have to make a move. It is my recollection that we were somehow committed to publicly releasing the Statement of Concern at the end of November. Maybe the best way is for me to give you a call after you have received this letter and we can do something on the phone. The main decision besides publication is whether or not we want Maloney to write a proposal for a Migration Commission.

Again, Paul, much thanks for the interracial experience. And, lots of luck friend with black and white staff polarities.

All good wishes.

Cordially,

Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director

dg

On second thought, let me know if you will be up here early Dec. + we will wait till then

11/25

The following are those who have signed the Statement of Concern, their title and the organization they are with.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Herbert Bienstock
Director
Bureau of Labor Statistics
U.S. Department of Labor
New York City

C. E. Bishop
Vice President
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Rev. Will D. Campbell
Director
Committee of Southern Churchmen
Nashville, Tenn.

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark
Director
Metropolitan Applied Research Center
New York City

Clay L. Cochran
Director
Int'l Self-Help Housing Association, Inc.
Washington, D.C.

Dr. Robert Coles
Research Psychiatrist
Harvard University Health Services
Cambridge, Mass.

Dr. Joseph Commarosano
Director
Institute for Urban Studies
Fordham University
Bronx, N. Y.

Msgr. Laurence J. Corcoran
National Conference Catholic Charities
Washington, D. C.

Charles E. Davis
Director
North Carolina Mobility Project
Durham , N.C.

Eleanor A. Eaton
Assistant Secretary
Community Relations Division
American Friends Service Committee
Philadelphia, Pa.

Harry Fleischman
Race Relations Coordinator
Institute of Human Relations
American Jewish Committee
New York City

James O. Gibson
Staff Associate
Potomac Institute
Washington, D.C.

Mitchell Ginsberg
Administrator
Human Resources Administration
New York City

Dr. Lewis W. Jones
Research Director
Research and Training Project
Tuskeege Institute
Tuskeege, Ala.

Hylan Lewis
Director
Fellowship Program
Metropolitan Applied Research Center
New York City

Ernest McMahon
Dean
Rutgers State University of N. J.
New Brunswick, N. J.

James G. Maddox
Executive Director
Agricultural Policy Institute
North Carolina State University
Raleigh, N.C.

Dr. Joseph Maloney
Director
Urban Studies Center
University of Louisville
Louisville, Ky.

Rev. Larold K. Schulz
Director for Anti-Poverty
National Council of Churches
Washington, D.C.

Brendon Sexton
Director of Training
Citizens Cruzade Against Poverty
Washington, D. C,

Dr. John Slawson
Executive Vice-President Emeritus
American Jewish Committee
New York City

Dr. Georgina Smith
Institute of Management and Labor Relations
Rutgers, State University of N.J.
New Brunswick, N.J.

Cassandra Stockburger
Director
National Committee on the Education
of Migrant Children
New York, N. Y.

Dewitt Sullivan
Director of Finance and Administration
North Carolina Manpower Development Corp.
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Dwayne Walls
The Charlotte Observer
Charlotte, N.C.

George L. Wilber
Louisiana State University
Institute of Urban and Population
Relocation
Baton Rouge, La.

George Autry
Executive Director
North Carolina Manpower Development Corp.
Chapel Hill, N.C.

CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER
1028 W. Wilson Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60640
271-0846

STATEMENT '68

CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER

A STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

MIGRATION: Since the early 1940's there has been a steady influx of Southern white migrant families to the Uptown community of Chicago, with Alabama, Kentucky, Tennessee, and West Virginia being the most frequent points of origin. Either an economic crisis in the south forces a family to migrate North seeking a better way of life, or an economic allurement in the North gives promise of a better way of life. At present there are an estimated 35,000 Southerners living in the Uptown community of Chicago, giving rise to the term "Uptown - Port of Entry" for Southern white migrants. Uptown has the largest known concentration of Southern white families outside of any county in the South.

UPTOWN: Uptown is the 48th ward area of Chicago or more specifically, that geographic area in the north part of Chicago bounded on the north by Bryn Mawr Avenue (5600) on the south by Irving Park Road (4000) on the west by Clark Street (1600) and on the east by Marine Drive. The area encompasses some 120 blocks, has a population just under 100,000 persons and, according to the 1960 census, ranks No. 3 in inner city poverty zones in the City of Chicago with reference to housing, income, education, welfare, and delinquency. Twenty-one institutional churches, ten store front churches, twenty six social agencies, eight public schools, and five parochial schools serve the area.

HOUSING: Three principal ethnic groups reside in Uptown, namely, five thousand American Indians, fifteen thousand Spanish speaking people, and some thirty five thousand Southern white migrants. Southerners make Uptown their "port of entry" to the City of Chicago because of, rather than in spite of, the housing that is available in Uptown and which best suits their economic status. The average Southerner needs five basic considerations for the type of housing he can afford:

1) housing that is available by the week
2) housing that is furnished.
3) housing that does not require a lease.
4) housing that does not require a security deposit.
5) housing that permits children and pets.

GHETTO: It is noted that the first four of these factors form a chain of circumstances that fetter the Southerner to the community and which in turn create Chicago's "Southern white ghetto". Families moving from Uptown to other areas must encounter and transcend these factors.

DENSITY: During the war years of the early 1940's Southerners were encouraged to come to Chicago to work in manufacturing plants to the northwest which were vital to defense production. At the same time the government had put a freeze on new apartment building in Chicago. Therefore, many of the property owners in Uptown were encouraged to convert their homes into smaller apartments to accommodate the needs of the working class. Prior to the 1940's Uptown was one of the elite sections of Chicago. To have lived between the 4000's and 5600's on Sheridan Road was at one time as prestigious as living today in the 1000's on Lake Shore Drive. The conversion of quality dwellings into smaller apartments (which today averages between eighteen and thirty families living in buildings originally designed for six families) sowed the first seeds of decline for the Uptown community and that which today causes Uptown to rank number two in density of population in the City of Chicago.

CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER

A STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM (cont.)

LOCATION: Because of Uptown's "gold coast" location along the shores of Lake Michigan and because of the excellent transportation provided by the Outer Drive complex and the Elevated Train service, Uptown is the target area of three concurrent programs which are destined to affect the "port of entry" image for Southerners and others of low economic station. The Uptown area has been declared a Conservation Area; phase one of Urban Renewal has already begun and Uptown is a Model Cities area.

PROBLEMS: Southerners moving to an urban environment face many problems, but the principal problem is one which they tend to impose upon themselves. They possess an "interim attitude" concerning their stay in the city. Nearly all Southerners consider their stay in the City of Chicago as simply an interim period in their life, with full intentions of going back home as soon as possible. This lack of identification with Illinois, Cook County, Chicago, or Uptown affects the Southerner's involvement in agency activities, voting issues, Model Cities program, Urban Renewal issues, Conservation activities, church attendance; also affected is their transiency, job stability, tenancy and even truancy on the part of the children.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER

FOUNDING: Because Southern white migrant families have truly made Uptown their "Port of Entry" to the city of Chicago, a delegation of concerned individuals, led by Mr. William H. Meyers, Vice President in charge of Public Relations for Combined Insurance Company of America, 5050 North Broadway in Chicago, requested that the Council of the Southern Mountains establish a Chicago office of their organization in Uptown.

ORIGIN: The Council of the Southern Mountains, a non-profit, non-sectarian program established to aid the 9,000,000 people of the Appalachian south, has its headquarters in Berea, Kentucky and has been serving the people of Appalachia since 1913. In November of 1963 the Chicago Office of the Council of the Southern Mountains opened its doors in service to Uptown.

NAME CHANGE: The Chicago Office of the Council of the Southern Mountains operated from its original store front location at 4606 North Kenmore Avenue for fourteen months serving Southern families primarily as a referral agency while offering such direct services as job placements, casework, youth programs, and adult gatherings as space permitted. In February, 1965 the office and headquarters were relocated to the second floor and balcony at 1028 West Wilson Avenue, to facilitate more extensive group activities. Shortly after the relocation of the headquarters to the Wilson Avenue location the Board of Directors voted to change the name of the operation to the Chicago Southern Center, Inc. to make the Center Chicago based in the interest of local fund raising. The new name and Illinois corporate status became effective March 7, 1966.

CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER

AN IN DEPTH SURVEY OF THE CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER

DEFINITION: The Chicago Southern Center, Inc., is a non-profit, non-sectarian, privately funded social agency established in 1963 to aid in the urbanization of Southern white Appalachian families living in the Chicago area, namely in the Uptown community.

HISTORY: The Chicago Southern Center was founded under the auspices of the Council of the Southern Mountains whose headquarters are in Berea, Kentucky. Operating first under the name The Chicago Office of the Council of the Southern Mountains for fourteen months at its original 4606 North Kenmore store front at which time the name was changed to the Chicago Southern Center, Inc., and Illinois corporation status was achieved.

AFFILIATIONS: While no direct affiliation with the parent organization, the Council of the Southern Mountains, currently exists, a close working relationship with the spirit and purpose of the Council of the Southern Mountains continues. The Chicago Southern Center has achieved membership in the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago and is endorsed for the year 1968 by the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry.

FUNDING: The Chicago Southern Center is funded entirely by private contributions made through foundations, corporate enterprises, institutions, and interested constituency.

MANAGEMENT: The Chicago Southern Center is managed by a volunteer Board of Directors who meet monthly to set policy, to review progress and to provide and insure financing.

PURPOSE: The basic purpose of the Chicago Southern Center can be summarized as follows:

1) To provide a service agency for Southern white families who have migrated to the Chicago Metropolitan area, particularly the known "port of entry" area of Uptown.

2) To provide certain direct services and programs deemed essential to Southern families which are not otherwise provided through existing community agencies and services.

3) To help foster and encourage existing community service agencies whose services and programs complement the Chicago Southern Center's concept of the service needs of Southern white families and to use these agencies on a referral basis.

4) To provide lectures and materials to church groups, civic groups, service guilds, teachers and students who are interested in the problems of Southern white families in the urban setting.

5) To assemble and disseminate information about conditions affecting Southern migrants in the metropolitan area of Chicago and the need to eliminate unhealthy and unsocial situations which affect their living conditions.

6) To serve as consultants to areas outside the Chicago metropolitan area where a known concentration or influx of Southern migrants poses questions and problems.

CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER

SURVEY OF THE CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER (cont.)

7) To hold workshops, institutes and conferences from time to time on matters concerning the South.

8) To provide assistance to students who wish to continue their education.

FUNCTION: The Chicago Southern Center has four primary functions as it currently serves the Southern white community of Uptown:

1) THE CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER IS A CENTER: Within the Center are several vital functions of special service to the total Southern family:

a) Services: The Chicago Southern Center provides seven direct services to Southerners and others in the Uptown community such as food, clothing, household items, financial assistance, counseling, assistance with housing and relocation of families, and referrals to other agencies.

b) Programs: To maintain a continued contact with Southerners who frequent the Center for services, theChicago Southern Center provides ten weekly group programs and activities such as children's night, youth guitar lessons, prayer services, adult arts and crafts, country dances, sewing classes, quilting classes, hospitality day, and Sunday services. From time to time other area wide activities are held in the Center for special occasions, field trips, tutoring, motivational classes, and other cultural and social activities.

c) YWCA: The Uptown Unit of McCormick YWCA conducts an outpost program for neighborhood girls Monday through Friday and occasionally on weekends.

d) Girl Scouts: An Uptown unit of Girl Scouts meets weekly at the Chicago Southern Center.

e) Research and Study Center: A research and study center has been created for students, educators, pastors, church workers, social workers, and other concerned individuals who wish to pursue academically the plight of the Southerner in the city.

f) Scholarships: Through the benevolence of Mr. W. Clement Stone the Chicago Southern Center administers three types of scholarships each year:

1) Two Chicago students of Southern extraction and with extraordinary scholastic accomplishment are provided with full four year scholarships to Berea College in Berea, Kentucky.

2) Five scholarship recipients are sent to the Annual Conference of the Council of the Southern Mountains.

SURVEY OF THE CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER (cont.)

3) Five scholarship recipients are sent to the Annual Workshop of the Council of the Southern Mountains.

2) THE CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER IS OUTREACH: The detached outreach endeavors of the Chicago Southern Center are twofold:

a) A Pilot community outreach project: A seventeen block community outreach pilot area has been selected in the northeast part of Uptown to experiment with the dynamics of organizing effort rather than people on a block by block basis. Five specific individuals have been selected for five specific functions on each block of the pilot area.

b) A Sixty-Block building by building campaign: This phase of the outreach program calls for four distinct activities in the sixty block area bounded by Lawrence Avenue, Irving Park Road, Clark Street, and Marine Drive.

1) Contact each building manager and survey the residential status of each building.

2) Request permission to post one of our promotional posters in each building.

3) Present the building managers with a supply of "Welcom-Paks" for distribution to the tenants in the building.

4) Encourage certain building managers on the blocks to participate in a community council which will meet monthly at the Center.

3) THE CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER IS A CONSULTANT: From time to time the Chicago Southern Center is called upon to consult other groups, organizations, and communities where an influx of Southern migrant families pose questions and problems. Also, a Speakers Bureau provides informational programs to churches, organizations, civic groups, and schools concerned about the situation of Southerners in the city.

4) THE CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER IS AN ADVANCED CONTACT: Through public service radio and television programs aired over Southern mountain stations, the Chicago Southern Center provides advanced contact with potential migrant families, advising them of the perils of migration and the problems they are apt to encounter, while at the same time, advising those who are planning to come on what to bring and what to leave, and how to establish contact with the Chicago Southern Center if Chicago is their Northern terminus.

CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER

NEEDS OF THE CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER

GENERAL NEEDS:

1) The Center has need of funds: The need for funds is derived from the fact that the Chicago Southern Center is a privately funded institution and is endeavoring to solve the problems of an ethnic group without the use of federal, state, county or city financing.

2) The Center has need of sound fund raising plans: Because the Chicago Southern Center is privately funded and has no assured source of financial support, a sound fund raising program is vitally needed. To adequately carry out a sound fund raising program the Center needs to procure the services of a full time staff member - fund raiser.

3) The Center has need of an expanded Board: Urgently needed are fifteen additional Board Members who can bring both affluence and influence to the Center's operation and who can assist in underwriting the Center's continued success.

4) The Center has need of a Women's Board: Because women can reach circles oft times out of reach of male Board members, a Women's Board is a vital need of the Chicago Southern Center.

5) The Center has need of volunteers: Volunteers are vitally needed in the areas of services, programs, and outreach, for the purpose of specific projects and for the purpose of general day to day function of the Center.

6) The Center has need of materials: Large quantities of food, clothing, shoes, and household items for needy families are urgently needed.

OTHER NEEDS OF THE CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER:

1) A Station Wagon, panel, pick-up, van or flatbed vehicle.

2) 35 mm Camera (single lens reflex)with synchronized strobe or bulbs and a built-in light meter. Prefer shutter speed to 1/500 second or 1/1000. Aperture to f16 or f22.

3) Electronic Strobe capable of AC or DC operation and with rechargeable batteries, high light output and fast re-cycle.

4) Gadget Bag large enough to accommodate camera, strobe, and accessories. Prefer that it have a shoulder strap and a hand grip.

5) Metal File Cabinet for used mimeograph stencils.

6) Small Adding Machine.

7) Miscellaneous small tools such as hammers, saw, pliers, wrenches, etc.

8) Drinking Fountain, preferably refrigerated.

CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER

NEEDS OF THE CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER (cont.)

9) Six folding tables capable of accommodating at least eight persons each.

10) One hundred folding chairs or twenty benches without backs.

11) An Addressograph machine.

12) Guitars in usable or repairable condition.

CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER SOURCE OF FUNDS

The fiscal need of the Chicago Southern Center is just over $60,000 per year. The income would be divided percentage wise among the following four sources:

1) Corporate gifts - 25%

2) Foundations - 50%

3) Constituency - 15%

4) Random donations - 10%

HOW GIFTS ARE MADE PAYABLE

Gifts can be made payable to the Chicago Southern Center, Inc. 1028 W. Wilson Avenue

CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER

SUPPORTERS OF THE CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER

DISTINGUISHED INDIVIDUAL SUPPORT

Mr. Neal Ball
American Hospital Supply Corporation

Mr. Karl D. Bays
American Hospital Supply Corporation

Miss Lula Bartlow
Illinois Bell Telephone Company

Mr. Paul Brandel
Stone-Brandel Center

Dr. John P. Byrne
Chicago Board of Education

Reverend Preston Denton
Chicago Southern Baptist Association

Mr. John C. Doremus
Functional Media, WAIT Radio

Mr. Roger M. Dutt
Kemper Insurance Group

Mrs. Goldia K. Howes
Northwestern University

Mr. William S. Johnston
Washington National Insurance Co.

Mr. James S. Kemper, Jr.
Lumbermans Mutual Casualty Company

Mr. C. H. Kendall
Washington National Insurance Co.

Mr. William H. Meyers
Combined Insurance Company of America

Mr. Donald P. McEwan
Kemper Insurance Group

Mr. Robert J. O'Rourke
Alderman, 48th Ward

Mr. John Palmer
NBC News, Chicago

Mr. James E. Rutherford
Business Consultant

CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER (supporters) Cont. . .

Miss Audrey Seaton
Chicago Medical School

Mr. W. Clement Stone
Combined Insurance Company of America

Reverend Victor B. Streufert
Lutheran Council of U.S.A.

Dr. Donald Tuomi
Borg-Warner Corporation

Dr. William T. Woodson
Attorney at Law

Mr. Harry H. Woodward, Jr.
Stone-Brandel Center

DISTINGUISHED BUSINESS SUPPORT

Continental Decorating Service, Inc.
Chicago, Illinois

Crittentons, Inc.
Chicago, Illinois

W. N. Davidson Advertising Agency
Chicago, Illinois

Kemper Insurance Group
Chicago, Illinois

Bowman C. Lingle Trust Fund
c/o Harris Trust and Savings
Chicago, Illinois

Foster G. McGaw Foundation
Chicago, Illinois

Majestic Stores, Inc.
Chicago, Illinois

The Mueller Starlighters
Chicago, Illinois

Retail Food & Drug Clerks Union
Chicago, Illinois

S & I Company
Chicago, Illinois

CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER (supporters) Cont. . .

Signs of Carlsten
Chicago, Illinois

W. Clement Stone Foundation
Chicago, Illinois

DISTINGUISHED ORGANIZATION AND INSTITUTIONAL ENDORSEMENT AND SUPPORT

Aid to Alcoholics
Chicago, Illinois

American Baptist Women
Chicago, Illinois

American Indian Center
Chicago, Illinois

Appalachian Study Center
Chicago, Illinois

Bethany Methodist Hospital
Chicago, Illinois

Brennemann School
Chicago, Illinois

Chicago American Charities
Chicago, Illinois

Chicago Southern Center
Chicago, Illinois

Commission on Youth Welfare
Chicago, Illinois

Cook County Department of Public Aid
Chicago, Illinois

Council of the Southern Mountains
Berea, Kentucky

Goudy Elementary School
Chicago, Illinois

Hull House Uptown Center
Chicago, Illinois

Joyce Kilmer School
Chicago, Illinois

Kiwanis Club
Chicago, Illinois

CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER (supporters) Cont. . .

Montrose Urban Progress Center
Chicago, Illinois

Northwest Baptist Chapel
Chicago, Illinois

R. R. McCormick Chicago Boys Club
Chicago, Illinois

Salvation Army Corps
Chicago, Illinois

St. Augustine Indian Center
Chicago, Illinois

St. Joseph Church
Wilmette, Illinois

St. Mary of the Lake Church
Chicago, Illinois

St. Thomas of Canterbury Church
Chicago, Illinois

Santa Claus Anonymous
Chicago, Illinois

Nicholas Senn High School
Chicago, Illinois

Southern Women's Alliance
Chicago, Illinois

Southern Women's Club
Chicago, Illinois

Stewart School
Chicago, Illinois

Uptown Chicago Commission
Chicago, Illinois

Weiss Memorial Hospital
Chicago, Illinois

Women's Society
Chicago, Illinois

CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER

APPENDIX

1) Chicago Southern Center Board Membership

2) Chicago Southern Center Letterhead

3) Chicago Southern Center Staff Membership

4) Chicago Southern Center Services and Programs

CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER

MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Mr. Neal Ball
Director of Advertising and Public Relations
American Hospital Supply Corporation

Miss Lula Bartlow
Public Relations Department, Room 30A
Illinois Bell Telephone Company

Dr. John P. Byrne
District Superintendent of Schools
Nicholas Senn High School

Reverend Preston Denton
Superintendent of Metropolitan Missions
Chicago Southern Baptist Association

Mr. Roger M. Dutt
Kemper Insurance Group

Mrs. Goldia K. Howes
Supervisor of Master of Arts in Teaching Interns
Northwestern University

Mr. William S. Johnston
Washington National Insurance Company

Mr. William H. Meyers
Vice President - Public Relations
Combined Insurance Company of America

Mr. Donald P. McEwan
Director of Public Relations
Kemper Insurance Group

Alderman Robert J. O'Rourke
48th Ward

Mr. James E. Rutherford
175 West Jackson Boulevard
Chicago, Illinois

Miss Audrey Seaton
Chicago Medical School

Reverend Victor B. Streufert
Lutheran Council in the U.S.A.

Dr. Donald Tuomi
Manager, Solid State Physics
Borg-Warner Corporation
The Roy C. Ingersoll Research Center

CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER

CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER BOARD OF DIRECTORS, cont.

Mr. William T. Woodson
Morgan Field, Kentucky

Mr. Harry H. Woodward, Jr.
Educational Director
Stone-Brandel Center

STAFF MEMBERS

FULL TIME:

James R. Grisham, Director

Marshall Cutrer, Assistant Director

Joseph Dunne, Field Director

Marge O'Dea, Secretary

PART TIME:

Gordon D. Schultz, Program Director

Martha Garrett, Field Worker

CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER

CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER PROGRAMS AND SERVICES

The present programs and services of the Chicago Southern Center conducted within the confines of the Center itself are two fold: immediate, or direct services; and continuing, or indirect services. Our immediate services at present are:

1) Food to new comers and those in need: A supply of food is kept at the Center for those who need food to carry them over in an emergency. On a larger scale, the Chicago Southern Center participates with sixteen other agencies in providing food for Uptown residents in emergency situations in a program called the Community Pantry.

2) The only clothing center in Uptown: During the winter months the distribution of warm clothing is a vital service particularly to mothers who need clothing for their children. The clothing is donated to the Center from the suburbs in small lots or at times by the truck load. Volunteers sort and arrange the clothing in our self-service Clothing Center. Shoes are also available on a self-service basis.

3) Emergency cash assistance: Small emergency loans are made from a discretionary fund in amounts ranging from $2.00 to $30.00. Since this service was inaugurated the Chicago Southern Center has dispersed over $4,000.00 helping scores of individuals.

4) Referral service to other service agencies: Through direct contact with each of the twenty-one service agencies in the Uptown area and numerous others in the Chicago area, the Chicago Southern Center stands ready at all times to find a solution to any problem.

5) Counseling service in person or by telephone: Every day, and from time to time by the telephone, persons consult us for many basic reasons. Inquiries may range from solutions to a truancy problem to procedures to become admitted to a hospital without insurance and with no financial backing.

6) Consultant service to students and schools: Since the Chicago Southern Center is directly committed to the aid of southern families and since it is one of the older agencies in the Uptown area it is often called upon as a prime source of information on the southern people and an explanation of situations surrounding their stay in Chicago. At times groups are lectured both here at the Center and at schools and churches.

7) The Center is available: A service of any agency is simply its "availability". Any persons with any problem can come to the Center for any reason for assistance.

Aside from the immediate services mentioned above, the Chicago Southern Center offers a number of continuing programs. Programs are not only offered for their social-recreational value, but as an attempt to preserve and perpetuate some of the traditional folk values of southern people. Some of the programs we offer at present are:

CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER

CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER PROGRAMS AND SERVICES

1) Guitar lessons for young and old: In 1967 at least eighty young people received free guitar lessons from a professional husband and wife team that donated one night a week to guitar lessons. At present the Chicago Southern Center has a collection of some twenty-five guitars for instructional purposes.

2) Quilting sessions: One room of the Center is designated "The Quilting Room" and affords the ladies a place to perform the art. The same ladies who gather occasionally to make quilts divide their time between quilt-making and clothes-sorting for the Clothing Center.

3) Folk and Mountain Music programs: The sound of guitar and fiddle are quite often heard echoing throughout the Chicago Southern Center as the southern folk meet for "Live Pik'n and Sing'n" or for a square dance.

4) Weekly planned youth activities: One night a week is given over entirely to the youth of the neighborhood. The night may feature a movie, a talent show or group games. Anywhere from fifty to one hundred fifty children may show up on a given night.

5) Weekly YWCA programs for girls: Every afternoon one age group of the McCormick YWCA meets at the Center for their activities. One group are the "Tigers", another the "Kool Kats", another the "Mini Maids" et c. The "Y" conducts character building programs that have a marked effect on the fifty to seventy-five youths reached in their programs.

6) Special occasions: At least once a month, sometimes more often, special social occasions are held at the Center such as Halloween party for the children, Christmas and other occasions. All of the annual holidays are emphasized along with other special group gathering occasions. Some of these activities are coordinated by the Chicago Southern Center staff, others are sponsored directly by other service organizations.

7) Bi-monthly teen dance: The Chicago Southern Center is the favorite meeting place of the teen set of Uptown. Groups upwards of two hundred meet for teen dances and parties twice a month.

8) Community Hall: Because of the space available various community meetings are held in the Center from time to time.

COPY

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BROTHERHOOD · IN · ACTION, INC.

January 14, 1969

Mr. Bronson P. Clark
Executive Secretary
American Friends Service Committee
160 North 15th Street
Philadelphia, Pa. 19102

Dear Mr. Clark:

Sometime ago, Brotherhood-In-Action, together with the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, Georgia, convened a National Symposium to look into the problems of migration in the United States. What we were concerned with were the implications of migration on both the rural and urban life styles and economy.

The members of the Symposium, which included among others Miss Eleanor A. Eaton of your organization, came to the consensus that what was urgently needed was a National Commission on Migration, under private auspices, which would seek to develop strategy and planning in regard to migration.

We have since decided that the way to get a Commission on Migration is to set up a "Committee for a National Migration Commission", sponsored by several carefully chosen organizations concerned with this problem.

We would like the American Friends Service Committee to be one of the sponsoring organizations and, this letter is to request your participation. As far as we can determine, the sponsorship entails minimal obligations because one of the first jobs of the Committee will be to seek private funding for the Committee itself and the Commission. However, we would hope that the AFSC could help with some modest secretarial assistance pending the securing of a grant.

Because of our desire to publicly announce the formation of the Committee, as well as those who have signed our Statement of Concern, (I understand from Miss Baton that you would be interested in signing the Statement.) we would appreciate an answer as early as possible to the sponsorship invitation.

If there are any more questions, I can answer them by phone to save time.

Sincerely,

Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director

NHP:yg
c:c Eleanor A. Baton
Paul Anthony

As of 1/14/68
the following have signed the Statement

Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Herbert Bienstock
Director
Bureau of Labor Statistics
U.S. Department of Labor
New York City

C. E. Bishop
Vice President
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Rev. Will D. Campbell
Director
Committee of Southern Churchmen
Nashville, Tenn.

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark
Director
Metropolitan Applied Research Center
New York City

Clay L. Cochran
Director
Int'l Self-Help Housing Association, Inc.
Washington, D.C.

Dr. Robert Coles
Research Psychiatrist
Harvard University Health Services
Cambridge, Mass.

Dr. Joseph Commarosano
Director
Institute for Urban Studies
Fordham University
Bronx, N. Y.

Msgr. Laurence J. Corcoran
National Conference Catholic Charities
Washington, D. C.

Charles E. Davis
Director
North Carolina Mobility Project
Durham , N.C.

Eleanor A. Eaton
Assistant Secretary
Community Relations Division
American Friends Service Committee
Philadelphia, Pa.

Harry Fleischman
Race Relations Coordinator
Institute of Human Relations
American Jewish Committee
New York City

James O. Gibson
Staff Associate
Potomac Institute
Washington, D.C.

Mitchell Ginsberg
Administrator
Human Resources Administration
New York City

Dr. Lewis W. Jones
Research Director
Research and Training Project
Tuskeege Institute
Tuskeege, Ala.

Hylan Lewis
Director
Fellowship Program
Metropolitan Applied Research Center
New York City

Ernest McMahon
Dean
Rutgers State University of N. J.
New Brunswick, N. J.

James G. Maddox
Executive Director
Agricultural Policy Institute
North Carolina State University
Raleigh, N.C.

Dr. Joseph Maloney
Director
Urban Studies Center
University of Louisville
Louisville, Ky.

Rev. Larold K. Schulz
Director for Anti-Poverty
National Council of Churches
Washington, D.C.

Brendon Sexton
Director of Training
Citizens Cruzade Against Poverty
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Dr. John Slawson
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American Jewish Committee
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Chapel Hill, N.C.

Loyal Jones
Executive Director
Council of the Southern Mountains, Inc.
Berea, Kentucky

Seymour Samet
American Jewish Committee
New York,N. Y.

Alexander J. Allen
National Urban League
New York, N. Y.

Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director
Brotherhood-In-Action
New York, N.Y.

Dr. Charles H. Stember
Professor of Sociology
Rutgers, State University of New Jersey
New Brunswick, N. J. 08903

Leon H. Keyserling
Consulting Economist and Attorney
Washington, D. C.

Whitney Young
Executive Director
National Urban League
New York, N. Y.

C. A. McKnight
Editor
The Charlotte Observer
Charlotte, N. C.

James Farmer

New York, N. Y.

Norman Hill
Associate Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute
New York, N. Y.

LeRoy Bowman
Professor Emeritus
Brooklyn College
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dr. Herbert Gans
Senior Staff Sociologist
Center for Urban Education
Columbia University
New York, N. Y.

Tom Kahn
Executive Director
League for Industrial Democracy
New York, N. Y.

Michael Harrington
Chairman of the Board
League for Industrial Democracy
New York, N. Y.

Bayard Rustin
Exec Dir
A. Philip Randolph Institute
New York, N Y

Constance Curry
American Friend Service Com.
Atlanta, Ga

P A

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY
AND AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE
BATON ROUGE · LOUISIANA · 70803
Department of Sociology

INSTITUTE OF URBAN AND POPULATION RESEARCH

January 1, 1969

Mr. Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director
Brotherhood-In-Action, Inc.
560 7th Avenue (at 40th Street)
New York, New York 10018

Dear Norm:

On account of the Holidays, I have just now caught up with your letter of 20 December. In response to your requests, let me suggest the following.

First, I can sound out the administration at LSU about the possibility of the university being one of the organizations to sponsor a Committee for a National Migration Commission. I am not certain how good a strategy this might be--i. e. to have a university sponsor. Let me know what you think.

Some of the larger foundations, such as the Ford Foundation, might very well be interested. You might want to contact Dr. Harkavy, Ford Foundation.

Second, I have not yet had time to seek additional signatures for the Statement. When the university resumes normal activity next week I may be able to add one or two.

Third, I am certain there are many willing to sign the Statement. A few names come to mind immediately of persons you may want to approach on this. Let me list these.

H. H. Humphrey
Wilbur Cohen
Robert Weaver
Sen. Fred Harris

Also

Dr. Everett Lee, Dept. of Sociology, Univ. of Mass.
Dr. Daniel O. Price, Dept. of Sociology, Univ. of Texas
Dr. Philip Hauser, Dept. of Sociology, Univ. of Chicago
Dr. Donald J. Bogue, Dept. of Sociology, Univ. of Chicago
Dr. Ronald Freedman, Dept of Sociology, Univ. of Mich.
Dr. Lawrence Davis, Pres., Arkansas A & M
Dr. Vivian Henderson, Pres., Clark College, Atlanta
Mr. Fred Jaffe, Vice Pres., Planned Parenthood- World Federation, New York City

If time permits, I am certain this list can be extended. I may send a few additional names if I should think of any especially important ones in the next few days.

Let me also correct my office identification as it appears in the list of those who signed the Statement:

Director
Institute of Urban and Population Research
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, La.

Please call on me for whatever assistance I may be able to provide, and keep up the good work.

Sincerely,

George L. Wilber

7 PA

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

160 North 15th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

December 31, 1968

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council

Norman Perlstein
Brotherhood-in-Action

cc B. W. Moffett
P. Buskirk
L. Schneider

Dear Norman and Paul:

I am writing this at home to meet your deadline - hence the faked letterhead!

In your letter of December 17 you asked in effect three things: 1) Would I try and get the highest ranking AFSCer to sign the statement. I am trying and hope to have authorization for you prior to the 3rd, of Feb. 2) Would I suggest organizations who might be asked to Sponsor the Commission and in effect be the Committee for a National Migration Commission. From our telephone conversation I understand you are trying to get about six or eight such organizations to join SRC and BIA and that the responsibility of such a Committee would be to help draft a financial proposal to support such a commission, select the commission members and one group would need to provide secretarial assistance pending the securing of a grant. If that understanding is correct I would hope that you could invite the AFSC to consider such a responsibility. It would have to be a Board decision and our Board meets Jan 24 and 25 so you could have an answer in time. I suggest that the letter, if you feel AFSC should be one of those invited, be sent to Bronson P. Clark, Executive Secretary with a copy to me or to Barbara W. Moffett.

In addition I hope very much that you can be selective in your choice of organizations, being sure that you have rural grass roots organizations (a must) as well as urban ones; that you balance say the Urban League with SCLC and/or the Poor Peoples Embassy. Also that in spite of the large number of divergent Mexican American organizations and Indian organizations that one least likely to promote rivalries, etc., be invited from both groups. I would also imagine that you should consider and weigh the wisdom of inviting the National Association of Community Development (NACD) who have a real interest in this area and a strong rural bent. Whether CCAP as such still exists, I am not sure. Also should not the National Welfare Rights organization be considered? And what about unions? I realize this gets to be a large group and maybe some device by which signers select the small committee is necessary so that there is real support and backing. It would be fatal to get off on the wrong foot and in the interests of speed get the Commission regarded as either a bunch of theoretical "do-gooders" or partisan, etc. etc. I know I don't need to make these suggestions to you and Paul, but wanted to go on record.

Your third suggestion was that we send you names of possible additional signers. I attach a tentative list that is far from inclusive and may contain some names which, for policy and political reasons, you do not want to invite. But be sure you have some real rural people who know and represent the people and places who know the effects of out migration as well as in-migration.

Call me if this is not clear. Happy New Year to alll of you.

Sincerely, Eleanor Eleanor Eaton

Roato

SUGGESTED ADDITIONAL SIGNERS FOR CALL FOR A NATIONAL MIGRATION COMMISSION

Senator Gaylord Nelson
Senator Fred Harris
Senator Ralph Yarborough
ex-Senator Joseph Clark
" " Paul Douglas
" " Wayne Morse
Senator George McGovern
Senator Edward Kennedy

Richard Wenner - NACD
Robert Choate
Leslie Dunbar
Jack Greenberg
Jean Fairfax
Marian Wright Edelman -
Charles Evers
Cesar Chavez

[redacted]
Tillie Walker United Scholarship Service, Denver
Ralph Abernathy
Julian Bond
John Belindo, Exec. Director, Nat'l Congress American Indians
Robert Bennett, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, U.S. Dept. of Interior
Samuel E. English, National Indian Youth Council, 3102 Central Street, Albuquerque 87106
~~Si~~
Al Elgin, Intertribal Friendship House, 523 E 14th St. Oakland, Cal 94606
Obed Lopez, Lado, Chicago
The Rev. Leo Nieto - Texas
Ernesto Galarza, San Jose, California (La Raza Unida)
Herman Gallegos, San Francisco
Tomas Atencio, Dixon, New Mexico

Robert Fulcher, West Virginia (Appalachian white leader)
head of Appalachian Volunteers (don't just count on the Council of Southern Mts)

12/31/68

We could probably produce addresses for those you select to receive a letter, but you and Paul undoubtedly have most of them.

P A

InternationalSelf-HelpHousingAssociation

Suite 903 Dupont Circle Building, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. 20036 | phone (202) 659-1680

Executive Director
Clay L. Cochran

December 30, 1968

Mr. Norman Perlstein
Executive Director
Brotherhood-In-Action
560 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York 10018

Dear Norman:

You have my chairman's signature: Eleanor Eaton.

Our Secretary-Treasurer, Al Ulmer would probably sign. (address below)

One of our Board Members, James D. Smith, an outstanding Economist engineering OEO's longitudinal poverty study would probably sign and be a prize cooperator. (address below)

How about people like Vivian Henderson, Aaron Henry, Ralph McGill, Emmett Peter, Jr.?

Good luck,

Clay L. Cochran

CLC:hmc

Al Ulmer
Box 204
Vilas, North Carolina 28692

Dr. James Smith
1846 Park Forest Ave
Statecollege, Pennsylvania 16801

P.A

NORTH CAROLINA STATE UNIVERSITY AT RALEIGH

SCHOOL OF AGRICULTURE AND LIFE SCIENCES

AGRICULTURAL POLICY INSTITUTE
BOX 5368 ZIP 27607

December 30, 1968

Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director
Brotherhood-In-Action
560 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York 10018

Dear Norm:

This letter is in reply to yours of December 18 about the Statement of Concern developed by the Symposium on Rural-Urban Migration.

I am attaching on a separate sheet of paper the names and addresses of a few people whom I think should be asked to sign the statement. You will note that one of these is John Baker who is presently Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, who has had responsibility for most of USDA's programs in the field of rural area development. John might not want to sign the statement as Assistant Secretary. I believe, however, by the time the statement is released, that he will have another position in which he will be much interested in the work of the proposed National Migration Policy Commission.

In addition to the people listed on the attachment, I think that you should take a look at the report, Urban and Rural America: Policies for Future Growth issued by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Washington, D. C. 20575. This report is concerned with the general question of urban-rural balance in the future population. There are not only several members of the commission who might be interested in signing the statement, but there is a substantial number of people who were members of the staff or review teams for this report who might want to sign.

Unfortunately, I do not have any good suggestions of organizations which might want to sponsor the Committee for a National Migration Commission. You might find some interest on the part of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 2009 and the National Council of Farmer Corporatives, 1200 - 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036

Sincerely,

James G. Maddox
Executive Director

JGM:dp
Enc.

Maddox

Persons Who Might Be Asked to Sign the Statement of Concern

Lauren Soth
Des Moines Register and Tribune
Des Moines, Iowa 50304

John A. Baker
Assistant Secretary
U. S. Department of Agriculture
Washington, D. C. 20250

James G. Patton
Suite 1403 Tucson Federal Savings Tower
Tucson, Arizona 85701

The Rt. Rev. Msgr. E. W. O'Rourke
Executive Director, National Catholic
Rural Life Conference
3801 Grand Avenue
Des Moines, Iowa 50314

Clyde T. Ellis
General Manager-Emeritus
National Rural Electric Cooperative Assn.
2000 Florida Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20009

L. C. Carpenter
President, Midcontinent Farmers Assn.
201 S. Seventh
Columbia, Missouri 65201

Brooks Hayes
Wake Forest University
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dr. E. W. Mueller
Department of Church and Community
Planning
Division of Mission Services
Lutheran Council in the USA
130 North Wells Street
Chicago, Illinois 60606

Dr. B. C. Webb
Dean, School of Agriculture
The Agricultural and Technical
College of North Carolina
Greensboro, North Carolina 27411

PA

LEON H. KEYSERLING
CONSULTING ECONOMIST AND ATTORNEY AT LAW
1001 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036
STERLING 3-9191

December 28, 1968

Mr. Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director
BROTHERHOOD-IN-ACTION, INC.
560 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York 10018

Dear Mr. Perlstein:

I am returning herewith a signed copy of the statement you sent on December 20, thus joining in this statement.

Please note that you have addressed me at the Conference on Economic Progress, but I have no authority to commit that organization to this statement. Instead, I should be identified as follows:

Leon H. Keyserling
Consulting Economist and Attorney
Washington, D. C.

Very sincerely yours,

Leon H. Keyserling

Leon H.Keyserling

Encl.

PA

no

I am well aware of the problem you present. The United Nations has been dealing with it all over the world, and doubtless has some helpful examples of how it has been met. I believe that even the ravaged economies of Communist states have had to deal with the problem, and offer some practical moves possible of application elsewhere. The Scandinavian countries have met it with both producer and consumer cooperatives in rural areas.

Your appeal would be stronger if you were more precise in suggesting alternative remedies that a private commission would have to consider. Reference to the world-wide character of the problem and the reasons for it would give the American picture a better frame-work.

I am interested but not prepared to sign your statement until it is both more inclusive and more precise.

Dec. 29

Roger Baldwin

PA

THE CITY OF NEW YORK
HUMAN RESOURCES ADMINISTRATION

220 CHURCH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10013
TELEPHONE 433-3737

MITCHELL I. GINSBERG
ADMINISTRATOR

December 27, 1968

Mr. Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director
Brotherhood-In-Action
Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Brotherhood-In-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York 10018

Dear Norm and Paul:

Thank you very much for keeping me posted about the progress of your Statement of Concern and the activity of the Symposium on Rural-Urban Migration. The idea to form a Committee for a National Migration Commission is excellent.

Under the pressures of the budget deadlines, I regret that I simply cannot do much for you at this time. However, I do have some suggestions which you might want to follow-up on directly. Individuals such as Mr. Christian W. Herter, Jr., Vice President, Mobil Oil, Mr. Charles F. Luce, Chairman of the Board, Con Edison, and Mr. Robert H. Mulreany, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Community Service Society of New York, might be contacted for support. As an example of organizational help, I suggest the Urban Coalition.

Thank you, again, for writing. I wish I could be of more assistance.

Sincerely,

Mitchell I. Ginsberg
Administrator

346

PA

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

December 27, 1968

Mr. Norman H. Perlstein, Executive Director
Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10018

Dear Norm:

I have the statement on rural migration which you and Paul sent to me. I'm with you, but I have some hesitation about signing statements from my present position.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la
cc: Paul Anthony

DEC 26 1968

PA

EXECUTIVE OFFICE

December 26, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: MR. ALLEN

From: Whitney M. Young, Jr.

: : :

I have gone over the Statement of Concern on migration problems, and will agree to my signature being added - as indication of my endorsement of the Statement.

Co-sponsorship, however, is another matter. I would want to know more about the Committee's objectives, its method of operation, and what our obligations would be as a co-sponsor. Then, too, before agreeing to any such relationship, I would think there should be staff discussion and ultimately some reference made of this to our Executive Committee, if not Board.

It's a good statement - but unless you have some very strong reasons for some more formal arrangement, I would like to settle only for signing at this point.

---

cc: Mr. Robinson

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

P A

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

General Administration

CHAPEL HILL 27514

C. E. BISHOP
Vice President

December 20, 1968

Mr. Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director
Bortherhood-in-Action
560 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York 10018

Dear Mr. Perlstein:

I concur with your view that your document would be much more effective if you could obtain the endorsement of additional prominent men.

I am enclosing two lists of names for your consideration - one the members of the President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty and the members of the National Planning Association on Poverty.

With every good wish for a happy holiday season.

Cordially,

C. E. Bishop

CEB:kkc
Encl.

National Planning Association Members of Poverty Committee

National Planning Association, 1606 New Hampshire Avenue,
Washington, D. C. 20009

Luther Gulick

Joseph A. Keeshaw

Isador Lubin

Miles Pennypacker

Arnold S. Zander

Gerhard Colm

Nelson H. Cruikshank

Raymond E. Klawuhn

Arthur Moore

Earl P. Stevenson

John Miller

Kate Arbogast

Members of the Commission

Dr. James T. Bonnen
Professor of Agricultural Economics
Michigan State University

Honorable Edward T. Breathitt (Chairman)
Governor of Kentucky

David W. Brooks
Executive Vice President and General Manager
Cotton Producers Association

Mrs. Sara R. Caldwell
Director, Division of Child Welfare
Mississippi State Department of Public Welfare

Dr. Lawrence A. Davis
President, Arkansas Agricultural Technical and Normal College

Neil O. Davis
Editor, Lee County Bulletin
Auburn, Alabama

John Fischer
Editor-in-Chief
Harper's Magazine

Dr. Thomas R. Ford
Professor of Sociology
University of Kentucky

Herman E. Gallegos
Consultant to the Ford Foundation

Connie B. Gay
President and Chairman of the Board
Connie B. Gay Broadcasting Company

James O. Gibson
Staff Associate
Potomac Institute

Dr. Vivian W. Henderson
President, Clark College

Francis S. Hutchins
President, Berea College

Dr. Kara V. Jackson
Professor of Education
Grambling College

Lewis J. Johnson
President, Arkansas Farmer's Union

W. Wilson King
Owner, Kinglore Farms

Oscar M. Laurel
National Transportation Safety Board

Dr. Winthrop C. Libby
Dean, College of Agriculture
University of Maine

Dr. Carlyle Marney
Pastor, Myers Park Baptist Church

Thomas W. Moore
President, ABC Television

Robert A. Roessel, Jr.
Director, Rough Rock Navaho Demonstration School

James Earl Rudder
President, Texas A&M University

Dr. J. Julian Samora
Program Specialist on Population Studies
The Ford Foundation

Miles C. Stanley
President, West Virginia Federation of Labor, AFL–CIO

John Woodenlegs
President, Northern Cheyenne Tribal Council

Members of the Committee

Orville L. Freeman, Chairman
Secretary of Agriculture

Bernard C. Boutin
Administrator of Small Business Administration

John T. Connor
Secretary of Commerce

John W. Gardner
Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare

Sargent Shriver
Director of Office of Economic Opportunity

Stewart L. Udall
Secretary of the Interior

Robert C. Weaver
Administrator of Housing and Urban Development

W. Willard Wirtz
Secretary of Labor

LIAISON WITH PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE

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Department of Agriculture

Richard M. Philbin
Small Business Administration

Jonathan Lindley
Department of Commerce

Lisle C. Carter, Jr.
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

Elmer J. Moore
Office of Economic Opportunity

James Rettie
Department of the Interior

Ramsay Wood
Department of Housing and Urban Development

Millard Cass
Department of Labor

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY HEALTH SERVICES

75 Mt. Auburn Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

January 2, 1968

Norman H. Perlstein, Director
Brotherhood-in-Action

Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council

c/o Brotherhood-in-Action
560 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York 10018

Dear Norman and Paul:

Thank you for your letter. I think what you are urging is terribly important, and I will be glad to do whatever I possibly can to help you. Have you thought of several foundations like the Field Foundation and the New World Foundation? Perhaps some of the larger foundations would also join in. I would also recommend organizations like the National Sharecroppers Fund, and the Appalachian Volunteers. And then there are people like Harry Caudill in Appalachia, and Steve Allen whose interest in migrants is well-known. Perhaps a Senator or two would be helpful, like Senator Kennedy and Senator McGovern.

Please let me know if I can be of any further help.

Sincerely yours,

Bob

Robert Coles, M.D.

H-120

P A

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20210

January 2, 1969

Mr. Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director
Brotherhood-in-Action
560 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York 10018

Dear Mr. Perlstein:

Mr. Charles Davis, Director of our labor mobility project in North Carolina, has sent me a copy of the Statement of Concern prepared by the Symposium on Rural-Urban Migration. As you probably know, a federally-financed labor mobility program has been in operation since 1965, as an experimental effort under the Manpower Development and Training Act. One of the major conclusions drawn from this experience is that assisted, planned migration is most needed by the rural poor. As a result, the program is now being redirected so that it will become closely linked with Rural Concentrated Employment Programs. The enclosed article from the Department of Labor publication Monthly Labor Review presents these conclusions and findings. You may use the material in any way you wish.

You may want to contact other mobility project directors on the attached list. They are interested in the problems of rural to urban migration, and, like Mr. Davis, experienced in developing techniques for solving them.

Sincerely yours,

Audrey Freedman

(Mrs.)Audrey Freedman
Project Officer

Col. H. Pope Huff
STAR Mobility Project
106 Buschman Street
Hattiesburg, Mississippi 39402

(relocates untrained Mississippi rural poor to industrial jobs within the state and in Memphis)

Mr. Gary Prazak
Mobility Project Director
Minneapolis Rehabilitation Center
1900 Chicago Avenue
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55404

(receives rural relocatees to Minneapolis, gives them 6 weeks of social and vocational rehabilitation)

Mr. James C. Schneider
Mobility Project Director
Northern Michigan University
Marquette, Michigan 49855

(rural relocations from northern parts of Michigan)

John M. Ropes, Director
State of Iowa Office of Economic Opportunity and Manpower Development Council
300 Fourth Street
Des Moines, Iowa 50319

(receives Mississippi relocatees from STAR, above, and places them on large mechanized farms)

Dr. Edward Jakubauskas
Industrial Relations Center
Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa 50010

(Director of Research Project evaluating relocations from Mississippi to mechanized Iowa farms)

Rev. George L. Phearson
Mobility Project Director
Migrant Opportunity Program
Arizona Council of Church
3939 N. Thirtieth Ave.
Pheonix, Arizona 85017

(project relocated Mexican-American migrants out of the migrant farm labor stream into industrial jobs) (project closed last year)

February 5, 1969

Mr. Norman Perlstein
Executive Director
Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York 10018

Dear Norm:

Relative to the time of the release or, more importantly, further conversation about the Commission, I may, though not likely, be in New York March 13-14. I will definitely be there on March 26.

I have no further observations about when the statement is released or who endorses it, except that I am strongly opposed to having any elected officials or any foundation staff people endorse it. When the statement is released is really not important to me. I think the important work ahead is to determine whether or not there should be a Commission and, if so, what it is to be. My only observation about a release date is that the longer we wait the further we are putting off any meaningful considerations about the Commission itself.

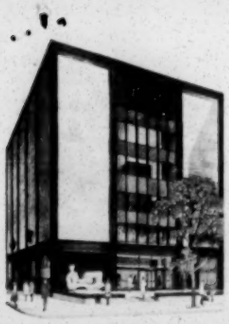
Brooks Hays, to the best of my knowledge, is still at Wake Forest, and I believe we would know if he were not.

Enclosed is our check for $150.00 to help cover clerical expenses.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check: $150.00)
cc: Miss Eleanor Eaton



BROTHERHOOD·IN·ACTION, INC.

560 Seventh Avenue (at Fortieth Street) New York, New York 10018

LW 4-0350

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Honorary Vice-President
HON. A. DAVID BENJAMIN

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Executive Director
NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

January 29, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

We had a chance to discuss the migration project at our Program Committee meeting the other night. Whitney North Seymour, Sr., who is the former President of the American Bar Association and a member of our Board, raised a question about the representation of the signatories. He thought the Statement was excellent but that we should have a well chosen few persons from industry and/or business and labor and politics. I told him that we had left politicians out purposely for the time being. But Mr. Seymour felt that it we can get a broader representation, it would help balance the list. Thus, he questioned the haste in the public release of the Statement and suggested more staff work on defining the role of the sponsors and the Committee.

I think these were good questions and they were also raised by Eleanor.

As I think I told you, we are working on a date for the press release of the Statement with the names and announcing that a Committee for a National Migration Commission is being formed. AJC offered us someone to work on the release.

We received a telegram form Brooks Hayes endorsing the Statement of Concern. We had sent it to him at Wake Forest University, but the telegram is from Atlanta. We would like to know where he is and what is his title so we can change our records.

Cordially,

Norman H. Perlstein

PS. You offered to help with a few hundreds bucks for secretarial work here. So far our extra costs are $227.00. So I could use half.

NEWS RELEASE FROM:

BROTHERHOOD • IN • ACTION, INC.

560 Seventh Avenue (at Fortieth Street) New York, New York 10018 • LW 4-0350

A Human Relations Conference Center and Training Facility

Contact: NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN
LW 4-0350

For Release: SUNDAY A.M.
FEBRUARY 16, 1969

New York, February 12 -- A call for a National Migration Policy Commission to develop a comprehensive program aimed at the twin specter of rural-urban poverty and unrest was issued today by 50 leaders in human rights, education, business and labor.

In a Statement of Concern noting that "fourteen million rural Americans living in abject poverty are potential migrants to the cities", the group warned that the problem "demands immediate national priority."

The Statement emerged after months of study during the past year by a Symposium on Rural-Urban Migration, which met in New York, North Carolina and Louisville. The Symposium assessed present population mobility plans, the impact of uneven public welfare systems throughout the country, possibilities for reallocation of human resources and the economic implications in the development of national policy.

Among those who have signed the Statement of Concern are:

Dr. Robert Coles, noted research psychiatrist, Leon H. Keyserling, economist, Brooks Hayes, former White House Adviser, Bayard Rustin, civil rights leader, Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, social scientist and educator, Michael Harrington, author, Whitney Young, executive director, National Urban League, Dr. C. E. Bishop, former director President's Commission on Rural Poverty, C. A. McKnight, editor, The Charlotte Observer, James Farmer, Rev. Will D. Campbell, Committee of Southern Churchmen, Mitchell Ginsberg, Human Resources Administration, New York City.

Plans for the setting up of a broad-gage national Committee of organizations to work for the establishment of the Commission were also announced today. The Committee will be responsible for mobilizing public opinion and resources in support of the Commission.

Norman H. Perlstein, executive director of Brotherhood-In- Action, New York City, and Paul Anthony, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, whose organizations initiated the Symposium, emphasized that recent statements by national leaders have recognized that internal migration is a major problem in American Life.

It was the finding of the Symposium that "up to now, no single comprehensive program has been developed to deal with the trauma and tragedy of millions of migrants forced off land that cannot support them into cities that cannot absorb them. Still the response from government and private agencies alike has been piecemeal and palliative."

The Statement also pointed out that "because of the inequities in public welfare assistance today, government itself, is pressuring large numbers of rural poor to relocate where the opportunities for a productive life are simply not enough. Adequate federal financing to provide a decent family life would remove an unjust and intolerable burden from those states and local communities now forced to bear a disproportionate share of a truly national problem."

New mechanisms are required, the Statement adds, "to replace old techniques, ancient formulas and fragmented programs." To this end, it calls for the creation of a National Migration Policy Commission to "appraise the entire spectrum of rural to urban migration."

Among the steps the group considers essential are the following:

- Government promotion of opportunities giving the migrant a greater choice of how and where he wants to live.
- Technical and financial assistance for farmer and industrial cooperatives to help small enterprises.
- The expansion of the interstate regional cooperative programs to improve economic and social services.
- Additional jointefforts by state governors and the Federal Government.

All of these and similar measures, the group stated, would require the support of an adequately staffed and funded Commission under private auspices.

Others who have signed the Statement of Concern are:

Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

Herbert Bienstock, Director
Bureau of Labor Statistics
U.S. Department of Labor

Clay L. Cochran, Director
Int'l. Self-Help Housing Association

Dr. Joseph Commarosano, Director
Institute for Urban Studies
Fordham University

Msgr. Laurence J. Corcoran
National Conference Catholic Charities

Charles E. Davis, Director
North Carolina Mobility Project

Eleanor A. Eaton, Assistant Secretary
American Friends Service Committee

Harry Fleischman, Race Relations Coordinator
American Jewish Committee

James O. Gibson, Staff Associate
Potomac Institute

Dr. Lewis W. Jones, Research Director
Tuskeege Institute

Hylan Lewis, Director
Metropolitan Applied Research Center

Ernest E. McMahon, Dean
University Extension Division
Rutgers, State University of New Jersey

James G. Maddox, Executive Director
Agricultural Policy Institute
North Carolina State University

Dr. Joseph Maloney, Director
Urban Studies Center
University of Louisville

Rev. Larold K. Schulz, Director for Anti-Poverty
National Council of Churches

Brendon Sexton, Director of Training
Citizens Cruzade Against Poverty

Dr. John Slawson, Executive Vice President Emeritus
American Jewish Committee

Dr. Georgina Smith
Institute of Management and Labor Relations
Rutgers, State University of New Jersey

Cassandra Stockburger, Director
National Committee on the Education of Migrant Children

Dewitt Sullivan, Director of Finance and Administration
North Carolina Manpower Development Corporation

Dwayne Walls
The Charlotte Observer

George L. Wilber
Institute of Urban and Population Relocation
Louisiana State University

George Autry, Executive Director
North Carolina Manpower Development Corporation

Loyal Jones, Exdcutive Director
Council of the Southern Mountains, Inc.

Seymour Samet
American Jewish Committee

Alexander J. Allen, Director
National Urban League

Norman H. Perlstein, Executive Director
Brotherhood-In-Action

Dr. Charles H. Stember, Professor of Sociology
Rutgers, State University of New Jersey

Norman Hill, Associate Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute

LeRoy Bowman, Professor Emeritus
Brooklyn College

Dr. Herbert Gans, Senior Staff Sociologist
Center for Urban Education
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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY DAVIS, CALIFORNIA 95616

February 17, 1969

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I would very much appreciate a copy of the statement issued recently by the Council and Brotherhood-in-Action on the problem of rural-urban migration. (New York Times 2-16-69). Any additional studies or statements on this subject would also be appreciated.

Thank you.

Very sincerely yours,

Arthur Lipow

Arthur Lipow
Lecturer
Department of Sociology
University of California
Davis, California 95616

Sent
2/19/69

RECEIVED
FEB 21 1969

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

INSTITUTE OF POLITICS

LITTAUER CENTER
CAMBRIDGE 02138

19 February 1969

Miss Gwendolyn G. Poole
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Miss Poole:

Thank you very much for the copy of Kenneth Clark's speech.

On February 15, according to the New York Times, members of a symposium on rural-urban migration initiated by Brotherhood-in-Action of New York and the Southern Regional Council issued a statement calling for a national migration policy commission. Could you possibly send me a copy of that statement or let me know where it can be obtained.

Sent 3-11-69 MJ

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Laura Jones

Laura Jones
Littauer Center 127
Harvard University
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

February 21, 1969

Miss Gene A. Snyder
Staff Development Specialist
Department of Welfare
Martinsburg, West Virginia 25401

Dear Miss Snyder:

Enclosed is a copy of the statement released to the press on our recent symposium on rural-urban migration. Actually, this was simply three meetings of many of those persons who signed the statement calling for work of substance to be done in this area by a national, private commission. Whether or not the commission comes into existence will depend, in part, on response to the statement.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

WEST VIRGINIA
DEPARTMENT OF WELFARE

DISTRICT OFFICE NO. 4 Martinsburg 25401 February 18, 1969

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

According to the February 16, 1969 edition of the NEW YORK TIMES, page 30, there was a recent symposium on rural-urban migration sponsored by the Southern Regional Council and the Brotherhood-in-Action.

Could you secure for me a copy of the symposium report?

Very truly yours,

Gene A. Snyder

(Miss) Gene A. Snyder
Staff Development Specialist

ccd
Enclosure (copy of article of 2-16-69)

New York Times
2-16-69

30

SYMPOSIUM URGES MIGRATION PANEL

Immediate Prority Is Asked for Rural-Urban Study

The members of a symposium on rural-urban migration initiated by Brotherhood-in-Action of New York and the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta called yesterday, after months of study, for a national migration policy commission.

Other persons active in the fields of civil rights, education and labor joined members of the symposium in signing a "statement of concern." The statement noted that "14 million rural Americans living in abject poverty are potential migrants" to cities not equipped to receive them.

The group said the problem "demands immediate national priority" and announced plans to form a national committee of organizations concerned.

A spokesman said the membership of the committee would be announced within the next two weeks and solicit foundation funds to set up the national commission.

Trauma and Tragedy

The symposium, which held meetings in Kentucky, New York and North Carolina, found that "up to now, no single program has been developed to deal with the trauma and tragedy of millions of migrants forced off land that cannot support them into cities that cannot absorb them."

"The response from Government and private agencies alike," the statement said, "has been piecemeal and palliative."

The symposium was jointly sponsored by Brotherhood-in-Action, a human relations organziation in New York, and the Southern Regional Council, a human rights organization in Atlanta. It urged these steps:

¶Government promotion of opportunities to give the migrant a greater choice of how and where he wants to live.

¶Technical and financial assistance for farmer and industrial co-operatives to help small enterprises.

¶Expansion of interstate regional co-operative programs to improve economic and scial services.

¶More joint efforts by Governors and the Federal Government.

Maximum Flexibility

The group argued that these types of measures would require the support of a national commission on migration. The commission should be set up under private auspices, it said, "to insure maximum flexibility."

They said that "because of the inequities in public welfare assistance . . . government itself is pressuring large numbers of rural poor to relocate where the opportunities for a productive life are simply not enough."

The 50 signers also called for adequate Federal financing to lift "an injust and intolerable burden from those states and local communities now forced to bear a disproportionate share of a truly national problem."

Symposium members said they had assessed present population mobility plans, the impact of uneven public welfare systems and the economic implications of a national migration policy.

Among those who signed the statement of concern are Dr. C.E. Bishop, former staff director of the President's Commission on Rural Poverty; Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, sociologist; Dr. Robert Coles, research psychiatrist.

Also, James Farmer, Assistant Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare; Mitchell I. Ginsberg, administrator of the Human Resources Administration of New York City Michael Harrington, author; Christian A. Herter Jr., chairman of the New York Urban Coalition.

Also, Leon H. Keyserling, economist; Bayard Rustin, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute; and Whitney M. Young Jr. executive director of the National Urban League.

BROTHERHOOD·IN·ACTION, INC.

560 Seventh Avenue (at Fortieth Street) New York, New York 10018

LW 4-0350

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Executive Director
NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

February 27, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I am convinced, after yesterday's meeting, that we are on deck with a potentially major program and so I think the interim step we are taking of an expanded meeting of our group will be helpful.

So we can put our files in order, please send me a copy of all the letters you send out in answer to the inquiries resulting from the New York Times article. As soon as I hear from you on the availability of Harold and the date, I will notify John Slawson, Lewis Jones, Cassandra, Eleanor, and Jim Gibson.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director

NHP:yg

P.S. Glad to hear SRC is going to send Dwayne out again. It is a good thing that I found a new roommate in Oklahoma. Glad to help SRC.

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THE CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER, INC.
(Affiliate of the Council of the Southern Mountains)

1028 WEST WILSON AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60640
Telephones: 271-0846 & 271-0847

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
James R. Grisham

March 5, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I read with great interest the article in the New York Times concerning your interest in the problems of migrating Southern families to the large urban centers north of the Ohio River.

I am pleased to enclose some information on the Chicago Southern Center and also tell you of a Commission that I chair which is made up of representatives of eleven cities north of the Ohio River that is addressing itself to the same kinds of concerns. The group of which I am speaking is The Urban Affairs Commission. Our next meeting will be held in Indianapolis on March 14 and subsequent to this meeting we will stage a Regional Conference on the problems of Southern Appalachian Adjustment to Urban Living which will be held on May 23 and 24 in Indianapolis.

The Chicago Southern Center is a privately funded, non-profit, non-sectarian service agency that has been working in the very heart of Chicago's "port of entry" community for Southern Appalachian families. There are at least 8,000 Southern white families in the immediate vicinity of our Center. In 1968 we were able to directly serve some 6,000 families of this community.

I would be grateful for the opportunity of working with your group on the types of concerns that will be brought to light at the New York Symposium. If I can be of any assistance or can in any way share our expertise, please do not hesitate to call on me.

Every best wish to you and your collegues as you continue to address yourselves to a problem that merits the type of concern you are expressing. I will be watching with great interest the developments which surround your efforts.

Cordially yours,
THE CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER

James Grisham

James R. Grisham
Executive Director

JRG:mo
Enclosure

Member, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago
Endorsement through January, 1968 by Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry
Associated with the Council of the Southern Mountains

March 5, 1969

Mr. Paul L. Niebanck, Chairman
Department of City and Regional
Planning
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104

Dear Mr. Niebanck:

Enclosed is a copy of the statement recently issued concerning rural-urban migration. We hope to be able to announce further developments in the near future. If so, we will share this with you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

UNIVERSITY of PENNSYLVANIA

PHILADELPHIA 19104

Graduate School of Fine Arts

DEPARTMENT OF CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING
PAUL L. NIEBANCK, *Chairman*

February 24, 1969

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

A recent article in the NEW YORK TIMES described the Council's interest in problems of national migration and its call for a national migration policy commission.

I would appreciate very much being kept informed of your progress. I would like also to place myself at your disposal for whatever small service I might be able to render.

Yours very sincerely,

Paul L. Niebanck

Paul L. Niebanck

2

I believe this is the second reference I've had. What did we release? JMiss

March 5, 1969

Mr. Richard T. Seymour
Staff Attorney
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D. C. 20425

Dear Mr. Seymour:

Enclosed is the copy of the statement recently issued concerning rural-urban migration. We hope to be able to announce further developments in the near future. If so, we will share this with you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

5246
5246

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

3rd request
at my desk.
What is
it?
Jeanne

February 27, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The New York Times has recently written about the "statement of concern" issued by a symposium, co-sponsored by the Council, on rural-urban migration.

I would appreciate receiving a copy of the statement, and of any other materials issued by the symposium.

Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Richard T. Seymour

Richard T. Seymour
Staff Attorney

March 5, 1969

Mr. James D. Nobel
Director
The Council on Human Relations
278 The Arcade
Cleveland, Ohio 44114

Dear Jim:

Thank you for your letter concerning our mutual interest in rural-urban migration. Enclosed is a copy of a statement which we released.

In the past, the small group which has met has been limited largely to a few people who could get together at their own expense. We do hope soon to announce further developments, and if we do we shall seek the widest possible participation in any effort that is developed. I will keep you informed.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

THE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

278 THE ARCADE • CLEVELAND, OHIO 44114 • TELEPHONE: 781-6630

Member, The Cleveland Welfare Federation

February 24, 1969

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Mr. Paul Anthony
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I was immensely pleased in reading in Sunday's New York Times (2/16/69) to note that you are collaborating in an effort to develop effective measures to deal with the "14 million rural Americans" who are potential migrants to northern cities including of course Cleveland.

First of all I want you to know that the Council on Human Relations is involved in this problem. Because of our small budget we have not been able to develop the program called for by the problem, but when the late Perley Ayer initiated his program about a decade ago, he came to Cleveland and we began our collaboration which has continued with Loyal Jones who succeeded Perley as Director of The Council for the Southern Mountains.

I am surprised not to find Loyal Jones included amoung the names of those participating in the New York symposium, and I am sending him a copy of this letter because he should obviously be included in all future deliberations.

For your information, there was a meeting in Cincinnati Wednesday, February 12, at which time a tentative Committee was formed embracing representatives from Chicago, Cincinnati, Detroit, Cleveland, etc., in an effort to deal comprehensively both with the migration problem as you have defined it, and the actual plight of the inmigrants now living in these various northern cities.

Please keep me informed. I am of course very much interested and will be glad to work in any way that contributes to the solving of this serious problem.

Sincerely yours,

J.D. Nobel
Director

JDN:ll
cc: L. Jones
J. Grisham

Contributions are tax deductible

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Phone 215-563-9372

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Executive Secretary

March 5, 1969

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

This memo is dictated but not read by me. If Harold Fleming is to be with us, will you send him his copy along with your own memo of ideas.

Many thanks.

Yours,

Eleanor
lw

Eleanor A. Eaton

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
160 N. 15th St. Phila., Pa.

March 5, 1969

TO: Norman Perlstein, Paul Anthony and Cassandra Stockberger

FROM: Eleanor Eaton Eleanor

SUBJECT: National Migration Policy

My memory tells me that at our get together on February 26th each of us agreed to put in writing our ideas as to next steps in our effort to bring into being a national migration policy. This is my attempt to do that and, as we agreed also, I have sent copies to those people who are being invited to the next meeting which will be either March 19, 17, 11 or 10.

Our goal, as I see it, is to bring to public consciousness an awareness of the immediate and urgent need for a national policy on internal migration and to influence the nature of that policy. The question before us when we meet will be: What feasible, non-governmental mechanism is best suited to achieving this goal?

The assumptions on which I am operating are: (1) that any policy that is developed will be based on the needs of persons, of individuals and groups of families as opposed to being based upon the economy with individuals and families being a kind of pawn in the policy; (2) that, as we have said so often, we are concerned that people have honest choices as to whether or not they live in the rural areas, the semi-rural areas, the metropolitan areas or small city areas or growth areas; (3) that we are not trying to encourage the development of a policy that will "keep them down on the farm".

Given the fact that there are volumes of material available dealing with different aspects of the migration situation and that the causes of migration are not the same for the South as they are, for example, for the Plains states, and given the fact that basically we are still dependent upon the 1960 census (or 10 year old figures), there is, it seems to me, a basic job of collecting, evaluating and researching figures, trends and projections. This hard data has to be the basic part of the picture if the myths relating to migration, the romanticism of both rural and urban advocates, and the tendency to talk in generalities and use people as pawns are to be overcome.

Secondly, a real analysis of current legislation, etc. in its bits and pieces, (which ends up by being an unconscious migration policy) is needed. Again there is a good deal of material in one place or another, but there are also gaps and some of the legislation both federal and state needs to be analyzed from a different angle than has been done heretofore.

And once these two bodies of material have been collected and put into understandable form, imaginative, practical and economically and politically feasible solutions have to be designed and proposed.

This is the job that I see is before whatever mechanism we create. It is a big job.

Therefore, my current thinking leads me to favor the creation of a national institute or some institution which would have more than temporary life. This institute should have as its major task the collection of existing material, the production of new material that is needed and the stimulation of thought towards the formulation of a viable migration policy.

Structurally such an institute, if well financed, could be relatively small utilizing, I would hope, the principle of consortia of university personnel as a means of gathering background data. Existing research institutes or study centers also could be tapped for specialized material on which presumably they already have done a good deal of work. The same applies to various government agencies and personalities.

In order that we do not set in motion something that takes years to produce, such an institute might start off by producing occasional papers and promoting the discussion of creative solutions along with the publication of demographic and other important components of any final body of research as they become available.

Another function of such an institute might well be to appoint an investigatory committee, whose investigations could be publicized and, while not covering the whole national scene, would dramatize typical situations and propose solutions that could become part of a final overall plan.

Another less desirable approach could be for the institute to tackle the problem by issues, such as housing, economic development, pollution, education, recreation, etc. in a series of commissioned papers. This approach would lend itself to more of a patchwork of legislation, but if there was a master plan or thought behind it might be more expeditious.

I believe that the whole task is too large for a one-shot commission and that the subject is one which requires accurate and solid foundations and research. Also a commission would have no further influence once its report was issued.

An institute on the other hand could in addition to stimulating various on-going projects such as films, publications, TV coverage, etc., play a major role in focussing public attention on the kind of migration policy that is developed and on its implementation.

Inevitably in all this is the issue of national planning and the extent to which this is person-centered planning, as opposed to planning that limits personal freedom, is something which will need constant watchdogging.

The institute could be sponsored by a spectrum of organizations which command respect. I have no idea how much it would cost, but frankly unless this job is well done it could feed an already dangerous trend of oversimplification and then have policies developed on inadequate facts than, in my opinion, to leave things as they are.

These are rough thoughts, some of which I hope may contribute to the discussion of what mechanism will achieve the goal of a balanced national migration policy.

cc: Dr. Lewis Jones
Dr. John Slawson
Dr. James Gibson
Barbara Moffett
Harold Fleming

March 10, 1969

Mr. James R. Grisham
Executive Director
The Chicago Southern Center, Inc.
1028 West Wilson Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60640

Dear Mr. Grisham:

Thank you for the interesting and helpful information abaut the work of your Center. We shall certainly keep you advised on any further developments with our group. Should an on-going effort be developed, we would be more than pleased to have your participation.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

March 12, 1969

Mr. Norman Perlstein
Executive Director
Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York 10018

Dear Norm:

I assume all is set for our meeting at 10:00 a.m. on the 19th with Harold Fleming at the Potomac Institute, and that you have notified the others whom we agreed to invite.

Enclosed are our check and request for the Directory. It better be worth it.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

March 12, 1969

Miss Eleanor Eaton
American Friends Service Committee
160 North Fifteenth Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

Dear Eleanor:

There is nothing I can add to your memorandum of the 5th. I am sharing it with Harold Fleming, and look forward to seeing you on the 19th.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

March 17, 1969

Mr. Charles H. Stember
Visiting Fellow
Brotherhood-in-Action
560 Seventh Avenue
(at Fortieth Street)
New York, New York 10018

Dear Mr. Stember:

Our files contain enough material of the sort you are interested in to make a trip to Atlanta worthwhile. We also have the Southern Education Reporting Service's collection (1956-65 on microfilm. You are most welcome to use any of our materials.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Glenda Bartley
Director of Research

GB:js

3-14-69

PLEASE RESPOND TO THE ATTACHED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. AFTER YOU HAVE DONE SO, ATTACH A COPY OF YOUR LETTER TO THIS REQUEST AND RETURN TO MILDRED JOHNSON FOR FILING. NEEDLESS TO SAY, YOU MAY MAKE A COPY FOR YOUR FILES IF YOU WISH TO HAVE ONE.

P. A

Glen La

Please let me have your reaction to attached memo & anything else you know I'm interested in

Paul

Ltr. from

BROTHERHOOD·IN·ACTION, INC.

560 Seventh Avenue (at Fortieth Street) New York, New York 10018

LW 4-0350

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—

Executive Director
NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

March 13, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

You may remember sometime last year I spoke to you about the possibility of going through your files in order to examine the segregationist and anti-Negro material collected by the Council. I am considering a trip to Atlanta in April for this purpose and am trying to determine by mail, if I can, whether such a trip would yield substantially more material than I have been able to collect from the Anti-Defamation League's files here in New York. I'd be most appreciative if someone in your office could look over your files for me and estimate whether there is much more available than I now have. My present collection comprises the following from which I have selected a sample for analysis:

Chronicle (1964)
Citizen (1965-68)
Common Sense (mainly 1959-68)
Cross and The Flag (mainly 1964-68)
National Christian News (mainly 1964-65)
National Chronicle (mainly 1968)
National Renaissance Bulletin (mainly 1959-67)
National Socialist Bulletin (1965 and 1968)
National Socialist World (mainly 1967)
Rockwell Reports (1961-67)
Southern Review (1968-69)
The Councilor (1963-68)
Thunderbolt (1961-68)
Truthseeker (1961-68)

I am interested as well, in leaflets and handbills issued by segregationists particularly those circulated around specific crises (Little Rock, Selma etc.) We have here only about twenty-five of these, so if there are many more in your collection I'd be most anxious to see them.

Would you be so kind as to inform me whether your collection would seem to add substantially to the material I already have? If this is too big a task, please tell me and I will come and see for myself. With best regards.

Cordially,

Charles H. Stember
Professor of Sociology
Rutgers University

Visiting Fellow

file

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE INC.

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Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102
Phone 215-563-9372

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Executive Secretary

See Brookwood re action

April 1, 1969

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

Here is my effort. I promised the "Committee" to have it in their hands by the 7th. Can you possibly give it a HARD CRITICAL look and call me, so I can incorporate your improvements, etc. and get it out Thursday. We are closed Friday.

On Wednesday, I'll be working at home - (215) KI 5-1330.

I am not sure if I have done what was expected of me. Please be frank in telling me where I am off. Also if the "quote" strategy doesn't fill the bill, say so.

There are of course many more excellent quotes. I may have used too many. Here are three more. Should they be added, substituted or forgotten?

"Failure on the part of government and community leaders to resolve the (economic) problem in rural areas will tend to force the unemployed farm workers to migrate to the ghettos of our large cities." Farm Labor Developments, U.S.D.L. 3/69 Eric Thor & John Mamer, Agricultural Economists, Univ. of Cal.

"By the year 2,000 our population will increase from 200 million to 300 million and we will need one half again as many homes built in the nation as we now have. It is vital that a national policy be developed to create the kind of location of communities that will best serve the people of our nation." Senator John Sparkman, "Washington Post" 2/15/69

"The Economic Development Administration...suggested that the deepening poverty of rural areas would send increasing numbers of jobless workers to the cities by 1975..." "New York Times" 1/7/69

I do hope you are feeling better.

Yours,

Eleanor

Eleanor A. Eaton

P.S. I've written Senator Harris requesting that he send you a copy of the Stillwater Conference on "The Rural to Urban Population Shift".

cc: Barbara Moffett

3/31/69

DRAFT

A PRELIMINARY PROPOSAL FOR AN INSTITUTE ON INTERNAL MIGRATION POLICIES

INTRODUCTION:

Internal migration is currently a subject much in the news but as the following quotations show, there is little agreement as to its nature and extent.

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"Farm to city migration is nearing end in U.S." Calvin Beale, Chief U.S.D.A. Demographer "New York Times" 3/23/69

"During the first 7¼ years of the present decade, the South has gained a million people by in-migration, while the north central states have lost nearly a million through net outmigration..." Bureau of Census "New York Times" 3/1/69

"Gap between Urban and Rural Areas Widens. Rural communities are lagging in every field where measurement is possible...education, health services, housing, protection and even recreation." C. Bryce Ratchford at U.S.D.A. Annual Outlook Conference "Economic Opportunity Report" 3/17/69

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"We are constantly confronted with the unmet problems of our cities. Yet... a large part of these problems can be met by paying greater attention to developing an even stronger rural economy... Unless we halt the tide of migration from the country to the city, a migration which puts more and more people into less and less space, we have little hope of making our cities liveable..." Edward M. Kennedy at Rural Electric Co-op Ass'n - "Phila. Inquirer, 3/19/69

"The Negro exodus from Delta continues." Hodding Carter III, "New York Times" 3/10/68

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"But where did they go? No one here can say for certain. We don't even know why some rural residents migrate to cities and others stay where they are. Uncle Sam has much to learn and much to reorganize before he can close the rural gap." Burt Schorr "Wall Street Journal" 2/20/68

It is important that the public is at last being made conscious of the fact that the United States faces a national crisis of which the urban crisis is but a part. But the above quotations reveal dramatic contradictions in the interpretation of statistics and make visible the fact that gaps exist in information about population mobility, its causes and effects. They highlight the fact that intelligent planning based on human need and ~~desire~~ interest has not been done. ~~We need a~~ ~~[illegible]~~!

interest

Two parallel tendencies are apparent: First there is a tendency to oversimplify and generalize on the basis of statistics. As Calvin Beale has said: "We need to disaggregate this question of the rural population and rural migration. ...it behooves us...to note the great differences in rural-urban potential that exist in different parts of the country and to examine the rural-urban migration problem not as though it were a uniform problem, which it is not at all, but rather in its components... The problems of rural development in areas such as the central part of the country that have been heavily denuded for two generations...are markedly different from what they are in the southern coal fields, the heavily Negro areas of the Southern states and the Indian and Spanish-American country of the Southwest..."

Second, there is a tendency to look at the problem in terms of the needs of the economic system and seemingly irreversible trends rather than in terms of the wishes and needs of individuals and families. To quote former Secretary of Agriculture, Orville Freeman: We can prescribe a better future for this nation than "that predicted for it by exponents of the anthill philosophy of demography, who prescribe as an article of faith this trinity: (1) that growth of megalopolis is inevitable; (2) that decline of rural areas is inexorable; (3) and that questioning the articles of faith is inconceivable."

Time does not allow us to wait for the 1970 census to be conducted, assembled and analyzed. Cities are exploding and facing bankruptcy. Land and other resources are

being accumulated and exploited without regard to the present and future needs of the nation and its people. Our population (as well as that of the world) is increasing at a phenomenal rate. People in urban and rural areas are dying and being permanently crippled by hunger and malnutrition.

There are signs that the need for a national look at the problem is being recognized. The recent action of the Administration in including internal migration as a priority assignment of the Urban Affairs Council is evidence of concern but can be interpreted as a move to "keep 'em down on the farm." The interdepartmental committee on internal migration broadens the perspective. However, as government begins to seriously look at the problem in terms of programs, there is great need for an informed private effort that is a-political, concerned with people, and free from special pleading, special interests or preconceived myths about irreversible trends.

RATIONALE

For over 12 months a symposium convened by Brotherhood-in-Action and the Southern Regional Council focused on the need for creating a viable Rural America; its implications for the urban environment and the possibility of devising a flexible policy geared to the changed dimensions of migration. Following this study a distinguished group of Americans signed a public statement of concern (attached) calling for a national strategy to cope with the consequences of continuing rural-urban migration.

In our opinion the time is ripe for a privately financed and objective body to collect and assess in terms of human needs and desires all available and current statistics, projections, and studies; to identify gaps in knowledge; to initiate research to fill these gaps; to design and promote a practical, integrated and economically and politically feasible national policy on internal migration. The purpose of such a policy would be to provide for the people of this nation honest

choices, honest options as to where they would live and work. Or to put it another way, national policy should be designed to ~~eliminate~~ {minimize} forced migration of individuals and families by equalizing services and employment opportunities in rural areas, smaller cities and urban complexes. Such a policy may well call for a rearrangement of the ways in which we govern our affairs in both urban and rural areas and for new policies for national development that replace the fragmented, contradictory, self-cancelling multiplicity of programs we presently have.

Even the laymen can document the fact that public policy today serves to neglect the rural areas of our nation and contributes in a major way to provide both pushes from the countryside and "sucking" pulls to the already overcrowded, ungovernable and deteriorating urban centers. The 1968 announcement that 5,000 hardcore jobless would be hired in Detroit, was described in the Wall Street Journal in these words: "A massive industry effort to help avert future riots in Detroit appears to be backfiring as hundreds - possibly thousands - of unemployed persons from out of the state come to the city seeking work. The result: Some out-of-staters have failed to get a job, swelling the unemployment that many believe contributed to last July's riot. Others have snapped up jobs that might have gone to the city's own so-called hard-core unemployed."

In the light of our rapidly expanding population, the financial crises in these cities and the growing threat to health of pollution, inadequate housing and overcrowding a focus on creating a more perfect balance of opportunity is essential.

PROPOSAL

We therefore propose the creation of a single purpose, privately financed ~~(self liquidating)~~ Institute. The Institute would have a representative, and therefore, large Board of 50 to 75 people, be governed by a small working Executive Committee drawn from this Board, have a small ~~high powered~~ staff, and have adequate

highly Talented

What did you & Harold mean by this term? It's not a good one to describe what I think you mean.

funds for the hiring of consultants and the farming out of research to institutions and groups which have special facilities and expertize in the field. It could also carry out field investigations (such as the privately financed "Hunger USA" study), as required, to collect facts and inform the American public.

We are not naive in making this recommendation. We have explored other possible ways of getting the job done. We believe that historically it is evident that short-term commissions (both public and private) have limited value in that their findings are either "hailed and forgotten" or given a hasty burial at the behest of threatened interests. A continuing body, capable of on-going research, developing policy and keeping public and governmental attention focussed on the implementing of that policy could overcome these obstacles. To expect or request an existing institute or institution to assume this additional role would not only be cumbersome but seriously diminish the priority this subject demands. Further the task is a large one and requires a concentrated program of study and education, which existing institutes or institutions cannot give.

An independent institute could be free of political pressures and self-serving advocacy. It could utilize the technique of a Commission as one part of its functions. It could work closely with Congressional policy makers, with the private sector and with the mass media in developing sound educational material.

To create such an Institute two things are required:

One- a commitment to its financing over a period of five (3) years, and

Two - a preliminary grant to finance its creation, prepare a budget, discover potential staff and develop a Board. (The members of the Board would be drawn from the list of those who signed the attached statement and others who have subsequently indicated active interest and support.)

File
Inst. on Rural
Migration

April 16, 1969

Mr. Norman Perlstein
Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York 10018

Miss Cassandra Stockburger
National Committee on the Education of
Migrant Children
145 East 32nd Street
New York, New York 10016

Dear Norman and Cassandra:

Thank you for your response to Eleanor's draft. Your suggestions will be reflected in the final one. I do feel, incidentally, that Eleanor has done a remarkably good job, and, among other things, has nicely balanced the urban and rural lobbies.

My concern at the moment is that your reactions are the only ones we have had. If

you have any opportunities to spur the others on, I hope you will do so. I am writing them today as enclosed.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure

Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10018
(212) 594-0350

April 10, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Norman H. Perlstein and Cassandra Stockburger

We have jointly gone over Eleanor Eaton's draft of a proposal for seeking funds for an Institute on Internal Migration, as we all agreed to at our meeting in Washington.

To begin with, while we find the use of the quotations as an Introduction very helpful and dramatic, we think these could be shortened, and certainly it would be better if we were to eliminate those quotations which go back to 1968, beginning with Hodding Carter's quotation on page 1 of her paper.

However, we would want to include Senator Sparkman's quotation on page 2, because it adds to our fundamental concern with a need for national policy.

We have the feeling that somehow the rationale of the proposal--i.e., the reason for securing funds for an institute--is not adequately highlighted at the very beginning of the paper, that is, on page 2. Thus, we would suggest a paragraph at the very beginning before the quotations, which would in effect be an abstract of what we are seeking. Language such as, "This is a proposal for the establishment of an Institute on Internal Migration," etc., etc. could be used.

I think that any other comments we would make on the wording of this draft would be quibbling, because we feel that the supporting material in the rest of the document amply establishes the basis of our request.

Paul, we look forward to seeing your final version incorporating the comments of those of us who met in Washington so this can be moved along.

Miss Georges will be sending to you the names and addresses of all those who signed the original Statement of Concern so that when you get your final version ready, it can be sent to all of these persons, as agreed.

By the way, Paul, we may be quite timely with this proposal, because we understand that Ford is quite open at this time to any proposals dealing with rural life and/or things like migration problems.

Please let me know (Norman) if I can help at any further point.

NHP & CS/mkm

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON THE EDUCATION OF MIGRANT CHILDREN

145 east 32nd street
new york, n. y. 10016
(212) 683-4545

MEMORANDUM

Re: Migration Policy and Strategy March 14, 1969

From: C. Stockburger and N. Perlstein

It was the feeling of those associated with the Symposium up to now that the best way to get action on rural-urban migration problems was to focus public attention on the problem through the Statement of Concern and then through the establishment of a sponsoring committee to proceed to develop a Commission which would formulate plans for dealing with rural-urban migration.

Our belief that the concern is a national priority has been supported by several recent major commentaries as well as reactions to the Symposium's Statement of Concern. It becomes, therefore, of vital importance that our goal not be postponed by detouring into intermediate mechanisms.

Time is a further factor because of recent actions of the Nixon Administration in including internal migration as a priority assignment of the Urban Affairs Council as well as the recent naming by President Nixon of an Interdepartmental Committee on Internal Migration. Other recent factors which indicate a need for immediate action are the frantic efforts of OEO to develop a competence in migration programs, the interest of foundations as indicated by their support of related programs such as Hunger and the publicity currently being given the subject by the mass media.

A factor which must be considered in any decision about structure is the question of future relationship of the sponsoring agencies to whatever mechanism is developed. As one of the Symposium's original initiators, B.I.A. and NCEMC see rural-urban migration as one of their major concerns and would certainly expect to have a continuing role in whatever mechanism is established.

The following outline describes the task before us as well as the formation of two alternative structures which have been suggested.

ROLE OF THE COMMITTEE

I. To decide the most feasible structure for developing strategy for rural-urban migration.

II. To establish and secure funding for this structure.

III. To serve as the sponsor for the Commission with the addition of several other persons and/or organizations.

OR

Turn over its function to governing board of the Institute on which members of the Committee would serve as members. But this might well be a matter for further discussion.

STRUCTURES

I. COMMISSION: A temporary structure with a specific assignment to be completed by a given date.

A. Assignment: To develop strategy for solving problems related to population mobility. This would include plans for action and potential resources for implementing such action.

B. Membership: Named by the Sponsoring Committee--the membership should be persons

1. professionally or otherwise intimately associated with the migration phenomena

2. economists--rural and urban

3. sociologists--rural and urban

4. political scientists

5. representatives of the target population

6. representatives of human relations, community organization and other social service disciplines.

C. Staff: To be named by the Sponsoring Committee (Approved by the Commission ?)

II. INSTITUTE ON MIGRATION POLICIES (POPULATION BALANCE):
A semi-permanent institute to operate as long as needed to develop and influence adoption of policy and strategy.

A. Assignment: To develop an active policy on population balance.

To influence implementation of such policy.

To evaluate experimental and other mobility programs.

To develop basic information on migration trends and effective means of meeting mobile population needs.

To develop pilot projects.

B. Method of Operation

Governing Board: Named by Sponsoring Committee of whom no less than _____ would be from the Sponsoring Committee. Board would oversee financial and other general operational functions.

Advisory Committee: Made up of professionals who would be concerned with program development and implementation.

Staff: Selected by Governing Board

# # # # # # #

Make file: Inst. on Rural Migration (note - pull all materials from Brotherhood in October & El. Eaton's file)

MEMORANDUM

April 16, 1969

To: Dr. Lewis Jones, Mr. John Slawson, Miss Cassandra Stockburger, Mr. Norman Perlstein and Mr. Harold C. Fleming

From: Paul Anthony

-o-

While I have genuine sympathy with your paper shuffling, I do hope that at an early date you can share with you your reactions to Eleanor Eaton's paper on the Migration Institute.

PA/mmj

B.C. Eleanor Eaton

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
160 N. 15th St. Phila., Pa.

April 2, 1969

TO: Norman Perlstein, Cassandra Stockberger, Dr. Lewis Jones, John Slawson, Harold Fleming, Paul Anthony

FROM: Eleanor Eaton Eleanor

SUBJECT: Funds for Institute on Internal Migration Pursuant to the Mandate of Those of you who met in Washington two weeks ago

---

Here is a draft of a statement which might be used in seeking funds for establishing the Institute.

I hope I have adhered to the guidelines you laid down and that this is at least a start in producing the needed document.

PLEASE NOTE: It was also agreed that each of you would quickly send to Paul Anthony, Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth St., Atlanta, Ga. 30303, your comments, suggested changes, etc. He will then produce a final document, get it approved, and take care of the necessary mailing to original signers, etc.

It was fun to try my hand at this and I hope we can keep moving forward rapidly.

DRAFT

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RATIONALE

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To create such an Institute two things are required:

One - a preliminary grant to finance its creation, prepare a budget, discover potential staff and develop a Board. (The members of the Board would be drawn from the list of those who signed the attached statement and others who have subsequently indicated active interest and support.) and

Two - a commitment to its financing over a period of several years, the final decision to be made after the results of phase one have been analyzed.

4/2/69
EAE

file

JOHN SLAWSON ■ *Suite 2C, 220 East 57 Street, New York, N. Y. 10022, PLaza 1-4000*

April 28, 1969

Dear Paul:

On my return from the Orient, I found your note of April 16th relative to Eleanor Eaton's memorandum on the Migration Institute.

I am sure that by now a good deal of work has been done on the document, but I would like to say that I considered it a splendid communication, with the exception of a few minor corrections which, no doubt, you and the others have now caught.

There is, of course, the matter of budget which I understand from Norman Perlstein you and Harold Fleming are working on.

If there is any way I can be of help in a specific matter, please let me know. The project is, indeed, very worthwhile.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

John Slawson

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

TELEPHONE: (202) 265-8200

~~WASHINGTON~~ NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, INC.

"Equal Results through Equal Opportunity"

1424 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

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STERLING TUCKER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

April 30, 1969

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The New York Times of February 16 reported the results of a symposium on rural-urban migration which you initiated in cooperation with Brotherhood-in-Action of New York. We would very much appreciate receiving a copy of your "Statement of Concern" as well as of any other papers or speeches prepared for the symposium that are available.

Yours truly,

Esther Piovia

Mrs. Frank Piovia
National Urban League Research

Sent 5/7/69. IM

EP:nc

Mrs. Frank Piovia
National Urban League Research
1424 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

NORTHERN VIRGINIA
PM
1 MAY
1969
B

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

LW 4-0350

BROTHERHOOD-IN-ACTION, INC.
560 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York 10018

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Mr. Perlstein asked me to send you the attached list which contains the names of those who signed the Statement of Concern.

Yanick Georges

Yanick Georges

THE FOLLOWING ARE THE NAMES OF THOSE WHO RECEIVED THE STATEMENT OF CONCERN. THOSE WITH THE ASTERISK DID NOT SIGN IT.

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PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM May 22, 1969

To: Members of the Planning Committee for the Creation of an Institute on Rural Migration.

From: Paul Anthony

Enclosed is my slightly edited version of Eleanor's excellent proposal.

I don't think this is the time to approach foundations with new ideas until some of the dust settles. Perhaps in some form we can talk later about how best to proceed.

If you are still of the opinion that we should get signatures -- those previously involved in our meetings -- let me know and we will get out the mailing from here.

-o-

A Preliminary Proposal for an Institute on Internal Migration Policies

Introduction:

Internal migration is currently a subject much in the news, but as the following quotations show, there is little agreement as to its nature and extent:

> "By the year 2,000 our population will increase from 200 million to 300 million and we will need one half again as many homes built in the nation as we now have. It is vital that a national policy be developed to create the kind of location of communities that will best serve the people of our nation."
>
> Senator John Sparkman
> Washington Post - 2/15/69

> "Without an effective policy for distributing its people, the United States will risk a depopulated countryside and a massive piling of people into overcrowded metropolitan areas."
>
> John H. Southern, Director
> Economic Development Division
> U.S.D.A. Economic Research Service
> The Packer - 2/22/69

> "Farm to city migration is nearing end in U. S."
>
> Calvin Beal, Chief
> U.S.D.A. Demographer
> New York Times - 3/23/69

> "During the first 7¼ years of the present decade, the South has gained a million people by in-migration, while the north central states have lost nearly a million through net outmigration..."
>
> Bureau of the Census
> New York Times - 3/1/69

> "Gap between Urban and Rural Areas Widens. Rural communities are lagging in every field where measurement is possible... education, health services, housing, protection and even recreation."
>
> C. Bryce Ratchford at U.S.D.A.
> Annual Outlook Conference
> Economic Opportunity Report - 3/17/69

"Negro migration to cities is found to drop sharply... White exodus to suburbs accelerates sharply... The suburban slum-ghetto is becoming a visible although unmeasured phenomenon in many large metropolitan areas..."

"Year After Report of Urban American and Urban Coalition"
New York Times - 2/28/69

"We are constantly confronted with the unmet problems of our cities. Yet... a large part of these problems can be met by paying greater attention to developing an even stronger rural economy... Unless we halt the tide of migration from the country to the city, a migration which puts more and more people into less and less space, we have little hope of making our cities liveable..."

Edward M. Kennedy at Rural Electric Co-op Association
Philadelphia Inquirer - 3/19/69

"The Negro exodus from Delta continues."

Hodding Carter, III
New York Times - 3/10/68

"Falling Exodus. Migration of Negroes from Southern states appears to be slowing..."

Neil Maxwell
Wall Street Journal - 5/17/68

"Over the next decade 40 million more Americans will live in cities... It will constitute no more than a continuation of a mammoth migration which has been going forward at an accelerating pace for the past quarter of a century..."

Lyndon B. Johnson
Washington Post - 2/27/68

"But where did they go? No one here can say for certain. We don't even know why some rural residents migrate to cities and others stay where they are. Uncle Sam has much to learn and much to recognize before he can close the rural gap."

Burt Schorr
Wall Street Journal - 2/20/68

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

It is important that the public is at last being made conscious of the fact that the United States faces a national crisis of which the urban crisis is but a part. But the above quotations reveal dramatic contradictions in the interpretation of statistics and make visible the fact that gaps exist in information about population mobility, its causes and effects. They highlight the fact that intelligent planning, based on human need and interest has not been done.

Two parallel tendencies are apparent: First, there is a tendency to oversimplify and generalize on the basis of statistics. As Calvin Beale has said: "We need to disaaggregate this question of the rural population and rural migration. ...it behooves us... to note the great differences in rural-urban migration problem not as though it were a uniform problem, which it is not at all, but rather in its components... The problems of rural development in areas such as the central part of the country that have been heavily denuded for two generations... are markedly different from what they are in the southern coal fields, the heavily Negro areas of the southern states and the Indian and Spanish-American country of the Southwest..."

Second, there is a tendency to look at the problem in terms of the needs of the economic system and seemingly irreversible trends rather than in terms of the wishes and needs of individuals and families. To quote former Secretary of Agriculture, Orville Freeman: We can prescribe a better future for this nation than "that predicted for it by exponents of the anthill philosophy of demography, who prescribe as an article of faith this trinity: (1) that growth of megalopolis is inevitable; (2) that decline of rural areas is inexorable; (3) and that questioning the articles of faith is inconceivable."

Time does not allow us to wait for the 1970 census to be conducted, assembled and analyzed. Cities are exploding and facing bankruptcy. Land and other resources are being accumulated and exploited without regard to the present and future needs of the nation and its people. Our population (as well as that of the world) is increasing at a phenomenal rate. People in urban and rural areas are dying and being permanently crippled by hunger and malnutrition.

There are signs that the need for a national look at the problem is being recognized. The recent action of the Administration in including internal migration as a priority assignment of the Urban Affairs Council is evidence of concern but can be interpreted as a move to "keep 'em down on the farm." The interdepartmental committee on internal migration broadens the perspective. However, as government begins to seriously look at the problem in terms of programs, there is great need for an informed private effort that is a-political, concerned with people, and free from special pleading, special interests or preconceived myths about irreversible trends.

Rationale:

For over 12 months a symposium convened by Brotherhood-in-Action and the Southern Regional Council focused on the need for creating a viable Rural America; its implications for the urban environment and the possibility of devising a flexible policy geared to the changed dimensions of migration. Following this study a distinguished group of Americans signed a public statement of concern (attached) calling for a national strategy to cope with the consequences of continuing rural-urban migration.

In our opinion the time is ripe for a privately financed and objective body to collect and assess in terms of human needs and desires all available and current statistics, projections, and studies; to identify gaps in knowledge; to initiate research to fill these gaps; to design and promote a practical, integrated and economically and politically feasible national policy on internal migration. The purpose of such a policy would be to provide for the people of this nation honest choices honest options as to where they would live and work. Or to put it another way, national policy should be designed to minimiz forced migration of individuals and families by equalizing services and employment opportunities in rural areas, smaller cities and urban complexes. Such a policy may well call for a rearrangement of the ways in which we govern our affairs in both urban and rural areas and for new policies for national development that replace the fragmented, contradictory, self-cancelling multiplicity of programs we presently have.

Even the laymen can document the fact that public policy today serves to neglect the rural areas of our nation and

contributes in a major way to provide both pushes from the countryside and "sucking" pulls to the already overcrowded, ungovernable and deteriorating urban centers. The 1968 announcement that 5,000 hardcore jobless would be hired in Detroit, was described in the Wall Street Journal in these words: "A massive industry effort to help avert future riots in Detroit appears to be backfiring as hundreds -- possibly thousands -- of unemployed persons from out of the state come to the city seeking work. The result: Some out-of-staters have failed to get a job, swelling the unemployment that many believe contributed to last July's riot. Others have snapped up jobs that might have gone to the city's own so-called hard-core unemployed."

In the light of our rapidly expanding population, the financial crises in these cities and the growing threat to health of pollution, inadequate housing and overcrowding a focus on creating a more perfect balance of opportunity is essential.

Proposal:

We, therefore, propose the creation of a single purpose, privately financed Institute. The Institute would have a representative, and therefore, large board of 50 to 75 people, be governed by a small working Executive Committee drawn from this board, have a small, highly competent, staff, and have adequate funds for the hiring of consultants and the farming out of research to institutions and groups which have special facilities and expertise in the field. It could also carry out field investigations (such as the privately financed "Hunger, USA" study), as required, to collect facts and inform the American public.

We are not naive in making this recommendation. We have explored other possible ways of getting the job done. We believe that historically it is evident that short-term commissions (both public and private) have limited value in that their findings are either "hailed and forgotten" or given a hasty burial at the behest of threatened interests. A continuing body, capable of on-going research, developing policy and keeping public and governmental attention focused on the implementing of that policy could overcome these obstacles. To expect or request an existing institute or institution to assume this additional role would not only be cumbersome but seriously diminish the priority this subject

demands. Further the task is a large one and requires a concentrated program of study and education, which existing institutes or institutions cannot give.

An independent institute could be free of political pressures and self-serving advocacy. It could utilize the technique of a Commission as part of its functions. It could work closely with Congressional policy makers, with the private sector and with the mass media in developing sound educational material.

To create such an Institute two things are required:

One -- a commitment to its financing over a period of three years, and

Two -- a preliminary grant to finance its creation, prepare a budget, discover potential staff and develop a Board. (The members of the Board would be drawn from the list of those who signed the attached statement and others who have subsequently indicated active interest and support.

-o-

5/22/69

June 18, 1969

Mr. Norman Perlstein
Executive Director
Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue at 40th Street
New York, New York 10018

Dear Norm:

Eleanor called me yesterday about the conversation which you, John, and Cassandra have had, and the sense of urgency you share on proceeding with explorations for funding the Migration Center.

As I said to you before leaving, while I continue to support this idea as much as ever, in my best judgment with those foundations with which I have any entree I believe now would be a very bad time for me to open up this subject. In fact, I think it might be detrimental to the eventual support of this new agency.

This is only, however, my appraisal of the situation and of my role at this moment.

I do not think any of this should have the least influence in discouraging you or others from doing such exploration or generating such support as you can. Please share this thinking with Cassandra and John when next you talk.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mrs. Eleanor Eaton

July 30, 1969

Mr. Norman Perlstein
Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue at 40th Street
New York, New York 10018

Dear Norm:

What has happened with the idea that we distribut to our interested list the latest proposal on the Migration Center? As you know this period until after September 1st is not good for fund-raising, to say nothing of the confusion that has been caused by the Congress. However, in the fall I do hope to get on the circuit and would like to have available any reactions from our interested parties should I have an opportunity to share them.

What else is happening?

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

July 30, 1969

Mr. J. D. Nobel
Director
The Council on Human Relations
278 Arcade
Cleveland, Ohio 44114

Dear Jim:

Forgive me this long delay, partly caused by my absence from the office. But, I did not want to respond until I had had an opportunity to read the material you sent. I have now done so, and find it very interesting.

The latest on our own interest is reflected in the enclosed document. I would welcome your comments on this. Nothing has been done since the drafting of this document, though I hope later in the year we can give the proposal further thought and attempt to find support for it, as well as a much broader operation in it.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure1.

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June 25, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
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Dear Paul:

It's a long jump from March of this year when you sent me a copy of the statement of concern which you publicized in October of 1968. Enclosed is a copy of a document which we have just developed and which may interest you. It will be used at the Indianapolis conference on Appalachia meeting this weekend.

I plan to add some additional material, and possibly, to establish more specific recommendations. Let me know if you would like additional copies of if you have suggestions for any further efforts on our part.

Sincerely,

J. D. Nobel
Director

jgm

cc: Mr. Loyal Jones
Mr. Norman H. Perlstein

Contributions are tax deductible

THE APPALACHIAN PROJECT

An experimental program carried out by The Council on Human Relations with financial help from The Community Family Planning Association.

Written up by J.D. Nobel, Director of The Council on Human Relations, and incorporating reports made by Ralph Bowles, Chairman of The Council's Southern Highlander Committee

THE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
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June 1969

The Appalachian Project

I. Migration in a World Setting

Since the beginning of human history, man's physical and spiritual needs and the vicissitudes of climate and culture have caused individual men, their families, and sometimes an entire social group, to "pull up stakes" and to seek a more favorable environment. The very phrase--to pull up stakes--and its retention in the language, attests the prevalence of a nomadic life and the constancy of migration.

Contemporary migrations, at least in America, exemplified by the trek of the destitute Oklahoma farmers to the fertile valleys of California, by the southern Negro's abandonment of the South, and most recently, by the steady stream of Cumberland whites and other southern highlanders into the industrial cities of the north, appear to have a difference and an advantage not possessed by the older migrations.

Perhaps that difference and advantage can best be summarized by the phrase "bargaining power!" Today's migrant can speak and act knowing that his speech and action will register publicly. He has a kind of social status as a result of a complex series of influences including his own efforts and the thrust of cybernetics. The "revolution of rising expectations", as Adlai Stevenson called it, and the revolution in mass communication have created a new social mood, the full impact of which is still to be experienced.

But the changes are already far advanced. Today, after two world wars and the universal demand for full personal freedom, the migrant can demand and has indeed demanded, the rights now fully articulated in clear and readable documents such as the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights. This, then, is the new dimension, which, like the current youth protest, itself a part of the international ferment, will maintain confrontation so long as there are democratic constitutions and honest commitment to human rights. This is the hope. This also is the basis of corrective effort.

II. The Role of The Council on Human Relations

In Greater Cleveland, it is this hope, and the commitment to change which it inspires, that brought about the founding of The Council on Human Relations.

The Council's pervasive emphasis is the elimination of the negative stereotypes which contribute so much of our social distrust and misunderstanding.

Included in the Council's problem areas, therefore, since the very beginning of the organization, have been the stereotypes relating to the Southern Highlanders.

III. The Program at Berea College, Kentucky

Southern Highlanders, in social habit, speech, mannerisms and general outlook, are, of course, observably different from other Americans into whose society they have found their way. Jack Weller has designated them as Yesterday's People, a term not inappropriate for those born and brought up in an area embracing the Appalachian section of nine states which, roughly until the twentieth century, remained secluded from and independent of, the social life surrounding it.

Of all the educational institutions in or near this isolated and static mountain culture, Berea College, Kentucky, logically became its first friend and interpreter. It was Perley Ayer, Professor of Sociology of this college who, about a decade ago, came to Cleveland in behalf of the southern mountaineer whose adject poverty had long been a subject of discussion, but whose presence in our city as a confused and often desperate migrant had only briefly noticed, certainly not dealt with in a systematic manner.

Perley Ayer, as head of The Council of the Southern Mountains, brought into being at Berea College the project known as The Berea Summer Workshop for the Adjustment of Southern Migrants. From the beginning, the Council has been the Cleveland "agent" for The Council of the Southern Mountains. The prime purpose of this collaboration has been to furnish special summer workshop training for Cleveland area policemen, educators, clergy and others whose vocations involve them in the "urban adjustment" of Appalachian in-migrants. To finance this training, the Council has had funds in part from the Rotary Foundation and in part from its own treasury.

Some 20 persons, men and women, have had the benefit of the Summer Workshop conducted annually at Berea, Kentucky. The Cleveland list includes Captain Eugene Pfaff, until recently, Director of the Cleveland Police Academy, Bill Randle of Station WERE, Mrs. Margaret Middleton, formerly principal of Orchard School, now an active Trustee of The Council on Human Relations, and Mrs. Anne V. Colemen who brought focus and generosity and who gained new personal extension from her experience with its Berea Workshop.

IV. Aid from the Community Family Planning Association

In the Spring of 1968 several agencies, stimulated in part by Berea "Workshoppers", opened conversations on effective ways of coping with the problem which was growing in extent and seriousness. A two-day workshop was held in July with Loyal Jones of The Council of the Southern Mountains as guest speaker. Southern Highlanders were conspicuously absent, but the workshop was well attended by concerned professionals representing the churches, the schools, welfare and poverty agencies.

In addition to supplying some of the leadership for this workshop, The Council on Human Relations laid plans during the summer of 1968 for a fall program to be directed by the Council, underwritten by the Community Family Planning Association, and carried out by a committee chaired by Ralph Bowles, Social Studies teacher at Lincoln High School in Cleveland. Mr. Bowles had many things to recommend him. Besides being a Social Studies teacher and the Advisor of our Youth Council chapter at Lincoln High, he is an Appalachian by birth and one who eagerly embraced the proposed program.

Since formal or institutional approaches are suspect in the eyes of Appalachian in-migrants, the Council's effort was seen in personal terms, a one-to-one basis, a process of simple visiting. The role of the Council was to listen and learn, not to involve itself in any program of trying to meet physical needs on an extensive basis, not to provide welfare services, but rather to determine and interpret needs so that the entire problem could be seen in perspective and, hopefully, dealt with more intelligently.

V. Cooperation from the Schools

After several conferences with Miss Esther Horrocks, Director of Elementary Schools, and with James Tanner, Assistant Superintendent of Cleveland Schools, the Council was given the full cooperation of the Cleveland Board of Education. Complete information and instructions were sent by Miss Horrocks to the principals of 10 west side elementary schools requesting their assistance in locating the Appalachian families in their schools and neighborhoods.

VI. Visits and Interviews

Mr. Bowles has made numerous visits, conferred individually with all the principals involved, talked at length with ministers of churches where Appalachian families are affiliated, took time to motor to Berea College to meet Loyal Jones, Executive Director of The Council of the Southern Mountains, and with Linda Pack, a 1968 graduate of Lincoln High School, who is assisting with the project, arranged an evening of "mountain music", a program put on by The Blue Grass Gospel Singers, a group of men otherwise employed who make up a band with numerous engagements and an established reputation. Mr. Bowles' motivation clearly springs from his enthusiasm for a cause in which his own roots are deep and strong. With his continuing efforts and those of others of Appalachian background, the Council has located a considerable number of Appalachian families and carried out a series of visits and interviews.

This entire Appalachian endeavor, as we have conceived it, is supportive. The intent, as in all Council projects, has been to call forth, not to furnish, initiative, to encourage democracy at the grass roots, to help people to help themselves. Recognizing that the person who has built up his own integrity, who has begun to overcome his own self-doubts and fears, is less susceptible to prejudice, more apt to be mature and receptive in his attitude towards others.

In the main, the visits and interviews have been carried out on the basis of a five-point schedule developed by the Council and its Southern Highlander Committee and approved by the Community Family Planning Association. Calls were made on families or in homes and interviews were conducted so as to bring out facts, attitudes, actions and reactions which would add to an understanding of the problem. The five areas in which information was sought were (1) facts about the family, its size, age and sex of family members, and the educational experience of its members; (2) the socio-economic status of the family (including the number gainfully employed) (a) poverty level (b) adjusted, i.e. paying expenses (c) comfortable (having income beyond basic needs); (3) religious orientation or connection (name

of church); (4) problems (as expressed by the persons themselves); (5) needs (again, as expressed by the persons themselves).

VII. Findings

The calls or visits were carried out in such a way that the caller could both listen and learn; he also could, and did, supply information about Cleveland and about the neighborhood in which a given family was living.

The following materials were all recorded by Ralph Bowles. No deletions or changes have been made. The Council established the categories and the materials were then arranged within these categories.

A. Southern Highlander Families.
B. Southern Highlander Students.
C. Observations and comments by Public School personnel.
D. Questions posed by teachers.
E. Interviews with school personnel.

A. Southern Highlander Families

1. The E. H. Family

E. H. lives with her five children, C. 13, twins R. and A. 10, J. 9 and R. 5, at 2636 West 25th Street in an upstairs furnished apartment. The family moved to Cleveland from Gasaway, West Virginia in February of this year.

Although Mrs. H. moved to Cleveland from West Virginia and is definitely of the mountain culture and background, she has spent much of her life in northern Ohio cities including seventeen years in Warren where she worked on an assembly line at the General Motors Plant and two years in Akron where she operated a press at Astro Plastics, Inc.

Question: Why did you move to Cleveland?

Mrs. H.: I was laid off from my job at Singer in West Virginia and I owe some bills that would put my mother's property in danger if I couldn't pay them. Some people I know here told me I could get a good job here so I decided it was worth a try.

We first moved in with them, but it didn't work out so I got this place.

Note: While enrolling C. at L. Junior High School, the Guidance Counsellor, Mr. R. F. introduced Mrs. H. to Mr. Bowles and after a conversation and ensuing telephone call, the problems confronting Mrs. H. were brought to the attention of the Southern Highlanders Committee.

Mrs. H. had been able to get the furnished apartment but was without necessary bed linens and covers, dishes and silverware, towels, groceries, etc. With the help of several concerned people the committee was able to supply the necessary items.

Question: Have you been able to find a job?

Mrs. H.: Yes, I got a job the first day but I changed jobs for more money.

Question: What are your problems:

Mrs. H: My children don't like it here. There's no place to play, but I think the younger ones will get used to it. I don't know about C.

We need a better place to stay. This place is dirty and it's too hot. The landlady keeps the downstairs hot because of the people down there so it gets awful hot up here.

I have furniture in Gasaway and I could do better in an unfurnished apartment, but I don't have much of a way to get it here.

I have to leave for work at 6:30, so I have to have someone to stay with the children until they go to school at 8:30. It's hard to get a reliable person. I even brought a girl up from West Virginia to stay with them but she got another job and left. It was even worse when I had to work nights and when I have to work Saturdays and Sundays.

2. The C. B. Family

C. B., 30, his wife P., 26, and their four children, T, 6; P, 4; G, 2; and C, 5 months, have lived at 2150 West 7th Street for seven months. They have moved back to West Virginia and returned to Cleveland three times in the past nine years.

Mr. B. worked in the coal mines in West Virginia before joining the U.S. Navy and later returned to the mines, but work was sporatic and he moved with his family to Cleveland.

After six months he was laid off and he moved back to West Virginia where he had no job waiting but he believed his chances were better. Within a few months he saw that the opportunities of full time employment in Montcoal were nearly almost non-existent and he moved the family back to Cleveland.

When asked why he left Cleveland the second time, Mr. B. said he had a job offer back in West Virginia and he was homesick anyway so he went back.

While working in West Virginia Mr. B. became ill and permanently disabled. Because of lack of facilities and a feeling that the Veterans Administration did not function as well there as in Cleveland, he came back. Mr. B. said later that he liked Cleveland alright, but if it's possible he will move back to West Virginia.

Question: Where are you employed?

Mr. B.: Right now we're living on my V.A. check. I'm not able to work.

Question: What is your religious affiliation?

Mrs. B.: I belong to the Free-Will Baptist Church on West 54th Street.

Question: What is the most pressing problem of mountain people moving to Cleveland?

Mrs. B.: Finding a decent place to stay. Landlords want everything their way. They want the money but they don't want to fix anything up. This old stove blew up three times last week.

We can't even visit C's sister and her husband because their landlord won't allow any children except her one in the apartment.

Question: Have you considered reporting housing code violations to the authorities?

Mrs. B.: No. Although sometimes he makes me made enough, I don't want to do him dirty even though I know he doesn't care for anything but the money.

Mrs. B. was very concerned about the problems of newcomers and offered her help.

Mr. B.: "When a hillbilly comes here looking for work, the people here act like he's trying to steal something."

3. The E.L.D. Family

E.L.D., 35, his wife C. 21, and their daughter G.L., age three years, have lived at 1723 Brainard since 1966. They moved to Cleveland from Chicago where they lived in the Uptown section of that city for six months.

Their place of origin is Montcoal, West Virginia where Mr. D. had been employed in the coal mining and timber industries since age 15.

Both Mr. and Mrs. D. are members of the Pentecostal Church.

Question: Have you considered moving back to West Virginia?

Mr. D.: Yes, very strongly in fact, but there are very few jobs available and those are for low pay. There aren't enough good jobs to go around.

Question: Where do you work now?

Mr. D.: I'm a foreman at High Star Casting Co. and it's a pretty good job.

Question: What do you think are some of the pressing problems for mountain people who come to Cleveland?

Mr. D.: Jobs.

Mrs. D.: Finding a decent place to live. Most of the places that are for rent are generally run down and are infested with cockroaches and rats.

Mr. D. has been instrumental in getting jobs for several in-migrants from the mountains and he sees this as important, not just for the people looking for work, but also for the company he works for.

Mrs. D. offered her time and services making contact with newcomers to help make their adjustment less difficult.

4. The J. B. Family

J. B., his wife G. and their two boys live at 2314 West 17th Street. He does mechanic work at Vargo Weld Inc. in Garfield Heights. Mr. B. expressed a feeling of hardship for people who move to Cleveland from the mountains.

"The trouble is, they've got all kinds of training programs and schools to teach trades but most of the people who come from the mountains never know about these until they've already moved into some kind of job the hard way."

"The young ones want to go to work right now and the older ones who know the value of schooling are too embarrassed to go back to school."

5. The J. K. Family

J. K. resides at 753 Starkweather in the best apartment he can find for himself, his wife W. and their five children.

Mr. K. has been employed at Cleveland Process Co. most of the time since he moved to Cleveland from Cedar Grove, West Virginia three years ago. He has something to say about Cleveland. "It's a good town for work but it isn't so good for living." He wonders why he can't find a better place to live and while paying high rent he finds it difficult to save enough for a down payment on a house.

He asks, "Why do landlords take for granted that I won't take care of the place just because I have five children? They're not interested in what kind of man I am or how my children behave. They just won't rent to me when I say I have five children. Maybe it's just that they've had bad experiences but that still doesn't help me much."

B. Southern Highlander Students

(Enrolled in a Cleveland West Side Public School)

1. M. K. 13

M. is in the seventh grade and lives with his grandmother and grandfather at 1713 Buhrer. He has four brothers and sisters that live with his mother and father who have resided on West 46th Street since they moved to Cleveland in 1958. When the family moved they left M. in Winefred, West Virginia with the grandparents.

In September 1968 they moved to Cleveland and M. enrolled in Lincoln Junior High. In the last marking period he received a "D" in Mathematics, "C" in English and "C" in Social Studies.

When asked to comment on his experience in the schools, he said:

"The kids aren't friendly.
"The teachers are more harsh and some never even smile.
"I was tardy once and I got detentions with some pretty bad fellers.
"The subjects here are easier but good grades are harder to get.
"I don't think most of my teachers know who I am! "

2. L. H. 12

L. moved to Cleveland this semester with his mother from Sissonville, West Virginia. They moved into an apartment with another family.

Question: Is school more or less difficult here compared with school in Sissonville?

L.: I'm in group three here, but I was in the top group there. This grading period I got "A" in Social and "B's" in Mathematics, English and Science. Most of the work we're doing now I've already had.

Question: Do you think about going back to West Virginia?

L.: We're going back Easter vacation and I don't think we'll come back to Cleveland. Mommy doesn't like it here much. I don't either. It's pretty dirty and sometimes the air stinks awful bad.

Note: L. did not return after Easter vacation and he has been officially withdrawn from L and enrolled in school in Sissonville.

3. C. H. 13

C. is the oldest child in the H family mentioned earlier. He moved to Cleveland with his mother, three brothers and one sister. He lives in a substandard upstairs furnished apartment on West 25th Street near Barber.

Question: What do you like and dislike about going to school here?

C.: "It's not a bad school but the houses and streets around here are dirty.

"The kids are overbearing. Some of them want to pick at you about being from West Virginia and stuff like that.

3. C. H. 13 - continued

"I like subjects like geography and English, but I don't like making drawings in Shop. I wish they would work on things in shop instead of drawing them or talking about them.

"It didn't take long to make some friends but of course they're all hillbillies too.

"There's no good place to play."

Question: Would you go back to West Virginia if you could?

C.: Oh yes, but I wouldn't want to say it too much to my mom because that makes it harder for her.

Question: If there were one thing you could change about your life or the world what would it be?

C.: Stop the war.

C. Observations and Comments

(G School Personnel working with Appalachian Children)

1. Mr. R. F., Guidance Counselor
L. Junior High School

"Today at L I feel very frustrated when working with these (Appalachian) families. They are very transient people with their children living with a friend for a while or an aunt here or a cousin there and then back to West Virginia to Grandma's. They never seem to stay long enough to get settled.

"One family in particular, the K., came here in December 1968. Both children enrolled at L; D, age 15 and R, 13. Both needed special class placement. Both could barely read. Much time was spent talking and visiting with Mrs. K. to explain our school, psychological services, special education, and other important items.

"The children were tested by a school psychologist and a report was prepared with the combined efforts of the psychologist, the nurse, the doctor, the principal and myself. It involved the school nurse, the assistant to the special class teacher and me visiting the home. Then the children's attendance became poor. Two weeks later the family moved back to West Virginia. This was in the first part of March 1969.

"I would like to help them more. They are generally warm, friendly people, but I'm frustrated because they don't stay put long enough."

2. My Attitude as a Teacher

1. Many of these pupils have caused me much frustration. On the whole I can't seem to improve their reading much - too much absence, not prepared for class, and poor attitudes toward school.

2. I find these pupils very easy to like and to give attention to because they are not usually mean kids. In fact, in the seventh grade I find them very open and unassuming if not easily motivated.

3. Mr. J. A., Transition Teacher, 7th Grade
L. Junior High School

In my self-contained special classes 13 of the 26 students are from Appalachia. Almost without exception, these students have the poorest attendance records.

In general, they have not presented many discipline problems. When they first enter class they are shy, inhibited and reluctant to say much. Their first friends are fellow Appalachians and they usually remain within this small circle of friends.

They do not seem to care much about grades and even when they receive an "A", rather than take it home, they will throw it away. It seems to me that few parents are vitally interested in their child's work.

They dislike class punishment. They want individuals to be punished. They show much respect for anyone who is mechanically inclined or who is virile.

4. Observations submitted by Mr. J. R.
Social Studies Teacher and Detention Supervisor
L. Junior High School

I feel that I should preface my comments with two basic statements.

1. I have had little contact with girls from this area.

2. Most of the students from the Appalachian area with whom I come in contact are those serving 10th period detentions for cutting classes and excessive tardiness.

Therefore, all my observations are basically from #2 which will give a somewhat distorted picture of the whole area.

In my experience at L. I have found that the boys coming from the Appalachian region do not like to be told what to do by teachers. They have an exaggerated sense of personal freedom which often brings them into conflict with teachers and others in authority. Authority figures in general are held in contempt and resistance is evident in many areas.

Suggestions rather than demands work best on this type of student, as it does with most people of this age. Closely related to this is the necessity for a sense of humor on the part of the teacher even to the extent of laughing at his own mistakes.

Physical strength and power are important to this group, and individuals who possess these qualities are looked up to - particularly if the person is a teacher. He respects strong, fair, decisive action.

The parents of the Appalachian children with whom I have been in contact have no particular use for school. Although they verbalize assistance, it usually goes no further. To these parents school seems to be a necessary evil that is to be avoided at every possible opportunity. Their children are allowed to stay home from school for any and every possible reason whether real or fictional. Excuses are written by the hundreds and might as well be run off on a duplicating machine for all they're worth.

Grades offer no solution to the problem because many of the parents offer little encouragement in any area, least of all school grades.

The real problem may well be the permissiveness of the parents with an "I'm too busy to care or pay attention" attitude.

The parents, possibly due to circumstances beyond their control, are too wrapped up in themselves and their problems to give proper care and attention to their children.

5. Mr. H. S., Social Studies Teacher

L. High School

"There appears to be an almost total lack of desire for improvement or even an awareness that there might be something better. There seems to be a tremendous lack of interest in the normal activity of the high schooler. This lack of interest seems to carry over into a lack of respect for the people involved in these activities."

6. Observations submitted by Miss R. H.
Teacher of Transition Classes, L. Junior High School

Southern White Attitudes in My Classes

1. Very easy-going - usually get along well with peers and with me.

2. A couple girls, but mostly boys, have very little interest in school and have a tendency to cut classes.

3. These pupils generally have considerable practical knowledge (mechanical as compared to scholastic).

4. My poorest readers are in this group. They have very little knowledge of phonics.

5. If I can spend time with individual students in this group they will usually put forth great effort (for me? to learn?)

6. A great desire to return "home" is a basic dissatisfaction so they feel school in Cleveland is only a temporary scene - so why try?

D. Questions Posed by Teachers

Is there an organization or association of Appalachian families?

Is it possible to remove comic strips such as "Snuffy Smith and Barney Google" which support stereotypes of mountain people? These people have basically admirable values if not carried to extreme such as familism and other values which most of the mainstream of the American populace has lost in its aggressive policy of "get ahead." How can we help these people into the mainstream of America and still not destroy values such as self-reliance, individualism and most particularly familism?

Would it be possible to set up some type of program to help these people with their language problem like the one we offer to foreigners who do not speak English?

Why is there a higher crime and juvenile delinquency rate in neighborhoods that are heavily populated with Appalachian people?

What has caused the Appalachian to be content with his primitive existence even in the face of a more modern culture? All other immigrant groups work one generation as immigrant laborers and then the second generation becomes white collar, middle class, and are an accepted part of urban middle class America. Why not the Appalachian?

Since he feels his problems involve only himself and he is responsible only for himself, how can I, as a teacher, expect or encourage him to become responsible to and for society?

Why the rush to the city when its so uncomfortable and unfriendly to the Appalachian?

Why is there so little pride in personal appearance, style and ownership of clothes, homes, etc. while there is great pride in owning six beat up cars, a color T.V., etc? The black poverty-ridden child cares completely about his personal image, ours (the Appalachians) not at all. Why?

What percentage of the population of Tennessee, Kentucky, North Carolina, Virginia and Alabama are "Appalachian White"?

What percentage of the Appalachian work force is unemployed?

What percentage of this work force does not seek employment?

Are "hillbillies," "mountaineers" and "Appalachian Whites" all one and the same?

How can we, as teachers, best help the Appalachian child in school?

E. Interviews with School Personnel

Interview: Mr. G. B., Assistant Principal
L. High School

Note: Mr. B's early boyhood was spent in his place of birth, Floyd County in the eastern mountains of Kentucky.

Question: What important problems relevant to his background is faced by mountain children at L?

Mr. B.: More than likely the school is more impersonal. The teachers have difficulty relating to these children because of a cultural difference. This may be his first contact with systematic and persistent efforts concerning truancy, cutting and tardiness. He may appear dull to the city oriented teacher because he does not assert himself like city children.

Question: What are some possible solutions to these problems?

Mr. B.: These children need an extra measure of encouragement. They are relatively unsophisticated and they respond well to simple rewards.

Interview: Mr. C. N., Industrial Arts Teacher
L. High School

Question: What are some of the strengths you have noticed in Appalachian students?

Mr. N.: They generally work well with their hands. They adapt well to work that demands manual dexterity and patience. They seem willing to do physical work.

Question: What are some of their weaknesses?

Mr. N.: Poor attendance is probably the most glaring weakness. They generally do poorly on tests and are reluctant to take tests of any kind. They lack reading and writing skills. The special (slow) classes are many times made up of 50% or more Appalachians.

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VIII. Summary Statement

The foregoing reports, statements, and interviews represent a valid sampling of the life attitudes and experiences of men, women and children of Appalachian origin and culture. The picture that emerges is clear, but not encouraging. Perhaps the most revealing and at the same time the most pathetic line in Mr. Bowles entire report is that of a 13 year old boy, M. K., who cries out "I don't think most of my teachers know who I am!"

A child, or an adult for that matter, is psychologically insecure if his relationship among his peers or his associates is characterized by anonymity.

"Nobody knows my name" exclaims James Baldwin and his book is an attempt to depict how intolerable it is to be nameless, unnoticed, disregarded.

For the child, the other kids "are not friendly". They pick on him, he complains, because he is from West Virginia. He is forced to make his friends among the in-group, among other "hillbillies."

The teachers in turn, while making efforts to be friendly and helpful, have to struggle with poor attendance, poor study habits, or complete lack thereof because of lack of education on the part of parents coupled with squalor and dirt and poverty, a combination far removed from the conditions which encourage a child to achieve.

At times, as the report suggests, the teacher has a pronounced feeling of frustration. A chain reaction sets in; seemingly the teacher falls victim to a self-fulfilling prophecy. His questions show that he is more or less accepting the prevailing stereotypes rather than confronting the situation which underlies the unproductive or negative behavior.

Thus, the teacher asks why is the Appalachian in-migrant "content with his primitive existence"? Why does he take so little pride in his appearance or work? Why does he rush to the city when he might better have remained in the mountains?

Unquestionably, in the light of these typical "stories" which adequately exhibit the nature and dimensions of the problem, the Appalachian family is uprooted through no choice of its own. Moreover, the uprooting is an irreversible process since the economics of Appalachian farming and mining are not likely to experience any drastic change in the near future. The family arrives poor; it lives in poverty, its solidarity is disrupted if not destroyed. The warmth, the old social ties, the familiar landmarks and the seasonal rites are all gone. The urban culture is non-supportive or actually hostile and the outlook for a happier adjustment is indeed remote.

But as one school administrator noted, the children need "an extra measure of encouragement" .... they respond well to simple rewards". In short, there is a role and responsibility for the school worker, the church worker, the social worker, and the community person. The southern highlander has a tradition of work, self-reliance and morality. He has a sense of neighborhood and the social obligations of a neighbor. Given these qualities, we should be assured that an investment of professional services will yield substantial social dividends. It will take patience and persistent effort. The Appalachian persons may indeed be nurtured in yesterday's values and yesterday's folkways, but would anyone contend that both values and folkways should be discarded. What values are most relevant in the urban setting? Answering that question should be everyone's task and challenge. Conceivably yesterday's folkways might be discarded. But what about values? Yesterday's values, properly understood, may be today's or tomorrow's salvation!

THE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

The Council on Human Relations is an educational organization open to all who are committed to the democratic ideals of freedom and responsibility.

Elementary Age Programs

Green Circle Program -- a Magnetic Board presentation, embracing dialogue with children concerning the importance of self, the experiences of acceptance and rejection, the concept of growth, the importance of integrity, etc.

The Book Packet -- a Children's Human Relations Library of 11 books, carefully chosen to include a variety of intergroup situations (black-white, Appalachian, Israeli-Arab, etc.). Cost: $25.00

Youth Council Programs

Junior and Senior High School Programs, e.g. Work Projects, Human Relations Tours, including one to Washington, D. C., Annual Conferences, School and Home Visits, Chapter Activities, A.F.S. Reception, Play Performances, Panel Presentations, etc.

Human Relations Consultation and Training

Scholarships to Human Relations Workshops provided by the Council to educators, police, social workers, clergy and civic leaders.

Systematic training, consultation service to school systems.

Community Programs

Acquaintance Meetings -- weekly luncheon sessions devoted to life orientation and direction of individuals.

Human Rights Day -- Greater Cleveland Observance, originated and carried out annually by The Council on Human Relations.

Film showings and presentations to faculties, assemblies, PTA's and other adult groups.

For additional information, call or write:

The Council on Human Relations
278 The Arcade
Cleveland, Ohio 44114
1-216-781-6630

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October 24, 1969

Mr. Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director
Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc/
560 Seventh Avenue
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DEEPLY REGRET UNEXPECTED DEMAND HERE MAKES IT IMPOSSIBLE TO BE WITH YOU. EVERY GOOD WISH FROM THE COUNCIL FOR A SUCCESSFUL MEETING.

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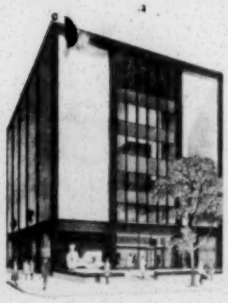
October 24, 1969

Mr. Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director
Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc/
560 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York 10018

DEEPLY REGRET UNEXPECTED DEMAND HERE MAKES IT IMPOSSIBLE TO BE WITH YOU. EVERY GOOD WISH FROM THE COUNCIL FOR A SUCCESSFUL MEETING.

PAUL ANTHONY



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LW 4-0350

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October 20, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

As we discussed on the phone today, here is a copy of the article from today's New York Post.

Suffice it to say, I feel it would be most useful if you could make a representation from your end to the Moynihan Council alerting them to the availability as a resource of the interest which our joint SRC-BIA Rural Migration Symposium offers in their thinking.

I must say that I feel very strongly that our mutual and continuing interest in this subject is in a certain sense justified by the "new" interest of the administration. And even though our representation to them may be of little avail, I think we cannot afford to lose the opportunity which this interest offers.

Enclosed is a formal invitation to our dinner. I'm delighted that you will be with us on Monday, October 27th. Please do come to the Guest of Honor Reception in the Versailles Ballroom of the Americana Hotel at 6:00 p.m. so that you can be with your many friends.

I do hope we will have a few moments to talk also about what we do now with our migration proposal, even though the question of timing appears to be, in your judgment, a continuing problem.

And one last thing, thanks very much for the suggestion that I join you at your annual meeting November 5th. Please do write me.

All good regards,

Cordially,

Norman

NHP/mkm
encs. (2)

Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director

No trip needed - not on Dais - NP

New York Post
Oct 20, 1969

are ironically becoming menti- longest remembered.

Council Studying Aid For Rural Migrants

By JAMES K. BATTEN

WASHINGTON (CDN)—The Nixon Administration has quietly begun to wrestle with the severe social problems generated by the nation's continuing rural-to-urban migration.

Sometime in November, the Urban Affairs Council, with President Nixon presiding, is expected to take up the dilemma of "healthy" and "unhealthy" migration and discuss ideas for helping rural people who are being driven pell-mell to the cities.

"This subject," said a key White House staffer, "is starting to come to life over here."

Whether the Administration really intends to do more than talk about the problem remains to be seen.

But there are clean-cut indications that Presidential advisers are worried about the evacuation of the countryside, the decay of small towns and the accumulation of dislocated rural people in crowed cities where they are neither wanted nor needed.

A report on the problem—which will include suggested solutions—is now being prepared by an Urban Affairs Council subcommittee headed by Agriculture Sec. Clifford M. Hardin.

The report, which will become the basis for the Urban Affairs Council's discussion in November, is expected to cite the implications of the impending mechanization of tobacco production, mainly in North and South Carolina.

Many farm workers in the tobacco belt, the Urban Affairrs Council will be told, will be forced to leave their home counties and seek work elsewhere.

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Monday evening, the twenty-seventh of October
nineteen hundred and sixty nine
at six o'clock

Americana Hotel

R.S.V.P. **Black Tie**

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January 5, 1970

LW 4-0350

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

The arrival today of The New South reminded me that I have several things on our postponed agenda.

Namely, we have now allowed a reasonable amount of time to sift out the implications which affect our next step on migration concerns.

As you know, the Eisenhower Commission has pointed to the need for Federal priority in regard to developing policy on rural-urban migrration. It is as if we ourselves had written this into their final report given to President Nixon a few weeks ago.

A story in the New York Times today mentions the way in which regional economic growth has been affected by TVA in regard to migration from rural to small or medium size towns (copy enclosed).

Moynihan, before his elevation to his new post last month, had set for the December agenda for the Urban Affairs Council the whole question of rural-urban migration policy. I believe we ought to invite ourselves to present our Statement of Concern to this group, formerly headed by Moynihan, and now headed by John Price. Executive Director.

I also have several things to talk to you about in regard to Atlanta and SRC. Will you be in New York in the next week or so? If not, why don't you give me a call, and I will make it my business to get together with you.

I think, friend Paul, this has more than ordinary importance.

Of course, most importantly, my best wishes for the New Year.

I wait to hear from you as soon as possible.

Cordially,

Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director

NHP/mkm
enc.

T.V.A. Report Says Economic Growth Centers on Towns

1/4/70

Special to The New York Times

KNOXVILLE, Tenn., Jan. 3—Economic growth in the seven-state Tennessee Valley region has concentrated in small and medium-sized towns, according to the Tennessee Valley Authority's 36th annual report.

The report described efforts under way in the region to maintain a quality environment within a vigorously growing economy.

Over the last three years, the report said, 89 per cent of the region's growth in manufacturing jobs and 56 per cent of its growth in trades and services occurred outside its five largest metropolitan areas, in sharp contrast to comparable ratios for the Southeast and the nation.

"Recent migration studies indicate that the valley region has reached a significant plateau of economic freedom," the T.V.A. board of directors said. "In years past, many of the people were forced to leave the region in order to obtain decent jobs and better living standards."

Today they have a choice, the report said, pointing out that the region has had a net in-migration of workers in recent years.

"The region's rapid industrialization, the growth of its towns into cities, the increasing mobility of its growing population, all spotlight both the problems and the opportunities inherent in maintaining a quality environment within an economically viable society," the board said.

It went on to review work in air and water pollution control, reservoir ecology and strip mine reclamation, and new and revitalized community studies.

Progress was also reported in the largest power construction program in T.V.A.'s history, including five nuclear and three coal-fired units.

MAY 14 1970

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May 12, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I am full of apologies but I must beg you to understand that shorty after your letter of March 24th, our Founder died and this has created more than a months of"agonizing reappraisal". We are still twisting and turning with leadership questions, but in the terrible mess this has created I discovered your letter and I am trying to respond now.

Enclosed therefore is a list of all those who have expressed an interest in our Migration project to whom you may want to send your new pamphlet.

I have had a skittish contact with Casandra and John and Eleanor, but for the moment this is as much I can do.

Please drop me a note to let me know is you are going to be in the New York or even Washington area soon.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director

NHP/or
encl.

THE FOLLOWING ARE THE NAMES OF THOSE WHO RECEIVED THE STATEMENT OF CONCERN. THOSE WITH THE ASTERISK DID NOT SIGN IT.

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*DODSON, Dr. Dan W.
~~Director~~ Professor
~~CENTER of~~ Human Relations and
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NEW YORK UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
Washington Square
New York, N. Y. 10003
212/598-2781

*DUNBAR, Leslie W.
Executive Director
FIELD FOUNDATION
100 East 85th Street
New York, N. Y. 10028
212/535-9915

EATON, Eleanor A. (Miss)
Assistant Secretary
Community Relations Division
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
160 N. 15th Street,
Philadelphia, Pa. 19102
215/563-9372

*ELLIS, Clyde T.
General Manager-Emeritus
NATIONAL RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE ASSN.
200 Florida Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20009

FARMER, James
Assistant Secretary
DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
Washington, D. C.

FLEISCHMAN, Harry
Race Relations Coordinator
INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 East 56th Street
New York, N. Y. 10022
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GANS, Dr. Herbert
Senior Staff Sociologist
Center for Urban Education
Teachers College
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
New York, N. Y.

*GARDNER, John
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1819 "H" Street, N.W.
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*GAVIN, Gen. James M.
25 Acorn Park
Cambridge, Mass. 02140

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1501 18th Street N.W.
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202-332-5566

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COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
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220 ~~100~~ Church Street
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212/433-4540

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Department of Social Services
HUMAN RESOURCES ADMINISTRATION
250 Church Street
New York, N. Y. 10007
212/344-8700

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LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
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212/AL 4-5865

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Population Research Center
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
1413 East 60th Street
Chicago, Ill. 60637
312/MI 3-0800 ext. 2571

*HAYS, Brooks
Wake Forest University
Winston-Salem, N. C. 27109

*HEISKELL, Andrew
Chairman of the Board
TIME MAGAZINE
Time & Life Building
New York, N. Y. 10019

HENDERSON, Dr. Vivian W.
President
CLARK COLLEGE
Atlanta, Georgia

HERTER, Christian W., Jr.
Vice President
MOBIL OIL
150 East 42nd Street
New York, N. Y. 10017

HILL, Norman
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N. Y. 10010
212/533-8000

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TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
Tuskegee, Ala. 36088
205/727-8341

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College Box 2307
Berea, Ky. 40403
606/986-3187

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212/628-7400

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2029 "K" Street N.W.
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BROTHERHOOD-IN-ACTION, INC.
560 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10018
212/594-0350

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~~8000 East Jefferson~~
~~Detroit, Michigan 48214~~
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318 West Adams Street
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White Plains, N. Y. 10603
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Baton Rouge, La. 70803
504/388-5011

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Executive Director
N.A.A.C.P.
1790 Broadway
New York, N. Y. 10019
212/245-2100

*WOOD, Jack
Executive Director
NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST
DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
1865 Broadway
New York, N. Y. 10023
212/265-2780

YOUNG, Whitney
Executive Director
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
420 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10017
212/751-0300

March 24, 1970

Mr. Norman H. Perlstein
Executive Director
Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue at 40th Street
New York, N. Y. 10018

Dear Norm:

Enclosed is a copy of a pamphlet we have issued relative to migration. We would like to send it to those who have been involved in our meetings, but you have never sent me the names and addresses. If you will send that list we will mail this out.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Enclosure

March 31, 1971

Mr. Norman H. Perlstein
Brotherhood-in-Action, Inc.
560 Seventh Avenue (at Fortieth St.)
New York, N. Y. 10018

Dear Norm:

Thank you so much for sharing the news with me. I will call if I am in New York anytime soon. But in the meantime, let me know what you will be doing and where you can be reached.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

MAR 29 1971

BROTHERHOOD·IN·ACTION, INC.

560 Seventh Avenue (at Fortieth Street) New York, New York 10018

LW 4-0350

Founder
HON. GEORGE J. BELDOCK
(1904-1970)

Honorary Vice-President
HON. A. DAVID BENJAMIN

OFFICERS

President
HON. CHARLES H. TUTTLE

Vice-Presidents
HON. JAMES A. FARLEY
ANDREW GOODMAN
HON. JOHN MacCRATE
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HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
HON. NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER

Executive Director
NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

March 1, 1971

Paul — Lots to tell, can be reached through BIA for awhile. Call if in N.Y. and we can chat.
Norman

Dear Friend:

As in many organizations today, major leadership changes have taken place in Brotherhood-In-Action. In view of these developments -- which followed the death of BIA's founder Judge Beldock -- and in the light of my own desire to concentrate more on human relations program work, I have resigned as Executive Director of BIA.

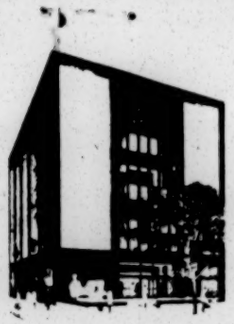
While I am sorry we will not be working together in the same way as in the past, I am sure that we will often find ourselves allies again in joint efforts.

I do want to thank all of you who have helped me so much over the past several years in having created Brotherhood-In-Action as an unique new mechanism in the community relations field. Without your confidence in what we set out to do, our task would have been impossible. I am proud of the modest gains we were able to make.

Norman Perlstein

NHP/mkm

Norman H. Perlstein



BROTHERHOOD·IN·ACTION, INC.

560 Seventh Avenue (at Fortieth Street) New York, New York 10018

LW 4-0350

Founder
HON. GEORGE J. BELDOCK
(1904-1970)

Honorary Vice-President
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OFFICERS

President
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Vice-Presidents
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THEODORE NEWHOUSE
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Chairman of the Board of Directors
ALBERT A. LIST

Chairman of the Board of Governors
SAMUEL HAUSMAN

Chairman of the Executive Committee
HON. ROY M. GOODMAN

Co-Chairman of the Executive Committee
WILLIAM KAUFMAN

Treasurer
WILLIAM A. SHEA

Assistant Treasurer
ANDREW ROSCOE

Secretary
MURRY C. BECKER

Assistant Secretary
JESSE MARGOLIN

HONORARY DIRECTORS
TERENCE CARDINAL COOKE
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
HON. NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER

Executive Director
NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

April 1, 1971

Dear Friend:

Unfortunately we have not yet been able to produce another edition of the 1969 Directory of Intergroup Relations Agencies. However, we have prepared the enclosed which describes the major additions and changes which have been brought to our attention.

Would you please let us know of any additional changes in your agency or of any new organizations in your area which should be included in an updated Directory.

Many thanks for your help.

Sincerely,

Ellen Leavy

Ellen Leavy
Acting Director

EL:yg
enc.

P.S. Additional copies of the list of changes and additions may be obtained for 20¢ a copy in cash or stamps from the above address.

Brotherhood · In · Action, Inc.

1969 DIRECTORY OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS AGENCIES

Changes in Listings
to March 1971

Page 1

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE
Office of Civil Rights
330 Independence Avenue S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20201
Delete Peter Libassi

Page 2

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Community Relations Service
Federal Building, Room 507
26 Federal Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10007

Page 4

U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
1401 "I" Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20425

Page 6

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF JUNIOR COLLEGES
1 Dupont Circle
Washington, D.C. 20036

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
Delete John J. Pemberton, Jr.
Insert Aryeh Neier, Executive Director
Insert Charles Blackburn, Field Development Director

Page 10

BROTHERHOOD-IN-ACTION, INC.
Delete Norman H. Perlstein, Executive Director
Maureen P. Cassidy, Intergroup Relations Associate
Change Ellen Leavy's title to Acting Director

Page 16

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
Delete organization

Page 17

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
1865 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10023

Change Edward Rutledge's title to Executive Co-Director
Jack E. Wood, Jr. title to Executive Co-Director
Margaret Fisher's title to Associate Executive Director

Page 19

NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON RELIGION AND RACE
Delete organization

Page 20

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, INC.
Delete Whitney M. Young, Jr., Executive Director
Insert Harold R. Sims, Acting Executive Director

Page 22

SCHOLARSHIP, EDUCATION AND DEFENSE FUND FOR RACIAL EQUALITY, INC.
164 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10016

Delete Marvin Rich
Change Ronnie M. Moore's title to Executive Director
Insert Shirley Lacy, Director of Training

Page 27

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS
Delete Harry O. Bright, Associate Director

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
Delete Charles Blackburn, Field Development Director

Page 38

KANSAS COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Delete Homer C. Floyd, Executive Director

Page 39

MASSACHUSETTS COMMISSION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION
120 Tremont Street
Boston, Mass. 02108

MICHIGAN CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION
1000 Cadillac Square Building
Delete Burton I. Cordin
Insert Milton J. Robinson

Page 41

NEBRASKA EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
712 South 15th Street
Box 94862
Lincoln, Neb. 68509

Page 42

NEW YORK STATE DIVISION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
Delete Barry Van Lare
Insert Robert J. Mangum, Commissioner
Delete Saal Lesser
Insert Frank Ferro, Executive Director

Page 43

COMMONWEALTH OF PUERTO RICO
Delete Joseph Monserrat
Insert Manuel A. Casiano, Jr. National Director

Page 44

PENNSYLVANIA HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION
100 North Cameron Street
Harrisburg, Pa. 17101
Insert Homer C. Floyd, Executive Director
Delete Milo A. Manly
Change Elizabeth G. Henderson's title to Deputy Director
Insert S. Asher Winikoff, Counsel

Page 54

NEW YORK CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
84 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10010

Delete Aryeh Neier
Insert Ira Glasser, Executive Director

Page 61

THE SACRAMENTO HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION
2001 21st Street
Sacramento, Calif. 95818

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION OF SAN FRANCISCO
1095 Market Street, Room 501
San Francisco, Calif. 94103

Page 67

GARY HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION
401 Broadway, B-1
Gary, Indiana 46402

Delete Charles H. King, Jr.
Insert Gloria Bernal, Interim Executive Director
Delete Ernest A. Ruetter
Insert Joseph R. Smith, Jr. Field Director for Employment
Robert Brown, Chairman

Page 68

DES MOINES HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION
Delete Perry W. Hooks
Insert Allen Correll, Executive Director

Page 77

BUFFALO COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1701 City Hall
Buffalo, N.Y. 14202

Page 78

BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
Delete Frederick H. Williams
Change Lynette Tucker's title to Acting Director

NEW YORK CITY COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
Delete Simeon Golar
Insert Eleanor Holmes Norton, Chairman
Delete Ramon E. Rivera
Insert Preston David, Executive Director
Delete Thomas H. Allen, Deputy Executive Director
Roy Metcalf
Insert John E. Burke, Public Information & Relations
Delete Harriet I. Pickens

Page 79

HUMAN RESOURCES ADMINISTRATION
220 Church Street
New York, N.Y. 10013

Delete Mitchell I. Ginsberg
Insert Jule M. Sugarman, Commissioner
Delete Henry Cohen
Insert John Forrer, Deputy Administrator
Delete Irving Berezin
Insert Edwin Barker, Deputy Administrator for Management
Delete Cyril Tyson
Manuel Diaz, Jr.
Insert Joseph R. Erazo, Commissioner Manpower and Career Development Agency

Page 80

NEW YORK CITY HOUSING AUTHORITY
Delete Marian Hargrave,
Insert Simeon Golar, Chairman
Wendell J. Roye, Director Community Affairs

Page 84

THE OKLAHOMA CITY COMMUNITY RELATIONS COMMISSION
Delete Orra G. Compton

Page 96

JOINT WASHINGTON OFFICE FOR SOCIAL CONCERN
(American Ethical Union, American Humanist Association, Unitarian Universalist)
100 Maryland Avenue, N.E.
Washington, D. C. 20002

Robert E. Jones, Executive Director

Page 112

URBAN LEAGUE OF GREATER NEW YORK, INC.
Insert Livingston Wingate, Executive Director
Lloyd I. Terry, Deputy Executive Director
Delete Evelyn P. Davis

Page 128

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
Delete Jack D. Middleton

Page 134

BOY SCOUTS OF CANADA
Delete Donald A. Thompson
Insert J. Lawrence Dampier
Change J. L. MacGregor's title to Deputy Chief Executive

CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP COUNCIL
Delete organization

Page 16

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS (NAIRO)
Delete Frederick B. Routh, Executive Director
Insert Alexander J. Paxson, Staff Director

Page 6

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

Insert Norman Hill, Associate Director

Page 74

ST. PAUL DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS
Insert Louis H. Ervin, Executive Director

Page 114

URBAN LEAGUE OF ROCHESTER
Delete Jerry Wilson

Additions to listings

NATIONAL PRIVATE AGENCIES

AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION
2 West 64th Street
New York, N.Y. 10023

Mrs. Jean Cotkin, Director

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
INFORMATION CENTER ON JEWISH-NEGRO RELATIONS
15 East 84th Street
New York, N.Y. 10028

Libby R. Adelman, Director

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225 Park Avenue South
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Catherine M. Wills, Executive Secretary Family and Child Care Division
Jerry A. Shroder, Executive Secretary Citizens Committee on Aging
Dr. Morton D. Schweitzer, Chairman Health Division
Ted O. Thackrey, Administrator

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Washington, D. C. 20037

William Gorham, President

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Thomas M. McKenna, Executive Director
Lois Buell, Program Consultant
Dr. Arthur C. Logan, President

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DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE
Region II
26 Federal Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10007

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS
New York Regional Office
55 West 42nd Street
New York, N.Y. 10036

Arnold Aronson, Secretary

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
Washington Office
1819 "H" Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Western Office
680 Beach Street
San Francisco, Calif. 94109

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Lehigh University
Bethlehem, Penna. 18105

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Albany, N.Y. 12224

Wilbur R. Nordos, Administrator

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David Entin, Director

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Newton, Mass. 02158

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211 City Hall
Syracuse, N.Y. 13202

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Farrell Jones, Executive Director

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Department of Human Relations
City Hall
Springfield, Ohio 45501

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LOCAL PUBLIC

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Syracuse, N.Y. 13202

SUFFOLK COUNTY HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION
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Hauppauge, N.Y. 11788

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AKRON HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION
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Room 621
Akron, Ohio 44308

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Edward V. Brown, Director

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Fort Worth, Texas 76102

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San Diego, Calif. 92101

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511 Verano Court
San Mateo, Calif. 94402

Louis W. Jones, Executive Director

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1109 19th Avenue South
Nashville, Tenn. 37212

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ARCHDIOCESE OF HARTFORD
Office of Urban Affairs
P. O. Box 7008
New Haven, Conn. 06519

Jack D. Middleton, Executive Director

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
South Regional Office
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

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Manuel Diaz, Executive Vice President

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OF GREATER NEW YORK
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New York, N.Y. 10022

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COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
Center for Research Education
In American Liberties
Broadway & 116th Street
New York, N.Y. 10027

Dr. Alan F. Westin, Director

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School of Social Work
Intergroup Relations Division
Myles Cooper Building
440 West 110th Street
New York, N.Y. 10025

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
Center for New York City Affairs
72 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10011

Henry Cohen, Director
Jerome Liblit, Program Director &
Associate Dean

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
Center for Human Relations and
Community Studies
Washington Square
New York, N.Y. 10003

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY
Project Opportunity
610 East Fayette Street
Syracuse, N.Y. 13202

SARAH LAWRENCE COLLEGE
Institute of Community Studies
Bronxville, N.Y.

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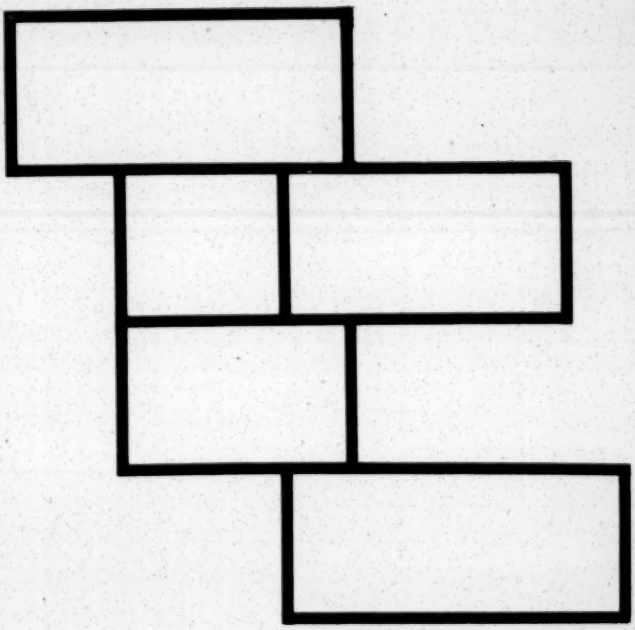
74 Victoria Street
Toronto 1, Ontario, Canada

Dr. Daniel J. Hill, Jr, Executive
Director and Commissioner



Member, Welfare Council
of Metropolitan Chicago.

WHERE HELPING HANDS REACH OUT IN WELCOME!

To the southern migrant who comes north to look for work and a better life for his family, the Chicago Southern Center offers warmth, welcome and help in getting established.

Chicago often presents an unfriendly face to the newcomer from the South. He finds the city big and bewildering. Most available jobs require special skills he doesn't have.

Frequently, his new neighbors regard him with suspicion, deride his southern accent and call him a "hillbilly".

Some 30,000 southerners have settled in the Uptown area of Chicago. About half are from Appalachia. Many are from small mining towns or rural areas and arrive without preparation for the complexities of life in a metropolis.

The Chicago Southern Center tries to help the migrant to assimilate himself into the Chicago community as rapidly as possible. It is the only family service agency with a program planned to meet the specific needs of the southern migrant in Chicago.

It offers help in finding housing and employment, counseling on financial, personal and family problems, legal assistance and group orientation programs.

An affiliate of the Council of the Southern Mountains, the Center is located in the Uptown area of the north side, Chicago's outpost of Appalachia. It is not a welfare station, but rather a place where people learn to help themselves to live in an urban society and make their way on their own.

THE LURE OF JOBS...

It is the lure of jobs that brings the southerner to Chicago, and one of the major functions of the Chicago Southern Center is to help him find work.

During 1965, the Center placed about 200 persons in jobs.

In addition to finding potential employers and referring applicants to them, the Center staff advises the job-seekers on such essentials as how to prepare for job interviews, how to dress for an interview, how to fill out employment applications and how to ride public transportation to get to the job.

The Center also keeps in touch with those placed on jobs and works to promote an understanding relationship between them and their new employers.

Some employers have found southerners such satisfactory workers that they call the Center automatically whenever they have a job opening. Often the Center has more job openings available than it can fill with qualified applicants.

A FAMILY CENTER...

The Chicago Southern Center is a family center. Its group orientation programs are aimed at reaching and involving the whole family in activities outside the home and, at the same time, these programs strive to hold the families together.

The Center takes children and adults on tours to the Loop, to museums, to schools in the Uptown area. It distributes Chicago area and CTA street maps.

These group programs not only teach people about the city, they also provide a touchstone of social life for families who find themselves lonely and lost in a new environment.

The Men's Club grew out of a series of informal meetings of men who had obtained employment through the Center.

Later a 15-man advisory board was formed, drawn from the membership of the Men's Club, to help in planning future programs.

This board is working on plans for adult education and work training programs . . . and for an organized effort to improve neighborhood conditions in the area around the Center.

A REFERRAL SERVICE...

The Chicago Southern Center provides a referral service to put migrant families in touch with such agencies as the Chicago Board of Health, local schools and churches and other community services.

A clothing exchange, a community pantry and several group orientation programs are conducted in cooperation with other agencies.

An extensive program of help for alcoholics includes an Alcoholics Anonymous group which meets regularly at the Center.

Professional social work agencies consider the southern migrant hard to reach and find the Center extremely valuable as a bridge to make contact with this group.

The Center has been particularly effective in working to promote a better understanding between parents and schools in the area.

WOMEN'S CLUBS...

Women's clubs which meet weekly are a popular feature of the Chicago Southern Center.

The women sew together and discuss such homemaking problems as budgeting, nutrition, home nursing, child care and the like. A Red Cross nurse serves as adviser to the groups.

Volunteers provide baby-sitting services for pre-school children who accompany their mothers to the groups' meetings.

A primary function of these programs is to help the women establish relationships with their neighbors, get acquainted with the schools and organizations in the area and develop a feeling of community within Uptown.

Speakers from the schools and other agencies help the women to learn about what Chicago has to offer them and their families. Tours of other agencies and organizations in Uptown help to make them feel at home in the community.

The meetings also provide opportunity to teach the women how to protect the health of their families, how to shop to get the most value for their money and other practical skills.

To the members, the group meetings are important as social occasions. One group is made up of women who quilt together regularly. They take great pride in their skill at quilt-making, a craft which they identify with their southern background and heritage.

FOR CHILDREN...

A tutoring program with volunteers from schools and colleges in the area is a feature of the Southern Center youth services.

In cooperation with the YWCA, the Center provides field trips, arts and crafts, recreation, personal grooming, dating, school and other discussion programs for teen and pre-teen girls.

The children's programs have proved an effective aid in helping the Center to reach many of the southern parents in the area.

Support the Center's work by a contribution to the Chicago Southern Center. Your gift should be addressed to:

The Chicago Southern Center
Council of the Southern Mountains
1028 W. Wilson Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60640

Contributions to the Center are deductible for Federal Income Tax purposes. The Center's tax deductibility number is #61-056-1199-N.

Expense	*Estimate Calendar Year*
Salaries, Executive and Clerical	$42,700
Conventions and Workshops	2,000
Telephone, Insurance, Benefits	2,755
Public Relations, Good Will, Promotion	2,000
Total Administration	$49,455
Maintenance, Repairs, Improvements	2,000
Rent	3,000
Electricity	900
Total Maintenance	$5,900
Program Expense	13,670
Annual Scholarships, Workshop	2,900
Trips and Transportation	1,000
Revolving Emergency Fund	1,500
Contingency	1,500
Total Program Expense	$20,570
GRAND TOTAL OF EXPENSES	$75,925
Projected 1967 Contributions	32,120
Contribution Need	$43,805

Affiliated With
THE COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS

WE'RE HERE WITH YOU

COME SEE US

CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER

1028 W. WILSON AVE. 271 0846

THIS HANDBOOK

THIS HANDBOOK for Southerners has been prepared by friends of Southern people - the Workers and the Managers of the Chicago Southern Center located at 1028 West Wilson Avenue which is the corner of Wilson and Kenmore Avenues.

The Chicago Southern Center is a friendly place where Southern people meet for help of all kinds or for just plain good old visit'n and guitar pick'n. The Chicago Southern Center is on the second floor, but that makes no difference as far as the friendliness and hospitality of the place is concerned.

The folk at the Chicago Southern Center would like to meet each Southern family in these parts, but can't possibly get around to them all. So, the next best thing was to fix up this handbook that tells you just about everything you need to know. If it makes life a little easier for you, if it helps you get around better, if it answers some questions you have been having for a long time and if it just plain lets you know that there is someone here in Chicago that does care, then the whole thing will be worth while.

Now, if you have any more questions or have anything that starts puzzling you - you just get yourself on down to the Chicago Southern Center and ask for Jim or Marshall or Joe or Marge or Martha. There isn't a one of them there that can't help you - I know, I've been there!

CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER
1028 West Wilson Ave.
(Wilson and Kenmore)
271-0846

"WE'RE HERE WITH YOU---COME SEE US"

NUMBERS TO KNOW

ALDERMAN'S OFFICE. . .48th WARD	878-4800
BOARD OF EDUCATION	332-7800
CHICAGO MOTOR CLUB	561-1818
CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER	271-0846
CHICAGO TRANSIT AUTHORITY	664-7200
COOK COUNTY DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC AID	248-7900
CUNEO HOSPITAL	275-2600
DOCTOR. . .EMERGENCY SERVICE	236-4200
FIRE	347-1313
ILLINOIS DRIVER'S LICENSE	282-4000
ILLINOIS STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE	327-2101
NEIGHBORHOOD INFORMATION SERVICE	334-4189
POLICE	765-1313
SOCIAL SECURITY	782-9135
TRAVELERS AID SOCIETY	782-0905
WEISS MEMORIAL HOSPITAL	878-8700

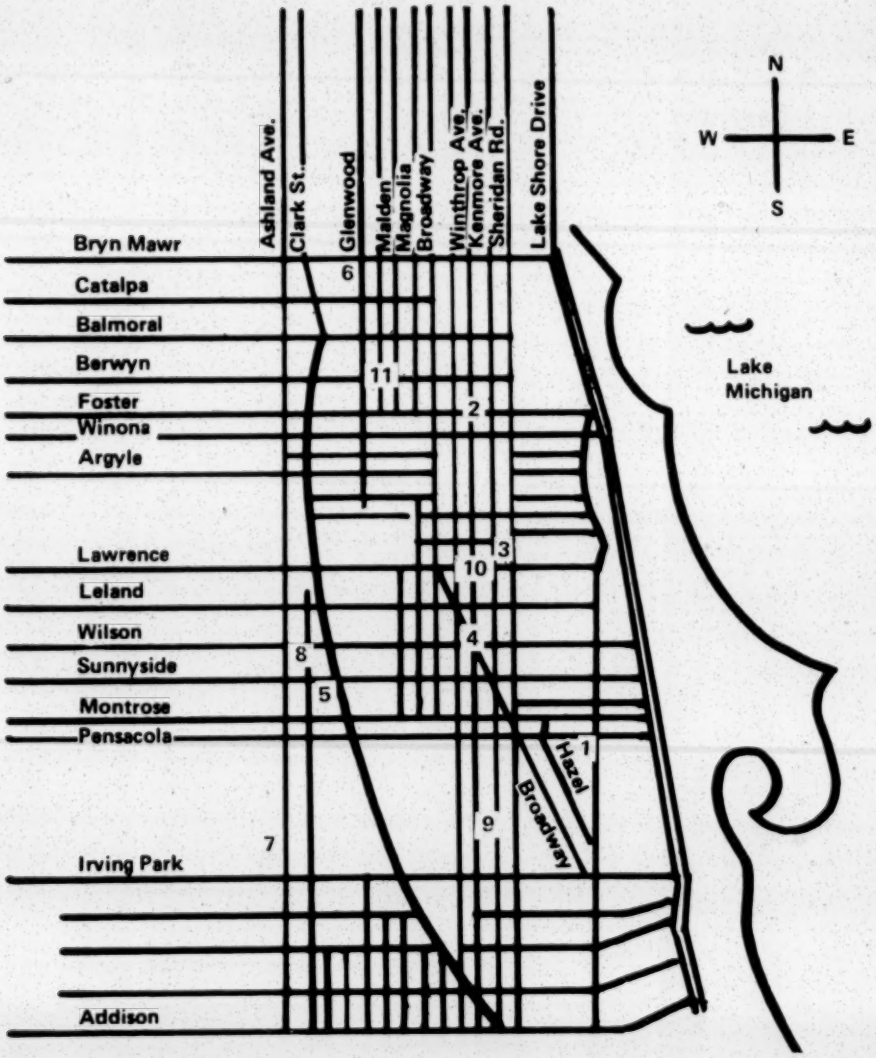
INSTANT HELP
327 2101
OR
271 0846

UPTOWN SCHOOLS

1.	JOSEPH BRENNEMANN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL . .	4251 N. Clarendon
2.	WILLIAM C. GOUDY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL . . .	5120 N. Winthrop
3.	JOHN T. MC CUTCHEON SCHOOL	4865 N. Sheridan
4.	GRAEME STEWART ELEMENTARY SCHOOL . . .	4525 N. Kenmore
5.	JOSEPH STOCKTON ELEMENTARY SCHOOL . . .	4420 N. Beacon
6.	NICHOLAS SENN HIGH SCHOOL	5900 N. Glenwood
7.	IMMACULATA HIGH SCHOOL	640 W. Irving Pk.
8.	OUR LADY OF LOURDES ELEMENTARY SCHOOL .	4639 N. Ashland
9.	ST. MARY OF THE LAKE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL .	4201 N. Kenmore
10.	ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY	4809 N. Kenmore
11.	ST. ITA CATHOLIC SCHOOL	5525 N. Magnolia

(Schools located by number on next page)

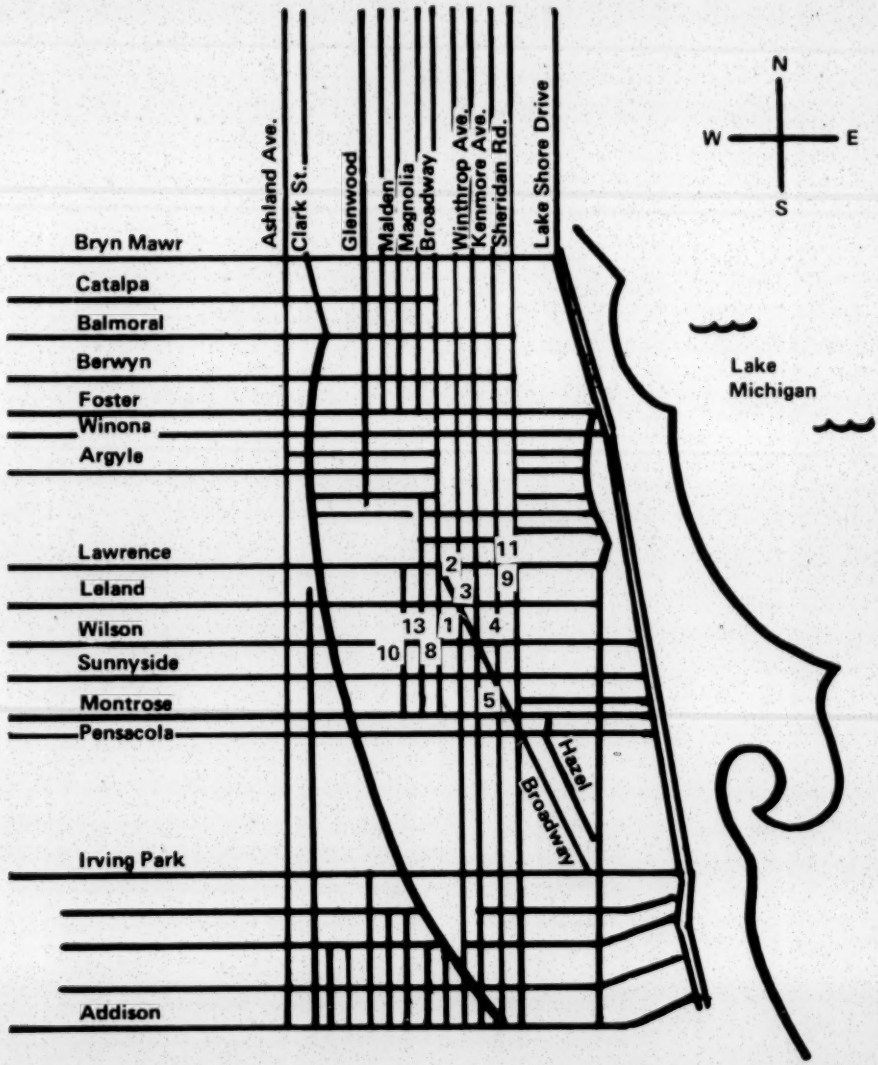
SCHOOL LOCATION MAP



UPTOWN SERVICES

1.	ALCOHOLISM 728-2309	AID TO ALCOHOLICS 1259 W. Wilson
2.	BUILDING VIOLATIONS . . 561-3978	UPTOWN CHICAGO COMMISSION 4723 N. Broadway
3.	CITY PROBLEMS 827-4800	48TH WARD 4750 N. Broadway
4.	CLOTHING 271-0846	CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER 1028 W. Wilson
5.	FOOD 327-2101	COMMUNITY PANTRY 901 W. Montrose
6.	FURNITURE 271-0846	CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER 1028 W. Wilson
7.	HOUSING 327-2101	MONTROSE PROGRESS CENTER 901 W. Montrose
8.	HOUSING 271-8140	UNITED PEOPLE 1354 W. Wilson
9.	INDIAN AID 784-1050	ST. AUGUSTINE CENTER 4712 N. Sheridan
10.	INDIAN AID 275-5871	AMERICAN INDIAN CENTER 1612 W. Wilson
11.	INFANT CARE 561-8542	MATERNAL & INFANT WELFARE 4720 N. Sheridan
12.	INFORMATION 271-0846	CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER 1028 W. Wilson
13.	JOBS 561-7310	TRI-FAITH EMPLOYMENT CENTER 1361 W. Wilson
14.	JOBS 327-2101	ILL. STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE 901 W. Montrose
15.	LEGAL AID 327-2101	LEGAL AID 901 W. Montrose
16.	MENTAL HEALTH . . . 327-2101	UPTOWN MENTAL HEALTH CENTER 901 W. Montrose
17.	MEDICAL 327-2101	MONTROSE PROGRESS CENTER 901 W. Montrose
18.	SCHOOL PROBLEMS . . . 561-3541	DISTRICT OFFICE
19.	SENIOR CITIZENS . . . 327-2101	MONTROSE PROGRESS CENTER 901 W. Montrose
20.	WELFARE 327-2101	COOK COUNTY PUBLIC AID 901 W. Montrose
21.	YOUTH PROBLEMS . . . 327-2101	COMMISSION ON YOUTH WELFARE 901 W. Montrose

SERVICE LOCATION MAP



SERVICES

CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER
OFFERS

FOOD

CLOTHING

SHOES

FINANCIAL AID

FURNITURE

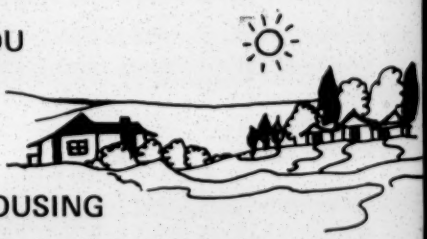
LEGAL ASSISTANCE

RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

<u>ALSO</u>

WE CAN GUIDE YOU

JOBS



HOUSING

MEDICAL AID

CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER
COME SEE US

PROGRAMS

MONDAY . . . . . KIDS' NIGHT

TUESDAY . . . . . GUITAR LESSONS

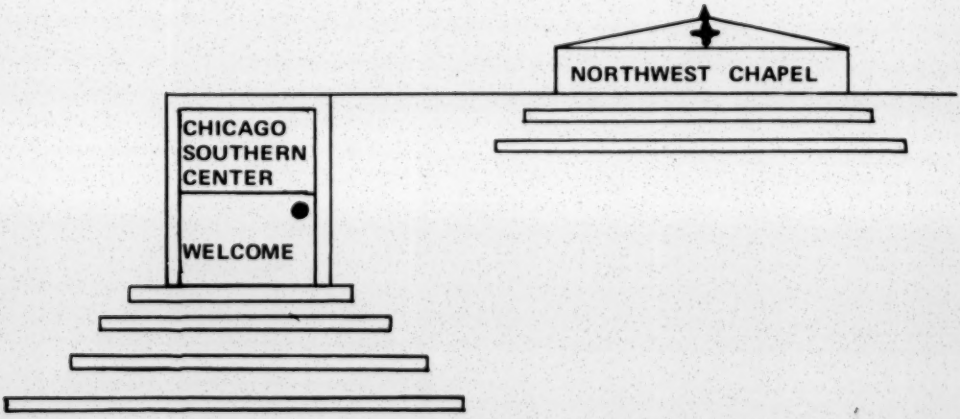
WEDNESDAY . . . . . PRAYER SERVICE

THURSDAY . . . . . ADULT NIGHT

FRIDAY . . . . . COUNTRY VARIETY

SATURDAY . . . . . HOSPITALITY DAY

SUNDAY . . . . . WORSHIP SERVICES



CITY CHURCHES

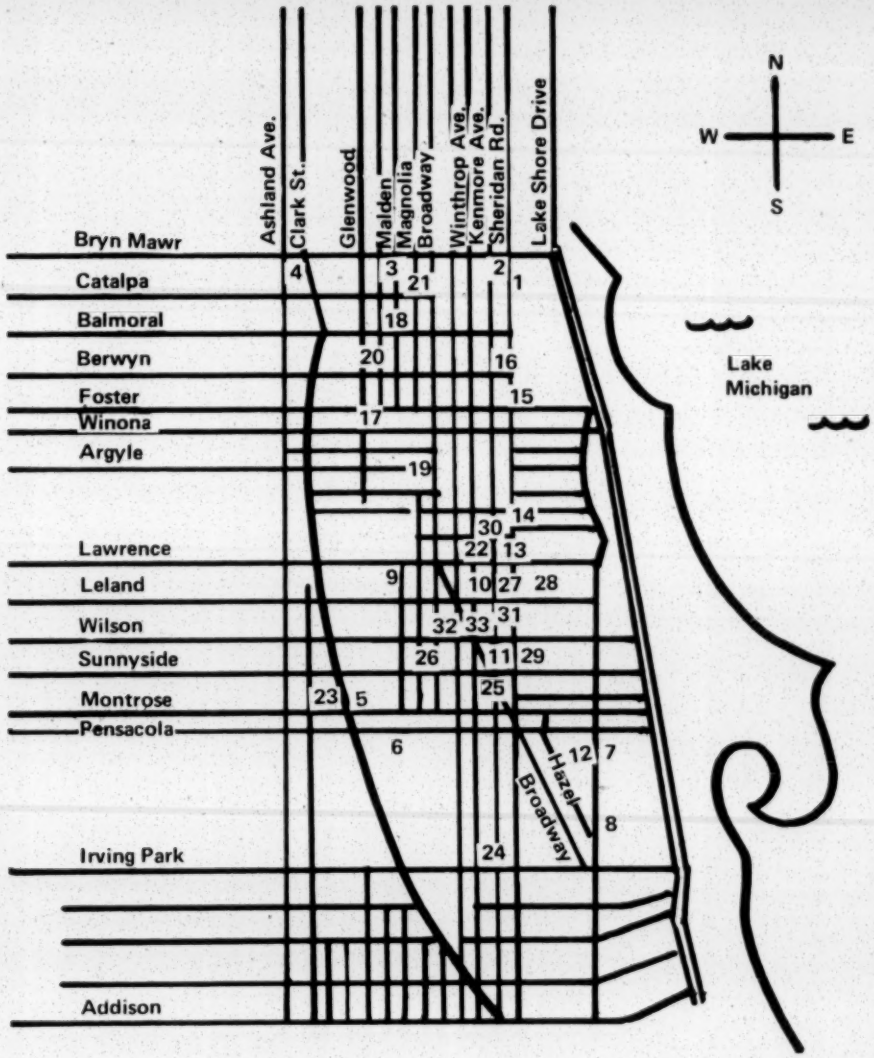
1.	Armenian Church of Christ	5430 N. Sheridan Rd.
2.	Edgewater Presbyterian Church	1020 W. Bryn Mawr
3.	Edgewater Covenant Church	1402 W. Bryn Mawr
4.	Pholadelphia Church	5445 N. Clark St.
5.	Calvary Miss. Baptist Church	4407 N. Clark St.
6.	Assyrian Presbyterian Church	1445 W. Pensacola
7.	Buena Memorial Presby. Church	4301 N. Sheridan Rd.
8.	St. Mary of Lake Catholic Church	4200 N. Sheridan Rd.
9.	Lakeview Church of Christ	4714 N. Malden Ave.
10.	Chicago Buddhist Church	1151 N. Leland Ave.
11.	North Shore Fundamental Church	1011 W. Wilson Ave.
12.	Assyrian Evangelical Church	4447 N. Hazel Ave.
13.	St. Thomas of Canterbury Cath. Church	4827 Lawrence Ave.
14.	North Shore Congregation (Jewish)	5033 N. Kenmore
15.	Epworth Methodist Church	5249 N. Kenmore
16.	Seventh Church of Christ Scientist	5312 N. Kenmore
17.	North Shore Baptist Church	5244 N. Lakewood
18.	Unity Evangelical Lutheran Church	5409 N. Magnolia
19.	Church of God Tabernacle	5145 N. Broadway
20.	The Salvation Army	1473 W. Berwyn
21.	St. Ita Catholic Church	1220 W. Catalpa
22.	The People's Church (Unitarian)	941 W. Lawrence

COUNTRY CHURCHES

23.	Northside Missionary Bapt. Church	4407 N. Clark St.
24.	Ellon Baptist Church	4102 N. Kenmore
25.	Pentecostal Church of Jesus Christ	4547 N. Broadway
26.	First Pentecostal Church of God	4547 N. Racine
27.	Bible Missionary Baptist Church	1116 W. Leland
28.	All Nations House of Unity	1040 W. Leland
29.	The Salvation Army	4614 N. Sheridan Rd.
30.	First Freewill Baptist Church	4947 N. Winthrop
31.	Uptown Community Church	4752 N. Kenmore
32.	Uptown Baptist Chapel	1222 W. Sunnyside
33.	Northwest Baptist Chapel	1028 W. Wilson Ave.

(Churches located on next page by number) →

CHURCH LOCATION MAP



QUESTIONS SOUTHERNERS ASK

1. WHERE CAN I FIND A PLACE TO LIVE? (327-2101)
   Montrose Urban Progress Center prints a weekly list of vacancies in Uptown apartments where rent is on a weekly basis, and children and pets are allowed.

2. HOW DO I BECOME AN APARTMENT MANAGER? (271-0846)
   Call the Real Estate Company of the building or ask a friend to call them with a recommendation for you.

3. WHO DO I SEE ABOUT GETTING A JOB? (327-2101)
   The Day-Labor Office of the Illinois State Employment Service at Montrose Urban Progress Center, 901 Montrose is government funded and no fee is withheld from wages and the worker keeps the full amount paid by the employer. Tri-Faith Employment at 1361 W. Wilson and I.S.E.S. at Montrose Center give specific jobs of longer term.

4. WHAT KIND OF JOBS ARE AVAILABLE? (561-7310)
   Jobs are classified as unskilled, semi-skilled, skilled, and professional. There are two divisions: Jobs in Manufacture, jobs in Service. Manufacture-type jobs are like drill press, punch press, inspection, molding, assembly, etc. Service-type jobs are like housekeeping, janitorial, recreation work, restaurants, hotels and hospitals.

5. WHERE DO THE CHILDREN GO TO SCHOOL? (271-0846)
   Inquire at the Chicago Southern Center, 1028 W. Wilson, for the school in the area where you live.

6. WHO DO I SEE ABOUT FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR ABANDONED WIFE AND CHILDREN? (327-2101)
   The Intake Department of Montrose Urban Progress Center will arrange an appointment with the Aid to Dependent Children Department of Cook County.

7. WHERE CAN LEGAL ADVICE BE OBTAINED? (327-2101)
The Legal Aid Society helps and attorneys are at Montrose Urban Progress Center, at Hull House on Beacon Street.

8. WHO DO I SEE ABOUT AN ALCOHOLIC HUSBAND OR WIFE? (728-2309)
Aid to Alcoholics (ATA), 1259 Wilson, will give help and information.

9. WHERE CAN I GET FOOD IN AN EMERGENCY? (271-0846)
There is a Community Pantry at Montrose Urban Progress Center, which is supported by the Chicago Southern Center. The Chicago Southern Center maintains a supply of food for emergency situations for people from the southern mountains.

10. WHERE CAN I GO FOR HELP IN CASE OF EVICTION? (327-2101)
Apply at Montrose Urban Progress Center, the Gospel League Home for stranded women and children at 955 W. Grand, The Pacific Garden Mission on S. State Street or Cathedral Shelter on S. Ashland.

11. WHERE CAN FURNITURE OR CLOTHING BE OBTAINED IN AN EMERGENCY OF FUNDS? (271-0846)
Inquire at the Chicago Southern Center.

12. WHERE DO I GO FOR HELP IF A MEMBER OF THE FAMILY IS SICK AND MUST BE HOSPITALIZED? (878-8700)
Inquire at the Chicago Southern Center, at Arvey Clinic of Weiss Memorial Hospital or at Intake Department of Montrose Progress Center.

13. WHERE CAN A WOMAN WHO IS EXPECTING A BABY GO FOR HELP? (561-8542)
Infant Welfare Station No. 1, 4720 Sheridan Road will help with maternal or infant problems.

14. WHERE CAN I GO FOR FINANCIAL HELP TO RETURN TO APPALACHIA? (271-0846)
Inquire at Chicago Southern Center or Traveler's Aid.

HINTS

1. Get a friend you can trust, one who has been around here long enough and knows about jobs, apartments, schools, stores, and laws. THE CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER wants to be your friend.

2. Get a regular, permanent job right away. It takes a lot of money to live in Chicago, a steady pay check is most important.

3. Get your own furniture as soon as possible. It is a cheaper way to live in the long run.

4. Rent your apartment by the month just as soon as you are able. If you've come to Chicago for a better income, don't waste your money on weekly rent.

5. Get to know your local merchants and buy regularly from them. Check out all others to see if they are honest. Beware of the "good deal" schemer.

6. The law and the police officer is on your side. Know what the law expects you to do; be nice to your neighbors and don't bother them with your family arguments; it's up to you to make the law work FOR you, not AGAINST you.

7. Children need schooling; see that they go every day and that they do what the teacher expects of them.

8. Go to places that help you in times of special need, THE CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER can help you find the right answer, and the right place at the right time of need.

9. Recreation in the city can be fun. There are some fine programs at the Park, Boys Club, Montrose Center and THE CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER. Avoid getting drunk; it leads to trouble and trouble is no fun.

10. Go to Church, the one where you can worship God in the depth of your heart. THE CHICAGO SOUTHERN CENTER has a prayer meeting and a Sunday service every week.

NOTES

1. **Where Southerners Go...**

   Chicago Southern Center
   1028 W. Wilson Avenue
   327-2101

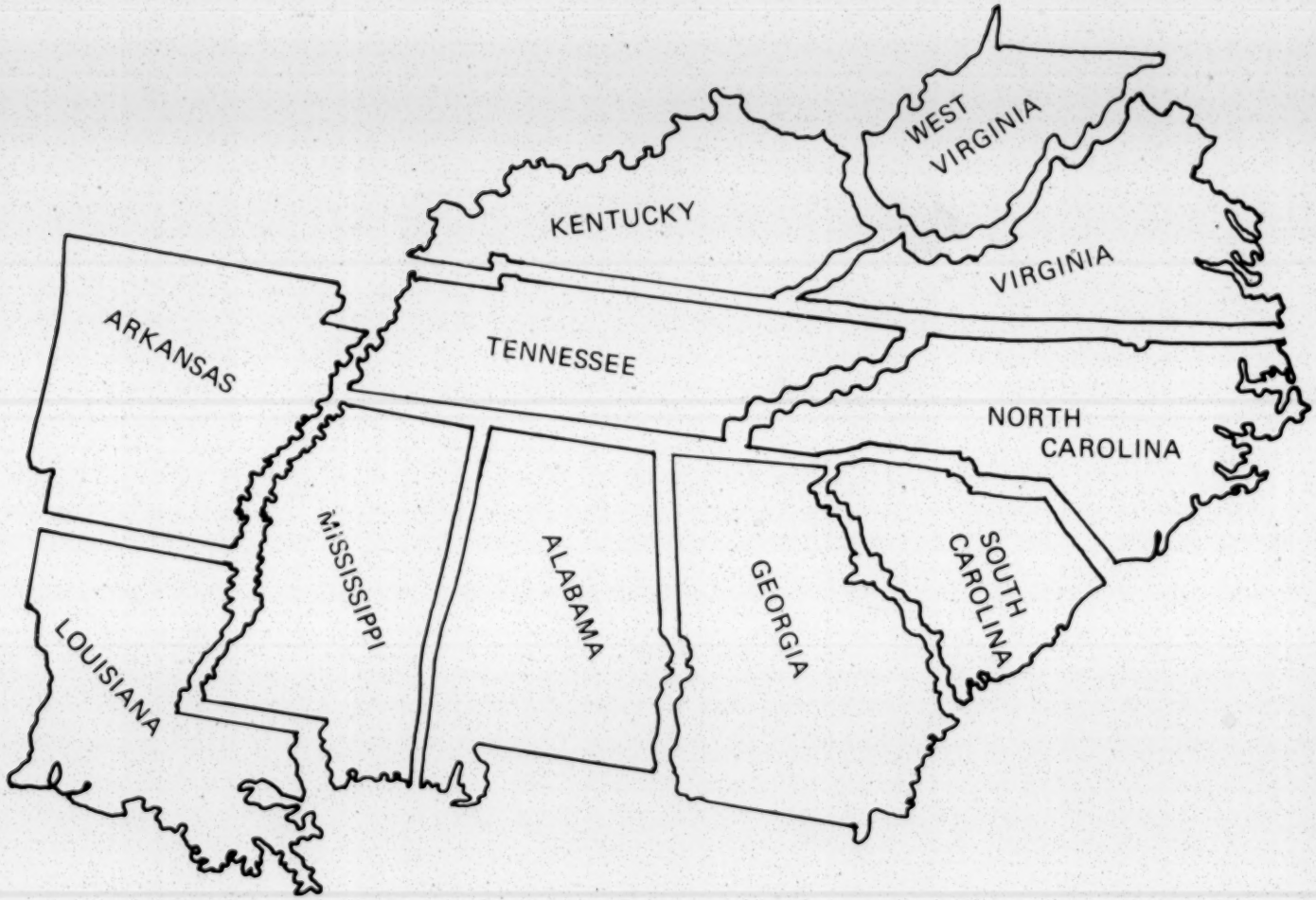
2. **Place for the Boys...**

   McCormick Boys Club
   4835 N. Sheridan
   271-8400

3. **Help of All Kinds...**

   Montrose Progress Center
   901 W. Montrose
   327-2101

4. **The "Loop" is Downtown Chicago--**
   Get there by the "L" which stands for elevated and is a train that costs 40 ¢ each way.


WEST VIRGINIA
KENTUCKY
VIRGINIA
ARKANSAS
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
SOUTH CAROLINA
LOUISIANA

Social Ills Challenge City's Protestants

By WILL LISSNER

The Protestant community in New York is in the midst of a revolution reflecting and responding to fundamental changes in American society and in the country's central cities.

The social upheaval in the tenements and soul-searching over the plight of slum dwellers and the racially disadvantaged are changing the community's conception of how it should bear witness to its ancient faith.

Two other developments are transforming the structures of the congregations and agencies through which Protestantism is ministering to the spiritual and social needs of its less advantaged fellow-citizens.

One is the continuing movement of the middle classes to the suburbs. The other is the accelerating flight of the rural poor to New York and the other central cities.

Surface changes, in consequence, are spectacular. They include the following:

¶New Yorkers who identify as Protestants have continued to grow slowly in number, with newcomers from the South and Puerto Rico replacing middle class whites and Negroes who have moved to the suburbs. Such New Yorkers now are believed to total 1,[illegible],000.

¶Negroes became [illegible] forty a decade ago [illegible] majority is [illegible] to grow. A decade [illegible] [illegible] of Protestant [illegible] there are [illegible] has deprived [illegible] many active members and their financial contributions.

¶The exodus, accelerated to friendly, rural congregations, shy away from the big churches. They remain unaffiliated or join the storefront chapels and other independent congregations, particularly if they are Spanish-speaking.

¶More than 50 churches have closed in the last 25 years, but independent congregations worshiping in homes, small halls and storefronts are increasing.

¶At one time the Protestant churches of New York maintained missionaries, hospitals and other institutions elsewhere in the United States and abroad. They are continuing this, but nearly half are now dependent on outside financial help to keep themselves in operation. And, some denominations are putting funds and personnel into slum areas in New York as if they were missions.

Negro Percentage Rises

The Protestant Council of the City of New York, a federation of some 1,000 Protestant and Orthodox churches, maintains a research department that studies these trends. The Rev. Leland E. Gartrell, its director, said in a recent interview that change was accelerating.

"Today, six out of ten New York Protestants are Negroes," he said. "By 1970 it will be seven out of ten, and by 1980 eight out of ten."

There are about 735,000 members of formally organized Protestant churches in the city, according to Mr. Gartrell. He believes at least 50,000 church-going Protestants are Spanish-speaking.

A recent survey by The New York Times of leaders of the Pentecostal sect, a faith that emphasizes austerity, conversion, emotional involvement and the theology of the primitive church, indicated that their membership runs between 200,000 and 400,000.

Because there are some 800,000 Protestants in New York without church affiliation, many churchmen see the city as a substantial mission field.

Tragedy—and Opportunity

One of these is the Protestant Council's executive director, the Rev. Dr. Dan M. Potter. Dr. Potter said that the fact that so many Protestants do not belong to churches is the tragedy of the church in New York, but that it could become an opportunity for the church to find itself.

The exodus of the middle class — predominantly white, but in part also Negro—to the suburbs has been "financially devastating" to the churches in 20 areas of the city, he said.

Typical of the effect on long-established churches was the case of the old North Dutch Reformed Church, at Fulton and William Streets. It once attracted 1,800 worshipers to the noontime revival meetings it established in 1857. When its chapel in a loft at 93 Nassau Street closed in 1960 it had 14 adherents.

The head of an interdenominational agency that has been in mission work in New York since 1812, the Rev. Dr. David W. Barry of the New York City Mission Society, said in an interview that "at least 60 Protestant churches will have to be closed in the next decade."

The eight leading denominations, including the Episcopal, Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian, have 700 congregations in the city. Of the 700, one out of four, according to Dr. Potter, received financial aid from their denominations in 1967.

The city has nearly 1,700 congregations with church edifices. Dr. Potter estimated that more than 700 "are now aid-receiving institutions."

Boom—and Then Bust

After World War II regilion boomed. Young couples flocked to the churches. Membership soared. Many religious leaders warned that the attachments were superficial and unlikely to last since they seemed to be based on achieving status in society. As problems here and abroad multiplied and adherents found their church membership of little help in coping with them, religion came to play a declining role in the lives of many people.

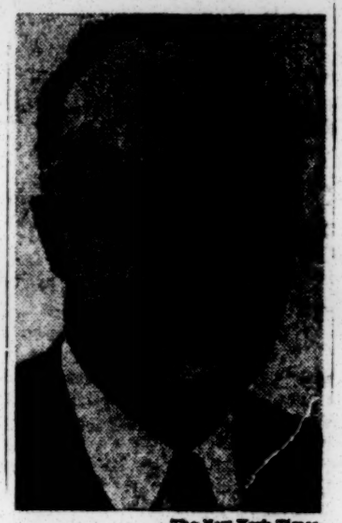
Many churches with substantial resources were overwhelmed by the needs of those in the slums and segregated neighborhoods for whom they felt a responsibility.

To meet the situation the big denominations began to devote an increasing share of their national financial resources and staffs to work in the big cities.

This was nearly a decade ago, before the Federal Government began its massive attack on poverty.

Some affluent suburban churches began sending direct financial aid to city churches.

In the city, some began to share their edifices with a Negro or Spanish-speaking congregation. Dr. Potter said the plan in some cases was eventually to turn the edifice over to the newcomers when the English-speaking white congregation had dwindled away.



The New York Times

The Rev. Leland E. Gartrell, research director of the Protestant Council of the City of New York, says six of 10 Protestants in city are Negroes and rate is growing.

Catering to Newcomers

Still another strategy was to set up churches catering to the newcomers. The Methodists had nine churches here for Puerto Ricans in 1958. Now there are 20. The American Lutherans set up a department of church extension in the church's American Missions Board to organize congregations in central city neighborhoods.

Despite the closing of some churches, new structures are still being built or old ones refurnished.

Known capital expenditures in New York last year totaled $1,232,938, of which 70 per cent was spent by the Methodists and Presbyterians. The Methodists staged a special crusade and raised $4-million. Half of it was allocated to the city.

But the main strategy for the big denominations was to devote national funds to neighborhood programs operated by churches.

So much was being spent that the denominations saw a need to coordinate their expenditures to avoid duplication. In 1964 several denominations assigned specialists to study how funds were being spent. Eight denominations now take part in this study.

The budget experts divided the city into 94 communities, and by 1966 they could tell how much each member church was spending in each community.

For 1967 the organization found that eight denominations had administered $10,198,780 through nine jurisdictions and nine agencies. Most of this came from private funds, although $1,303,588 came from Federal or local government programs operated through the churches.

$20-Million on Missions

Mr. Gartrell estimated that upward of $20 million a year was being spent on mission programs by the denominations and agencies in New York, apart from vast funds being spent by the large white and Negro local churches.

The denominational money is being expended through 156 agencies that operate 221 programs covering 13 types of service.

One type—group work and recreation—includes 64 projects. Education, including nurses training and higher education, comprises 64 church-related institutions.

The other services range from adoption, child health and employment to family and maternal services, nursing, aid to unmarried mothers, and the aging, day care, health, alcoholism and narcotics.

This is what Protestants men by "urban work," or "mission to the inner city." The programs are believed to be serving 240,000 persons, or 40 to 45 per cent of those who need them.

In addition there are the programs maintained by the congregations in the segregated neighborhoods and the slums themselves.

Among these are Negro churches, such as the Rev. Adam Clayton Powell's Abyssinian Baptist Church, 132 West 138th Street, or the Rev. M. L. Wilson's Convent Avenue Baptist Church, 420 West 145th Street, which has a separate activities building at 348 Convent Avenue.

One of the most active churches is the Metropolitan Community Methodist Church at 126th Street and Madison Avenue, with easy access to El Barrio, the main Puerto Rican community in East Harlem. The pastor is the Rev. William M. James, a leader in the effort to commit his denomination to urban missions and in the work of the Harlem Ministerial Association.

The church has an elaborate recreational, cultural and educational program that serves more than 1,600 Negro and Spanish-speaking young people. A substantial number had no church affiliation.

Most churchmen have come to believe that a united effort would add a greater dimension to urban missions. Yet united effort meets great obstacles.

One was pointed out by Gunnar Myrdal and his associates in "An American Dilemma," the classic study of the Negro problem a quarter of a century ago.

The white churches discouraged Negro membership in any substantial numbers and gave Negro churchmen only token shares in their denominational leadership. As a result, the Negro Protestants built their own churches and established their own denominational groups. They tend to remain apart, but not primarily because prejudice still exists on both sides.

Welcomed by Negroes

The Negro churches welcome white newcomers and many have some as members, such as Mr. Powell's church. Vista volunteers working under church auspices found themselves safe and accepted even in hostile segregated communities where volunteers under secular auspices had contrary experiences.

Prejudice among white Protestants in New York, even the kind that a white man will not acknowledge to himself, has declined. But there is a widespread belief among churchmen that, having functioned for three centuries as the majority, white Protestants do not know how to function as a minority in their church.

Many churchmen say that not enough Negro and Puerto Rican churchmen have positions of power in the leadership and the policy-making bodies of interdenominational agencies and denominational groups.

But some have risen to prominent posts, including the Rev. Edler G. Hawkins, former moderator of the United Presbyterians; the Rev. Carl McCall, now head of New York's Council Against Poverty, and the Rev. Robert P. Johnson, the Presbyterians' chief executive in New York.

No group is more attuned to this mood than the Negro and Spanish-speaking pastors of the independent congregations meeting in storefront chapels, small halls and homes.

To unite the churches and the independent congregations in a united urban mission, Dr. Potter and his colleagues have worked up a plan, called the Association for Christian Mission, which is intended to be operational by next Jan. 1.

Dr. Potter believes that missions to the city will succeed only to the extent that they weld to the resources of the established churches the evangelical enthusiasm of the Pentecostal, Holiness and other independent sects.

Goal Is United Action

Under the plan, church community associations in local sections of the city would involve the churches and congregations in each section in united action. The local representatives would have a voice in the programs and financing.

The cooperation of the independents may prove the key to involving the neighborhoods in planning and policy-making for the effort.

Mr. Hawkins, treasurer of the National Council of Negro Churchmen, said recently that "ghetto people will no longer tolerate being the subject of outsiders interested in uplifting them."

They must take part in programs, he said, determine policy and have power, power that is black though not the product of "frightening and confounding bravado" like black power.

But if this obstacle is surmounted, Mr. Hawkins said, commitment to urban missions could be the salvation of the central city church.

"Certainly," he declared, "this is where the obedience of the church lies, that the grapes of wrath we have sown in the cities shall not come to fruit."

MOUNTAIN LIFE & WORK

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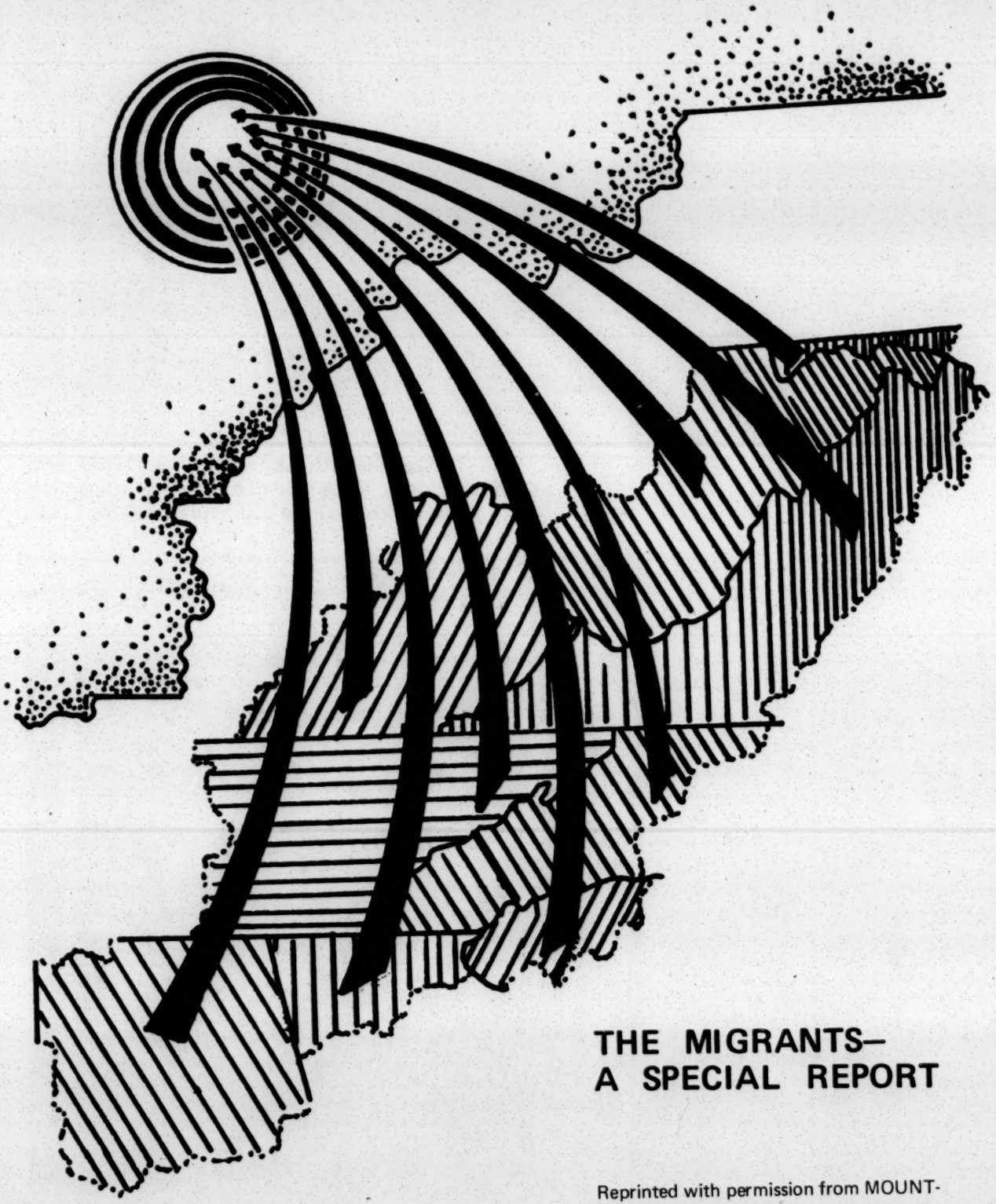

THE MIGRANTS— A SPECIAL REPORT

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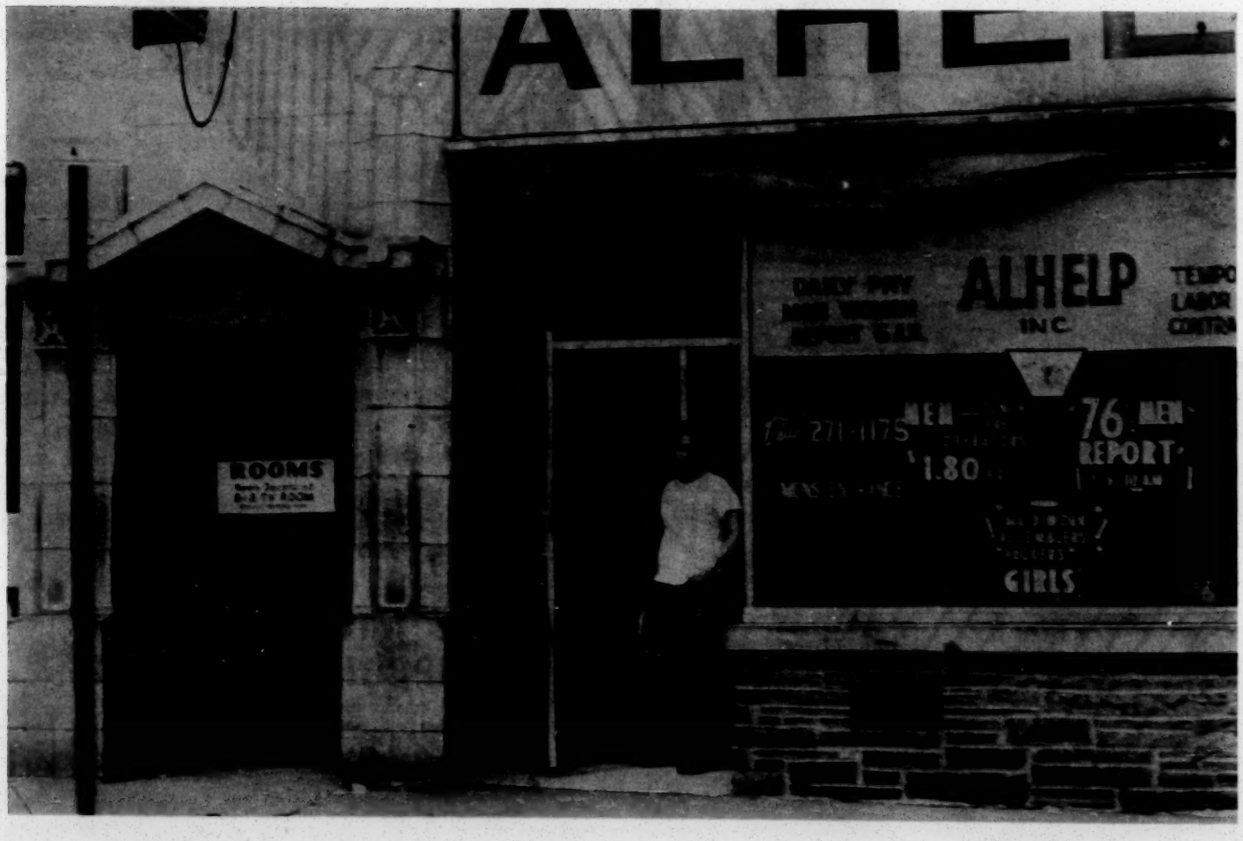
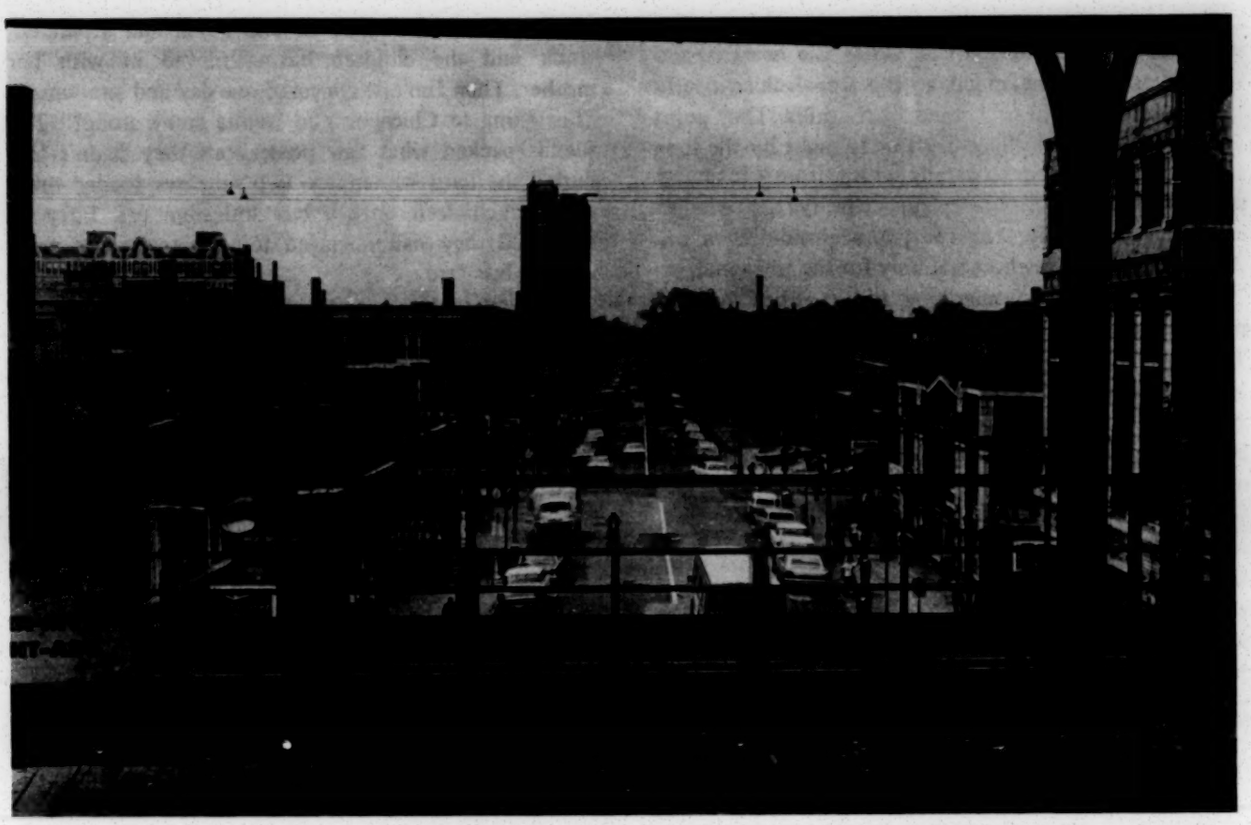
The Uptown Story

BILL MONTGOMERY

Though the daily-pay agency has already given out the day's jobs, those who didn't get work linger on. These offices employ migrants on one-shot basis





Uptown—the view from the Wilson Avenue "El" station

If President Johnson's Commission on Rural Poverty had elected to dramatize its findings on film rather than issue them in a written report, the camera could have lingered long on a Chicago ghetto called Uptown. Urban and rural poverty, the Commission theorized, are closely linked by migration. Uptown is the urban end of that theory tested and proven.

The Commission in its film might also have cast Anna Bland in a featured role. She knows a lot about migration. Staring through the window of her too-small, third-floor Uptown apartment, Anna said what could have been her opening lines: "We nearly starved to death down there last winter. Things aren't much better here, but I wouldn't go back. I sure do miss the hills, though."

"Down there" is Clarksburg, West Virginia. Twice before, Anna Bland has missed the West Virginia hills and, twice before, she has returned to them. The Bland family—Anna, her husband, Jim, and their three small children—is caught on the treadmill of never-ending transiency that often is the fate of the rural Southern white who migrates to the industrial North. Of the many ethnic groups that make up America's cities, few experience the difficulty in becoming "urbanized" that besets the migrant Southerner. In the city, virtually every principle of his life becomes a rural value struggling to retain its identity against an urban value that demands precedence. It is a cultural struggle: the personal against the impersonal, independence against regimentation. It is the casual laborer learning that in the city jobs do not wait for those who do not report to them every day. It is the fear and distrust of the formal, signed-paper society of the city; a man must sign a lease to rent a good apartment, a mortgage to own a home.

Unable to make a quick adjustment to the urban way of living, many Southerners become bogged down in a much worse kind of poverty than that they sought to escape. They fall into a pattern of moving from one slum dwelling to another but always remaining in the ghetto, of holding a job a day at a time and receiving their wages the same way, never accumulating any money; it is a "stumble-around" kind of living that prevents them from ever achieving any degree of social or economic stability, the things they came North to find. In the end, the Southerner has only exchanged the open-space poverty of the rural South for the ghetto poverty of the northern city. Whether or not he ever adjusts to urban life depends largely on his own endurance and how much help he can find along the way.

Those who experience the most difficulty in adjusting are the Appalachians. For more so than any other

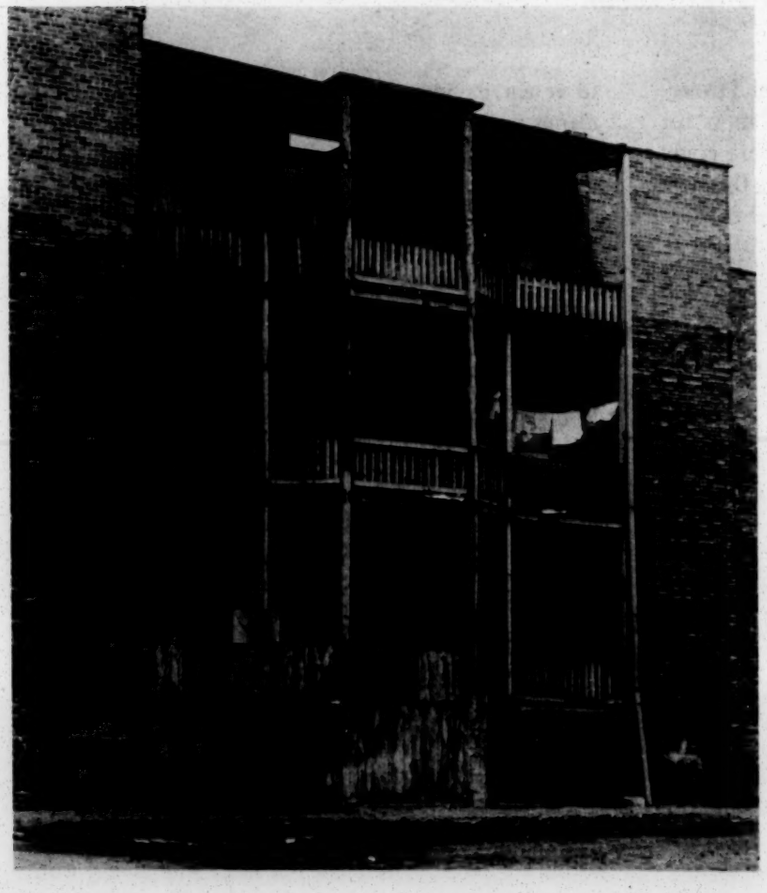
present-day ethnic group in America, the Appalachian seems to consider home to be where the heart is, and no matter where he might go the Appalachian nearly always leaves his heart behind in the hills. That point is illustrated graphically every Friday night by the long stream of automobiles heading south from Cincinnati on Interstate 75. License plates identify the vehicles as being from Ohio, but the people inside them are Appalachians heading home, if only for the weekend.

Southerners began migrating to the cities in large numbers during the World War II industrial boom. Today, jobs are still the magnet that pulls Southerners to the cities. Many come from the farmlands of Alabama, Mississippi and Arkansas, others, like the Blands, from the rural nonfarm areas that comprise much of Appalachia.

A Southerner's decision to migrate is usually preceded by a lot of thought but by less actual preparation than the average suburban family would devote to a weekend outing. In the end, he simply scrapes together what money he can get his hands on, loads his family and a few possessions into a bus or an old car and heads north for Cincinnati, Cleveland, Chicago, Dayton or Detroit. Anna Bland, for instance, had tried for months to persuade her husband to return to Chicago. Jim didn't relent until after he and Anna had separated, Anna and the children having moved in with her mother. Then Jim just appeared one day and announced, "I'm going to Chicago. You wanna come along?" The Blands packed what few possessions they hadn't lost during the hard winter into two suitcases, loaded them and the children onto a bus and were off. Fifty of the $120 they had managed to scrape together went for the bus fare.

Arriving in Chicago, the Blands headed straight for Uptown and straight to the same rundown apartment building they had abandoned the previous fall to return to the hills. It is not by chance that the Blands always go to Chicago when they leave the hills. One of the phenomena of the migration movement is the "Southern grapevine," a remarkably reliable word-of-mouth form of communication that enables Southerners to keep track of the friends and relatives who have migrated before them. Thus the Blands go to Chicago because that's where most migrants from the Clarksburg, West Virginia, area go.

Uptown is a 120-block ghetto into which are jammed just under 100,000 people. Southerners comprise almost half of Uptown's population, the rest being divided among Spanish-speaking people, the largest community



The six-flat building, found all over Chicago, is the main residential building in Uptown. As view from rear suggests, each floor was originally only two apartments

Wilson Avenue is a street of quick transactions

of American Indians outside the reservations and a growing Negro population.

Uptown is the real face behind the mask of affluence that Chicago turns to the east. High-rise—and high-rent—apartments stretch block after block along Lake Michigan to greet visitors who arrive by way of Lake Shore Drive. It's a welcome that's roughly withdrawn once the visitor turns west into Uptown. There the new arrival runs headlong into a mass of rundown apartment buildings, vacant storefronts, flophouse hotels for men only, "greasy spoon" restaurants, skid-row-type bars and "daily pay" employment offices where a man can get a job if he promises not to keep it.

Uptown is not Chicago's only ghetto, the Negro ghetto on the South Side that is the home of the now-famous Blackstone Rangers being another, but it has recorded some dubious "firsts." It is first among Chicago neighborhoods in the number of senior citizens, and it provides the most patients for Illinois mental institutions. Uptown is also the city's largest dumping ground for abandoned automobiles, most of them having barely made it in from the South before the transmission gave out or the last tire went flat. With today's automobile travel geared to the high-speed, limited-access highway, one of the wonders of the migration movement is that so many Southerners actually reach their destinations.

Uptown probably could also lay claim to having more alcoholics than any other section of the city were it not for West Madison Street, a longtime haven for the derelict. As it is, Uptown has its own skid row, a two-block section of Wilson Avenue where a dozen or so bars open early to compete for a beer-and-cheap-wine trade that is generally brisk enough to keep the bartenders active. There are also a lot of jukeboxes on Wilson Avenue and they're seldom ever silent. For a dime the Southerner can have his miseries put to music by a whining steel guitar and a nasal voice that sounds even more miserable than he is. Country-and-western is the "soul" music of the rural Southern white, and its popularity will never be more in evidence than it is currently on Wilson Avenue. There the Southerner can virtually relive his life in song if he doesn't run out of dimes. There's a song for every mood. For the new arrival lost in the aloof city, there's:

> Don't get no attention from the people
> that we meet.
> They don't even see us, they just step
> right on our feet.

For the homesick:

> I wanna go home, I wanna go home.
> Ooooh Lord, I wanna go home.

And over at The Old Homestead, a bar aptly named since many of its customers have little place else to go, a bewhiskered Southerner who long ago surrendered his life to Uptown stares into the bottom of an empty wine glass while the jukebox admits for him that "What made Milwaukee famous has made a loser out of me."

This is Uptown, only a port of entry for some, a final resting place for others. A composite picture of a newly arrived family's first day in Uptown would begin at five A.M. A family of five stirs from a sleep that never really came, inside a late-50's model automobile parked alongside a row of three-story apartment buildings, each looking exactly like the other, give or take a few broken windows. The family has arrived in Uptown during the night and decided to "sleep" on this particular street because the mother and father think a friend or relative lives here who might find them a place to live, in the same building if possible. The parents are between 35 and 40 years old. Their education is at the eighth-grade level by southern standards, fifth-grade by Chicago standards. The father instructs the mother to take the children and begin looking for the friend or relative. Hopefully, she will have found an apartment they can rent by the time he returns in the evening. The father then goes off in search of either a blood bank to sell a pint of his own or a daily-pay employment office, maybe both. He must satisfy what he feels is the family's most pressing need, immediate cash. And he is doing it the way he has heard about through the grapevine. When he returns in the evening, he and his family will rent a cubicle-sized apartment in one of the three-story buildings, because rent can be paid by the week there and children are welcome, he has also learned from the grapevine. Both the tiny apartment and the daily wages are temporary measures, he tells himself—breathing room. But it may be months, if even then, before he and his family escape either of them.

James R. Grisham, as executive director of the Chicago Southern Center, a private, nonprofit organization that attempts to provide "instant stability" for migrants, has seen the above scene repeated time after time. Often, he says, it could have been avoided had the families come straight to the center. There, free food and clothing are available to the migrant. The center can also direct him to the "right kind" of job and housing. "When a person doesn't come into contact with an agency such as ours within the first few days," says Grisham, "he is immediately two years behind in his adjustment."

One of the reasons more migrants don't contact agencies such as the Southern Center is simply that they don't know about them; the agencies have yet to be included in the grapevine. So the center, as has other Uptown agencies, has begun advertising its services through "flyers," one-page handouts that are circulated throughout the neighborhood. In addition to services, the flyers note, the center has regularly scheduled programs of sewing, quilting and guitar instruction, recreational activities for children, a weekly community open house, a young marrieds' club and country-and-western music sessions—anything that will bring a touch of home to the migrant during his adjustment period.

Although 1,400 people visited the center in July, Grisham still isn't satisfied. He is concerned that while Southerners avail themselves of services like food and clothing, the programs often go begging. "Southerners aren't program oriented," he said. "They would rather find their own entertainment." Still, the center keeps its doors open seven days a week and its staff of five fulltime employees and 60 volunteers busy.

In spite of his often hectic schedule, Grisham still manages to find time for the small problems of the individual. Although he came to Chicago from Portland, Oregon, his casual manner and warm smile, plus an open-collared shirt, enable him to "con" migrants into accepting him as "home folks." It is not unusual for a Southerner to amble sheepishly into Grisham's modest office on a Friday evening, hand over his weekly earnings and request that they be put under lock and key until Monday. His freshly bandaged head indicates that the Southerner learned a painful and expensive lesson the previous Friday. Hungry for friendship, the naive Southerner is an easy mark for the mugger, who is all too

continued on page 14

Chicago Southern Center maintains stock of free clothing, which is renewed by donations

Among many neighborhood improvement efforts are play lots

willing to join the Southerner in a beer. It gives him an opportunity to size up the Southerner's financial holdings.

One of Grisham's full-time employees is Father Joseph Dunne, a native Chicagoan who became concerned with the plight of the southern migrant while serving as a Catholic priest in Eastern Kentucky. Wondering what became of the migrants from his area, Father Dunne used a vacation earlier this year to come to Uptown and find out. He never returned to Eastern Kentucky. Instead, he became field director of the Southern Center's new Outreach program. "It became quite obvious to me that urban and rural problems are directly linked by migration," Father Dunne explained. "I predict the trend will reverse if the Appalachian economy is ever uplifted. We may face a new problem then: what effect has the city had on the migrant, what is he coming back to? The church can play an important role. It is, after all, in both places."

Father Dunne accepted his position with the Southern Center because the possibilities it offered "struck me as being the best vehicle to accomplish what I wanted to do—to help the migrant retain his dignity and self-respect, not try to make a Chicagoan out of him. If Outreach is successful, he'll return without the scars of city life."

Whether or not Father Dunne's dream of Appalachians returning to the hills will ever materialize is debatable. At best, the time when Appalachia will be ready to welcome its people back appears years and years away. Nevertheless, the need still exists for Father Dunne's Outreach. Simply stated, Outreach is designed to turn a 30-block area in Uptown into 30 one-block communities, the citizens of each block working to solve the problems of the block as a whole rather than being concerned only with their own. In short, Outreach encourages the migrant to retain his help-thy-neighbor spirit rather than throw it off for the every-man-for-himself attitude of the city.

It's not as easy, though, as it may sound. Father Dunne's immediate task is to find a leader for each block, that one person willing to lay aside his own frustrations long enough to become at least a little concerned with those of his neighbors. It requires a lot of door knocking and a lot of street walking. Once Father Dunne finds such a leader he instructs her—it's usually a housewife—on what programs are available to assist the migrant during his period of adjustment,

Kids find their own play spots, too—here a puddle formed by stopped-up storm sewer

where they are located and how to bypass the complex system of referrals surrounding such programs. The block leader then becomes a kind of community information center. But with the transiency of the migrant not stopping with his arrival in Uptown, today's block leader may be tomorrow's new arrival on another block. So Father Dunne has cultivated relationships with a number of people who, while they aren't willing to serve as block leaders, do keep him informed on new arrivals in the area who need help.

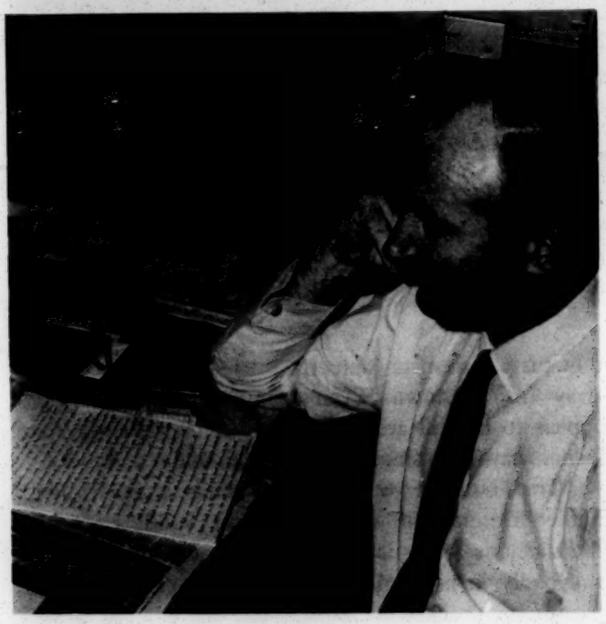
Anna Bland is such a person, and Father Dunne tries to see her every time he visits her block. The Blands' apartment is in one of the three-story six-flat dwellings that are the basic form of housing for the Southerners. Originally designed for six families, the former apartments have been sectioned into as many as 30 units, each struggling to contain a family within its thin walls. In earlier days, Uptown was a stable middle-class neighborhood, and vestiges of the area's more glorious days still remain. The famous Edgewater Beach Hotel is located in Uptown, its doors now locked and its windows boarded, only its size accounting for its being slightly more impressive than any of numerous vacant storefronts in Uptown. An occasional sign extends a now-rusty "tourists welcome" to anyone who might stray into Uptown. Even many of the six-flatters appear to be still architecturally sound, although their owners have long since given up maintaining them.

"This building was probably once a fine hotel," Father Dunne said, entering Anna's building. Indeed, the spacious lobby is still there, although quite littered and badly in need of paint. "Now it's nothing but an overgrown shack," he continued. He entered a self-service elevator that surprisingly is still operative. Inside the stench of urine attacked the nostrils all the way from the first floor to the third. Anna's three children rushed to Father Dunne as he entered the Bland apartment. Anna herself had some good news to relay. Jim, she said, who had been on daily pay the first eight weeks the Blands were in Chicago, now had a regular job in the shipping department of a company manufacturing hypodermic needles and syringes. "He's been there four weeks and he likes it," she said. "He gets a lot of overtime and brings home a hundred and twenty a week." Father Dunne congratualted her on Jim's success. Anna then revealed that she was worried about recent incidents of violence in the neighborhood. One of her neighbors, she explained, had been severely

stabbed while sleeping the night before. "My God, at home you can sleep with your doors open and not have to worry about someone coming in on you," The incident had started Anna thinking about moving to a better neighborhood. Her idea of a "better" neighborhood is "the other side of Foster. This side is just too rough."

Leaving Anna's building, Father Dunne continued down the street on his "rounds." Occasionally a group of youngsters would interrupt their play to greet him as he passed by. Recreation in Uptown is where you find it. One group had found it in a cesspool created by a broken sewer main. School was not in session, but even if it had been many of the youngsters would not have been attending. Failure to attend school is a "habit carried over from the hills," Grisham had explained. Uptown's eight public schools, he said, had an annual turnover rate of 150 per cent.

At the end of the day Father Dunne had not recruited a single new block leader. But he has prepared himself for many such days.



"This was really an eye-opener for me," John P. O'Shea said in his best Irish brogue. The eye-opener to which he had just referred was a 1962 statistic citing an infant-mortality rate in Uptown that year of 18.7 per thousand. It is O'Shea's job to help lower such statistics. He is a health educator newly assigned to the Uptown Maternal and Infant Welfare Station. Much of his day is spent on the phone trying to arrange with other agencies group meetings of migrants where he can explain the services the station has to offer. They range from free dental care to the services of an obstetrician, a pediatrician and a medical social worker. The station also holds special "high risk" clinics for expectant mothers. The purpose of the clinics is to find those expectant mothers who may have undiagnosed illnesses or undiscovered disabilities. The station arranges for proper medical care for the mother during the remainder of her pregnancy and for both her and the child after delivery. But not enough people attend the clinics. "It is very difficult to get mothers to come to the clinic during the pregnancy period," O'Shea said. "They don't value our services." To advertise the clinics, O'Shea addresses everything from a YMCA parents' meeting to any neighborhood gathering of four or five. When he isn't addressing a meeting or arranging for one to be held, O'Shea reads everything he can get his hands on about Appalachia. He relates to the Appalachian migrants best, comparing them with the Irish immigrants to this country from his native County Cork. "They both come from mining areas, you know."

A health problem about which there is growing concern in Uptown is a form of lead poisoning contracted by young children who have eaten plaster from windowsills or paint from walls. During a two-week period in July, three children died from it. One of the agencies concerned is the Montrose Urban Progress Center, one of seven neighborhood arms of the Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity, the Chicago war-on-poverty program. Montrose poverty workers have spent a good deal of time in the field publicizing the symptoms of lead poisoning—heavy vomiting and severe headaches. Montrose workers also give regularly scheduled examinations to discover the presence of lead poisoning. At a recent examination 54 of 60 children tested had some degree of it.

The Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity places great stress on the neighborhood Urban Progress Center concept. Jesse Escalante, director of the Montrose Center, describes the concept as "a multitude of agencies under one roof." Indeed, a representative of virtually every city service being dispensed is housed at Montrose. The hoped-for effect is that with so many representatives of city government headquartered at Montrose, Uptown residents will come to regard Montrose as *being* city government, hence their own government.

One of those headquartered at Montrose is Miss Sylvia Swidler, long-time manager of the local office of the Illinois State Employment Service. She has studied the work habits of Southerners over the years and feels she has an understanding of migrants and their problems that prevents her from "becoming impersonal." She is especially sympathetic toward the Appalachian. She explains him thus: "The Appalachian simply is not familiar with the urban way of life. To him time is not important. In his home town everybody took time to sit or visit with his neighbor. It is not unusual for an Appalachian to work for a few days

Through poverty program, city is trying to uplift area. From Head Start to general-education classes, education is seen as the long-range hope—but such programs are sadly underfinanced

just to pay the rent and eat and then not show up for a few days after payday. He will return to his job when his money is gone and expect it to still be there." Such matters, Miss Swidler said, must be dealt through "education and patience." She has brought some Chicago industries slowly around to accepting that theory. "It's an education program for them too," she said. "It's cheaper for them to go along with the individual than it is to fire him." Accordingly, some Chicago employers have initiated work-orientation programs for Southerners in cooperation with the Chicago chapter of the National Alliance of Businessmen.

Miss Swidler has also opened a "day labor" office in an effort to keep Southerners from becoming entrapped by the privately operated daily-pay employment offices, labeled in some circles as "slave-labor markets." Miss Swidler calls her program a "try-before-you-buy concept." Under it, an employee is hired for a job on a one-day basis at salaries ranging up to $3 per hour. He receives his wages direct from the employer at the end of the day. If both he and the employer are satisfied he can be hired on a permanent basis.

The 20 daily-pay agencies in Uptown operate somewhat differently, the main difference, of course, being the profit motive. Outside estimates place the portion of an employee's daily pay retained by the employment agency as between one-third and one-half. Agency managers, though, offer much more conservative figures. "If we net a buck and a half a day per head, we're lucky," said Saul Wallace, president of Alhelp Labor Service. "It's a volume business with us." According to Wallace, Alhelp charges employers $15 per day for unskilled labor sent to them. Of the $15, he said, the employee receives '$12.80 less social security." Alhelp, it should be noted, is doing well enough to be able to transport its people to their jobs in a fleet of five buses. "We get the biggest play of all of them," Wallace boasts.

The daily-pay offices have also come under fire for an agreement they require each employee to sign. Under it, the employee agrees to a 90-day ban on accepting permanent employment in any job to which the agency sends him. Wallace claims the daily-pay offices need the agreement as a device to build up labor "pools."

"If an employer wants six employees I have to develop a pool of 12 just to meet the demand," he said. "It's because of the drinking problem. Some of these people couldn't hold a steady job because they drink 75 per cent of the time." Critics insist that the 90-day agreement often keeps the migrants in a low-pay situation just long enough to destroy their spirit and initiative. "Look, I know some people think of us as slave dealers," Wallace counters, "but they don't understand the kind of people we're dealing with. A person coming from a foreign land adjusts better than some of these people."

In the final analysis, Wallace figures, "we're doing a little bit for the community. Basically, we're selling it bodies. We're not an AA [Alcoholics Anonymous] and don't try to be. Every major triple-A company in this city uses this type of service sometime." Wallace declined to name any of them. Alhelp is located on Wilson Avenue. Its immediate neighbors include several bars, a couple of restaurants, a men-only hotel and a Goodwill Industries store. "You can get drunk for 24 hours for 50 cents on this street," Wallace observed. A man not only can get drunk there, he can draw his pay and grab a greasy hamburger beforehand, go sleep it off afterward, and never have to leave the block.

It is significant that with so many restaurants in Uptown, everything from bagels and lox with sour cream to Spanish and Oriental delicacies is available—but nowhere can the Southerner sit down to a meal of black-eyed peas and cornbread. "He probably couldn't afford it anyway," was the guess of one hash-slinger in the neighborhood. His restaurant was only a couple of blocks away from an equally nonaffluent section where the Puerto Rico theater was offering movies with Spanish subtitles to area residents, some of whom were named Garcia and lived in a rundown building that struggled for dignity under the name Carlos Hotel. One gets the feeling that what Uptown really needs is a theater named the Hatfield or McCoy that doesn't show anything but filmed versions of the "Grand Ole Opry" and serves only moonshine and hominy grits at the concession stand.

It is this disregard for the southern culture that a small group of former nuns is combatting at the grassroots level. Located on the top floor of one of Uptown's six-flatters is the one-year old Federation of Communities in Service (FOCIS). Its members are expanding to the ghetto a mission of service to the Appalachian people that has been conducted in Appalachia by the Glenmary order, from which FOCIS sprang. FOCIS members live in the neighborhood with the Appalachians and try to bridge the gap between the person-oriented culture of Appalachia and the cold indifference of the city. FOCIS spends a lot of time trying to "get people in touch with each other," explained Miss Elizabeth Roth, who is still called "Sister" by the Appalachians. "The Appalachian culture is so kin-oriented. We know that if we can organize a recreation session for the kids the parents will soon join us. It's a way to get them acquainted."

Miss Roth talks a lot about "misunderstood Appalachian values." She'll probably never forget one lesson in Appalachian values. It concerned a music-loving Tennessee family of six who had decided to return to the hills and asked her to accompany them to help with the driving. The family had packed all its belongings into an uncovered trailer. Included among their possessions were two guitars, a banjo, an accordion and a stack of phonograph records. "The trip took nineteen hours," she recalled, "fourteen of them in a driving rain. Naturally everything the family owned got soaked. But when we arrived the only thing they were concerned about was their phonograph records." Laughing, she added, "I spent an hour drying off records."

Knowing the Southern migrants' history of continuing transiency, Miss Roth had asked when the family might return to Chicago. "When the notes are right," the father replied. ■